



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

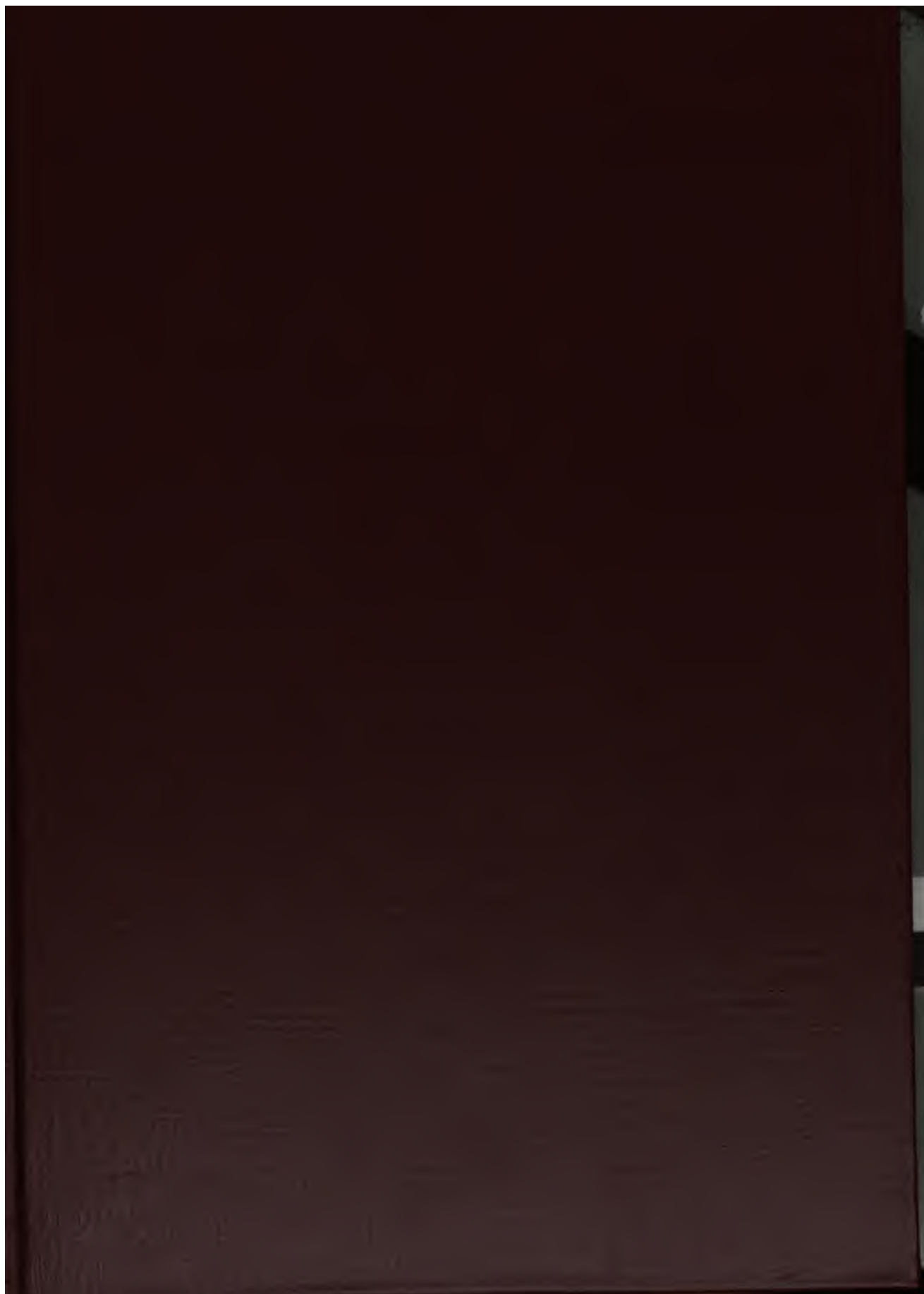
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

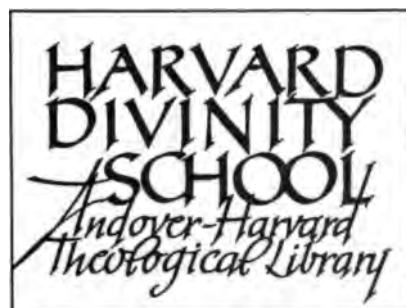
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





Ἄλλ' ὅμως ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τὴν τῶν πλανηθέντων σωτηρίαν ἠνέσχετο διὰ τούτων θεραπευθῆναι, δι' ὧν οἱ ἔξωθεν δαίμονας ἐθεράπευον, μικρὸν παραλλάξας αὐτά· ἵνα αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς συνηθείας ἀποσπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑψηλὴν ἀγάγῃ φιλοσοφίαν.

S. CHRYSOSTOM in *Matth.* Hom. vi. 3.

~~10/11
15
3085
127~~

• SAMVELI • ROLLES • DRIVER • S.T.P.

MAGISTRO • DISCIPVLVS

D.D.

G. A. C.

A TEXT-BOOK
OF
NORTH-SEMITIC
INSCRIPTIONS

Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic
Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish

BY THE

REV. G. A. COOKE, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1903
A

Ref.
PJ
3085
.C7
1903a

OXFORD
PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
BY HORACE HART, M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY



54, 154

P R E F A C E

THE present work took shape some years ago as an attempt to provide a text-book for students who offer the subject of Semitic Epigraphy in the Honour School of Oriental Studies at Oxford. The difficulty of obtaining access to inscriptions published in foreign journals, the costliness of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* and other works, made it desirable to prepare a collection which might bring the inscriptions conveniently within the reach of students; the texts set for the Schools were chosen to start with, and a good many more were added. The claims of other work, however, compelled me to lay aside my task for several years. Meanwhile, there appeared in 1898 Lidzbarski's *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, which for the first time has dealt with the whole subject in a systematic manner. I wish to acknowledge here, with emphasis and gratitude, my obligations to the *Handbuch*; the extent of them will appear in the following pages. Lidzbarski's work has done much to supply the want which first induced me to prepare this volume; it has not, however, led me to alter my original design. I have published the texts with translations and notes; Lidzbarski, along with much valuable introductory matter, gives the texts, a glossary, and an atlas of facsimiles. This last it has not been possible to attach to my collection; within the limits laid down by the

Delegates of the Press, I have only been able to give a set of representative facsimiles and tables of alphabets, which, while not attempting to meet all requirements, will at least be sufficient to familiarize the student with the characteristic features of the different scripts.

Though English scholars have not neglected the study of Semitic Epigraphy either in their academic teaching or in their published writings—the names of the late Professors William Wright and Robertson Smith will occur to the reader in this connexion, while to many students of the younger generation Dr. Driver's pages in *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* served as their first and stimulating introduction to the subject—yet the bulk of scientific work within recent years has been done by the scholars of France and Germany. The enterprise of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, and the enlightened policy of the French Government, have secured the majority of the inscriptions for the Louvre ; hence it is that from Paris, in a manner possible nowhere else, the great Corpus is being issued, a work with which the eminent names of Renan, de Vogüé, Derenbourg, Halévy, Berger, Clermont-Ganneau, will always be associated. To Paris belongs the unique distinction of having recognized the study of oriental archaeology and epigraphy by the foundation of a professorship in the Collège de France, now held by M. Clermont-Ganneau, to whose original and keen researches the present work is indebted from beginning to end. For years past French scholars have been excavating and classifying the remains of Punic antiquity in the French colonies of N. Africa ; in the Holy Land much excellent

work is being done by the Dominican convent of St. Étienne at Jerusalem, an 'école pratique d'études bibliques,' under the accomplished direction of Père Lagrange.

In Germany the efforts of scholars have been devoted rather to the critical and grammatical examination of the documents than to the discovery of fresh material. For the Phoenician language the treatises of Schröder and Stade, though somewhat out of date, contain much that is of permanent value; on the Nabataean, Palmyrene, and other Aramaic dialects Nöldeke has written with unimpeachable authority; on points of grammar and exegesis the names of G. Hoffmann, Landau, D. H. Müller, Sachau, the two Mordtmanns, Reckendorf, Winckler (always interesting, if seldom convincing) will be of frequent occurrence in the following pages. But German scholars have also been engaged in the discovery of new material, especially in N. Arabia and N. Syria. Thanks to the courage and skill of the veteran epigraphist Julius Euting, we now possess satisfactory copies of the Nabataean inscriptions in the Ḥejaz and the Sinaitic peninsula; the Orient-Comité of Berlin has unearthed the Old Aramaic inscriptions of Zenjirli, the most important discovery since the finding of the Moabite Stone; quite recently Littmann has published the results of his exploration of the Şafâ inscriptions, NE. of Jebel ed-Drûz¹.

In the present work many of the inscriptions are, of necessity, the classical and familiar ones; many also are new; most of them now appear in English for the

¹ These inscriptions have also been investigated lately by Dussand and Mæler, and published in their volume *Voyage archéol. au Şafâ etc.*, 1901.

first time. I have tried to bring the collection up to date as far as possible, and in one way or another to print the most important inscriptions which have been discovered in the last five or ten years.

My aim throughout has been not to propose novel interpretations or reconstructions of my own, but rather to give, after careful study of the various authorities on the subject, what seemed to be the most probable verdict on the issues raised, and also to bring together the chief matters of importance bearing on the texts. The frequency with which the words 'probably' and 'possibly' appear may, perhaps, be somewhat of a disappointment to the reader, as indicating an attitude of caution rather than of courage; but it is well to be reminded how seldom we can speak with positiveness on questions of grammar and interpretation where the material is so limited and where there is no contemporary literature to shed light upon the monuments. At the same time our study ought to result in doing something to reduce the limits of the possible, and discover, as precisely as we can, the extent of the probable.

To those who have helped me in the production of my book I have some special acknowledgements to make. From the Delegates of the Press I have received most generous treatment in the matter of printing. To the courtesy of the Marquis de Vogüé, President of the Commission of the C. I. S., I owe permission to reproduce Plates i and iii from the Corpus, and Plate viii from his own *La Syrie Centrale*. I am indebted to Dr. Euting for Plates iv and vii, the latter from his *Nabatäische Inschriften*; to M. Heuzey

of the Louvre, for squeezes of the Nêrab inscriptions, Plates v and vi; to Dr. Budge of the British Museum, for facilities of access to the stones and seals under his charge; to Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. for the use of the blocks from Madden's *Coins of the Jews*. Mr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum has taken much trouble to help me with the coins, and has procured for me, by the courtesy of M. Babelon, casts of specimens in the Bibliothèque Nationale. M. Clermont-Ganneau, to whose published writings my book owes so much, has more than once given me the benefit of his opinion and advice. My former colleague, Mr. P. V. M. Benecke, Fellow and Tutor of Magdalen College, has verified and enriched several of my references to Greek and Latin authors. Above all, my grateful thanks are due to Dr. Driver for his constant encouragement. He is always ready to place his stores of knowledge at the service of his friends; and in this case he has made time, in the midst of his own work, to read my book in proof, and to offer criticisms and suggestions which have done much to improve it.

G. A. COOKE.

THE PARSONAGE, DALKEITH, N. B.,
Easter tide, 1903.

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|---|-------|
| PREFACE | vii |
| INTRODUCTION | xvii |
| LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS | xxiii |
| MOABITE | |
| INSCR. NO. | |
| 1. The Moabite Stone | 1 |
| HEBREW | |
| 2. Silcam | 15 |
| PHOENICIAN | |
| <i>Phoenicia</i> | |
| 3. Byblus | 18 |
| Additional note i. The fem. sing. ending in | |
| Phoenician | 25 |
| Additional note ii. The forms of the de- | |
| monstr. pron. | 26 |
| 4. Sidon: Tabnith | 26 |
| 5. Sidon: Eshmun-'azar | 30 |
| Additional note. The suffix of 3 plur. in | |
| Phoenician | 39 |
| 6. Sidon | 40 |
| 7. Sidon | 42 |
| 8. Tyre | 43 |
| 9. Umm-el-'Awâmid | 44 |
| 10. Ma'sûb | 48 |
| <i>Cyprus</i> | |
| 11. Ba'al Lebanon | 52 |
| 12-22. Kition | 55 |
| 23-27. Idalion | 73 |
| 28. Larnax Lapêthos | 80 |
| 29. Larnax Lapêthos 2 or Narnaka | 82 |
| 30. Tamassos | 88 |
| <i>Egypt</i> | |
| 31. Abydos | 90 |
| <i>Attica</i> | |
| 32-35. Athens, Piræus | 93 |

PHOENICIAN: PUNIC

Malta

| INSCR. NO. | PAGE |
|------------------------------|------|
| 36, 37. Malta | 102 |
| 38. Malta (Gaulus) | 105 |

Sardinia

| | |
|--|-----|
| 39. Caralis (Cagliari) | 108 |
| 40. Pauli Gerrei (Santuiaci) | 109 |
| 41. Nora (Pula) | 110 |

Gaul

| | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| 42. Marseilles | 112 |
|--------------------------|-----|

North Africa

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| 43-50. Carthage | 123 |
| 51. Cirta (Constantine) | 137 |
| 52. Thugga | 138 |

PHOENICIAN: NEO-PUNIC

Tunis

| | |
|-------------------------|-----|
| 53, 54. Tunis | 141 |
|-------------------------|-----|

Algiers

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-----|
| 55. Altiburus (Medéina) | 144 |
| 56. Jol (Shershel 1) | 147 |
| 57. Jol (Shershel 2) | 148 |
| 58. Gelma | 150 |
| 59. Maktar | 150 |

Sardinia

| | |
|---------------------|-----|
| 60. Sulci | 158 |
|---------------------|-----|

ARAMAIC

North Syria

| | |
|---|-----|
| 61. Zenjirli: Hadad | 159 |
| 62. Zenjirli: Panammu | 171 |
| 63. Zenjirli: Bar-rekub | 180 |
| Additional note on the dialect of the Zenjirli inscriptions | 184 |
| 64. Nêrab 1 | 186 |
| 65. Nêrab 2 | 189 |

Babylonia

| | |
|-----------------------|-----|
| 66. Nineveh | 192 |
|-----------------------|-----|

Contents

xv

| <i>Asia Minor</i> | | |
|--|--|------|
| INSCR. NO. | | PAGE |
| 67. Abydos | | 193 |
| 68. Cilicia | | 194 |
| <i>Arabia</i> | | |
| 69, 70. Têma | | 195 |
| <i>Egypt</i> | | |
| 71, 72. Memphis | | 200 |
| 73, 74. Elephantina | | 202 |
| 75. The Carpentras Stele | | 205 |
| 76. Saqqara : Papyri Blacassiani | | 206 |
| 77. Papyrus Luparensis | | 210 |
| NABATAEAN | | |
| <i>North Arabia</i> | | |
| 78. El-'Öla | | 214 |
| 79-93. El-Hejra | | 217 |
| 94. Petra 1 | | 241 |
| 95. Petra 2. El-Mer | | 244 |
| <i>Moab</i> | | |
| 96. Medeba | | 247 |
| <i>Damascus</i> | | |
| 97. Dümêr | | 249 |
| <i>Hauran</i> | | |
| 98. Hebran | | 252 |
| 99. Şalhad | | 253 |
| 100. Bostra | | 253 |
| 101. Imtân | | 254 |
| <i>Italy</i> | | |
| 102. Puteoli | | 256 |
| NABATAEAN: SINAITIC | | |
| 103-109. | | 259 |
| PALMYRENE | | |
| 110-132. Honorary Inscriptions | | 265 |
| 133-140. Votive Inscriptions | | 295 |
| 141-146. Sepulchral Inscriptions | | 306 |
| 147. Tariff | | 313 |

Contents

| INSCR. NO. | JEWISH | PAGE |
|----------------|-------------------------------|------|
| 149 A. | Benê Hēzlr | 341 |
| B. | Kefr Bir'im | 342 |
| COINS | | |
| 149 A. | Aramaic | 343 |
| B. | Phoenician | 347 |
| C. | Jewish | 352 |
| SEALS AND GEMS | | |
| 150. | | 360 |
| INDEX I: | North-Semitic | 363 |
| INDEX II: | Arabic | 378 |
| INDEX III: | Syriac | 380 |
| INDEX IV: | Greek | 382 |
| INDEX V: | Biblical References | 385 |
| INDEX VI: | General | 392 |
| APPENDIX I | | 401 |
| „ II | | 404 |
| ADDENDA | | 407 |

LIST OF PLATES

| | | |
|---------|---|-----------------|
| I | Phoenician; no. 5 | } <i>At end</i> |
| II | Phoenician; no. 21 | |
| III | Phoenician: Punic; no. 43 | |
| IV | Phoenician: Neo-Punic; no. 56 | |
| V | Aramaic; no. 64 | |
| VI | Aramaic; no. 65 | |
| VII | Nabataean; no. 86 | |
| VIII | Palmyrene; no. 121 | |
| IX | Cilician and Phoenician Coins; no. 149 A, B | |
| X | Jewish Coins; no. 149 C | |
| XI | Seals and Gems; no. 150 | |
| XII-XIV | Tables of Alphabets | |

INTRODUCTION

THE inscriptions which make up the present collection are grouped under the common title of North-Semitic to distinguish them from the South-Semitic, or Sabaeen and Himyaritic, on the one hand, and from the Babylonian and Assyrian on the other. Geographically the area of this North-Semitic group extends from N. Syria to N. Arabia; on the East it is bounded by the Syrian desert; on the West it reaches into Asia Minor, Egypt, N. Africa, and the chief cities on the shores and islands of the Mediterranean. The languages in which the inscriptions are written belong to what may be called for convenience the Central, as distinguished from the Northern and Southern, division of the Semitic tongues¹. This Central division is sub-divided into two main classes: i the Canaanite, which includes the Moabite, Hebrew, and Phoenician inscriptions, 9th cent. B.C.—3rd cent. A.D. and later; ii the Aramaic, represented by (a) the Old Aramaic inscriptions from Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor, and N. Syria, 8th—4th cent. B.C., (b) the Egyptian Aramaic, 5th—3rd cent. B.C., (c) the Nabataean and Palmyrene Aramaic, 1st cent. B.C.—3rd cent. A.D., a section to which we may assign the inscriptions from Têma as the earliest specimens (5th cent. B.C.) and the Sinaitic as the latest (1st—5th cent. A.D.). Some of these dialects are marked by peculiarities which, owing to local conditions, indicate a certain amount of overlapping from one class or division into another: thus the Old Aramaic spoken in the N. Syrian kingdoms of Ya'di and

¹ The Semitic languages are grouped in various ways; thus Wright, *Comp. Gr.* 12 ff., divides them into Northern i.e. Assyrian, Central i.e. Aramaic, Western i.e. Canaanite, Southern i.e. Arabic and Ethiopic. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gr.* 4 f., proposes a broader scheme, East-Semitic, i.e. Babylonian, Assyrian, and West-Semitic, i.e. Aramaic, Canaanite, Arabic, Ethiopic. The latter is preferred by König, *Hebräisch u. Semitisch* 123 f., on historical grounds, as suggesting the advance and separation of the Semitic tribes from their original home in E. Babylonia. The divisions given above are clearer for the present purpose.

Sam'al betrays several points of affinity to the Canaanite class; the Nabataean dialect, again, used for purposes of writing and commerce by the inhabitants of N. Arabia who were Arabs by race and spoke Arabic, was naturally much influenced by the language used in common speech, as appears especially in the forms of proper names; to a less degree the dialect of Palmyra, where the population was largely Arab, came under the same influence.

The chief interest of these inscriptions lies, of course, in the fact that they have preserved specimens of the North-Semitic dialects which we should otherwise know only from scattered allusions or by a process of inference very imperfect at the best. With the exception of the Hebrew and Aramaic writings of the Old Testament, there is no contemporary literature written in any of these languages. No fragments of the mythologies and histories said to have been composed in Phoenician by native writers have come down to us in the original; a few third- or fourth-hand extracts are preserved in Greek; but for the most part these Phoenician authors are names and nothing more¹. The inscriptions, therefore, possess

¹ A cosmogony of Sidonian origin is preserved by Damascius *de Primis Principiis* 125, who borrowed it from the Greek of Eudemus, a pupil of Aristotle, and gave it a neo-Platonic interpretation. This was probably the work (τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀτόμων δόγμα) which is ascribed by Strabo (p. 645 ed. Müll.) to a Sidonian philosopher Mochus, who lived πρὸ τῶν Τραυκῶν χρόνων; his works, together with those of Theodotus and Hypsicrates, are said to have been translated into Greek by a certain Laetus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 437). Mochus, along with Hestaeus and the Egyptian Hieronymus, οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συνταξάμενοι, is mentioned by Jos. *Ant.* i 89. Another cosmogony is described by Philo of Byblus (temp. Hadrian), who claims to have derived his traditions from an ancient sage Sanchuniathon (see pp. 100. 104 n. 2 ref.). Philo probably drew his material from various sources, and dignified it with an ancient name; see Baudissin *Stud. z. semit. Religionsgesch.* i 1-46. Native histories written by Phoenicians are cited by Josephus: (a) the chronicles of Tyre transl. by Menander of Ephesus (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 445 ff.) δ μεταφράσας ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινικῶν διαλέκτου εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνήν *Ant.* viii 5 3. ix 14 2, c. *Ap.* i 18; (b) a list of kings from Nebuchadnezzar to Cyrus, for which he quotes τὰς τῶν Φοινικῶν ἀναγραφάς c. *Ap.* i 21; (c) for the siege of Tyre by Nebuch. he gives as his authority Philostratos ἐν ταῖς Ἰνδικαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ Φοινικικαῖς ἱστορίαις *Ant.* x 11 1, c. *Ap.* i 20; (d) for the history of Hiram i he refers to the Phoen. narrative of Dios (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 397 ff.) ἐν ταῖς περὶ Φοινικῶν ἱστορίαις c. *Ap.* i 17, *Ant.* viii 5 3. The sources (b) and (d) are doubtless dependent upon Menander; it is probable that Jos. derived all these extracts from the work of Alexander Polyhistor (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 206 ff.). See further Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3751 ff.

all the greater value; and when they are brought into relation with the languages of the Old Testament their interest is increased. Thus comparing Phoenician with Hebrew we notice at once that the resemblance is exceedingly close, both in grammatical forms and in vocabulary; in some respects Phoenician has preserved older features (e.g. the fem. in ת, the absence of vowel-letters), others are later (e.g. יתן = נתן, אל God), others again are peculiar to this dialect (e.g. the 3 mas. suff. in י, א, נ, the accus. sign יא, the rel. ש, the Hif. in י), many words poetic or rare in Hebrew are common in Phoenician (see p. 23); these phenomena point to the conclusion that Phoenician and Hebrew are independent offshoots of a common ancestor, which can be none other than the ancient Canaanite, of which a few words have survived in the Canaanite glosses (15th cent. B.C.) to the Tell-el-Amarna letters¹. It must be remembered, however, that the material is insufficient for a complete comparison²; and further, with the exception of 11, almost all the Phoenician inscriptions are subsequent to the 6th cent. B.C., the majority belong to the 4th cent. and later, by which time the language had probably undergone a certain amount of decay. The evidence of the Aramaic inscriptions is specially valuable because it proves the wide extent to which Aramaic was used in the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires (cf. Is. 36 11), and because it exhibits the language at an earlier stage than the literary dialects. In the Nabataean and Palmyrene inscriptions we find a dialect which is nearly related to the Western or Palestinian Aramaic of the Old Testament and of the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan. The dates of the Old Testament Aramaic cannot in all cases be determined; parts of Ezra are probably as early as the 4th cent. B.C., Daniel was written in the 2nd cent. B.C.; the inscriptions prove that this particular type of Aramaic was used in the countries bordering upon Palestine down to the 3rd cent. A.D.³

¹ The words are given in the vocabulary of Winckler's edition; see also *KAT*³ 652 f.

² The fullest comparison is still that of Stade, *Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phöniciſchen u. Hebräiſchen bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades in Morg. Forsch.* (1875) 169-232.

³ Driver *Introduction*⁴ 502 ff.

All the inscriptions here collected are written in varieties of the same alphabet, commonly called the Phoenician, the archetype of Greek and ultimately of all Western writing¹. At the earliest stage known to us the characters are very much alike, both in the Canaanite and in the Aramaic groups; in the subsequent stages each followed a process of modification on diverging lines. Thus Phoenician, after leaving the mother-country, is seen to be acquiring a more cursive and flowing style on the stones from Cyprus and Attica; the tendency becomes more strongly marked at the Punic stage; until in Neo-Punic the writing, and the language too, reached their most degenerate form and went no further, as though the possibilities of both were exhausted. The modifications of the old Hebrew writing down to the 5th or 4th cents. B.C. cannot, for lack of material, be traced in much detail; so far as we know there seems to have been little change of any marked kind. The only Hebrew inscription of considerable length earlier than the Exile is the one found at Siloam (2); besides this, specimens of the old Hebrew writing are furnished only by the few words engraved upon seals (150 6-8) and stamped upon fragments of pottery². Generations after the old Hebrew writing had fallen out of use it was revived, for political reasons, in characters which closely resemble those of the Siloam inscription and the legends on seals and pottery, upon the Jewish coins (149 C). The ancient writing was retained by the Samaritans when the Jews in general had taken to the Aramaic letters, and in an elaborated form the Samaritans use it still. The process by which the archaic Hebrew arrived at the modern square character is to be

¹ The various speculations on the origin of the Phoen. alphabet are summarized by Thatcher, art. Phoenicia DB iii.

² The recent excavations at Tell Zakariyā and Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi, SW. of Jerusalem, conducted by Messrs. Bliss and Macalister, have produced some interesting jar-handles stamped with *לסלך שוכה*, *לסלך [סר?]יה*, *לסלך*; between the words is the figure of a winged scarab. These were factory-marks; *לסלך* *belonging to the king* probably signifies that the vessel came from the royal potteries, or perhaps that it came up to the official standard of capacity; *שוכה* &c. that it was made at Hebron, Sokoh &c. The other potsherds are marked with what are probably private seals, e.g. *לעזר רמי*, *סכץ* . . *זכניא*; a seal is engraved *למרחי ידוכל*; the names are all written in two lines. See *PEFQS* 1899 and 1900; *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* iv § 1; *Lidzb. Ep̄h.* i 54 ff. 178 ff.

traced in the development, not of the Hebrew, but of the Aramaic alphabet; and the reason is that the latter was adopted by the Jews after the Exile along with the use of the Aramaic language. The stages in this development may be followed in the Tables of the Aramaic Alphabets, Plates xiii and xiv; the most significant will be found in the Egyptian Aramaic and the Palmyrene. From this last it is but a few steps further to the square characters which appear in the Jewish inscriptions (e. g. 148 A and B), and in which the MSS. of the Old Testament are written¹.

Besides their value as specimens of language and writing, the North-Semitic inscriptions possess considerable importance for the historian. With the exception of the Moabite Stone, the Zenjirli inscriptions, and two or three others, their importance is rather incidental than primary; a few of them are dedicated to or by historical personages, a great many are dated by the reigns of kings or the eras of cities, and thus enable us to piece history together. The inscriptions cover a long period, more than a thousand years, from the 9th cent. B.C. to the 3rd cent. A.D.; and in the course of it the history which they record is not, as a rule, the history of great events or of striking figures in the drama, but the history of every-day life, its business, its honours, its religion, its commemoration of the dead. These monuments of ancient civilization have a very human interest which gives to the study of them an unexpected and refreshing zest. But when we turn to them for information on such subjects as the institutions or organizations of public life we are apt to be disappointed. For example, the little that can be gathered from the inscriptions as to the constitution of Carthage is put together on pp. 115 f., but it adds practically nothing to what we learn from Greek and Latin writers. The North-Semitic races possessed none of that genius for civic order, or for administration on a large scale, which made the Athenians so careful to inscribe their public documents 'on a pillar of stone,' and the Romans to plant the memorials of their government in every part of the empire. It is only when these races

¹ For details see Index vi under Letters, Driver *Samuel* ix-xxix, Lidzbarski *Eph.* i 109 ff. and *Jewish Encycl.*, art. Alphabet.

come under the influence of Greek and Roman institutions that we are able to glean a little about their public life. The inscriptions reveal the fact that Palmyra was organized on the model of a Greek municipality; the great Tariff was dictated by Roman common-sense and love of order; to some extent Hellenic ideas of administration had penetrated into the Nabataean kingdom, for we hear of strategoi, eparchs, and chiliarchs; the Neo-Punic colonies in N. Africa had borrowed, as it seems, some institutions of municipal life from their Roman over-lords.

Lastly, the inscriptions have much to tell us about the religious customs and ideas of the people who wrote them. Some of these ideas are the common property of Semitic religion; a good many of them, especially those connected with the relation of the god to his worshippers, and with burial and the condition of the dead, illustrate in an interesting way the ideas of the Old Testament. But again it must not be forgotten that most of the monuments belong to a period not of religious freshness and simplicity but of religious decline. The less attractive features of North-Semitic religion may be gathered from Greek and Latin authors; the inscriptions tell us little of them; but a broad comparison between this and the religion of the Old Testament shows clearly enough the depths and heights which it was possible for different peoples to reach who were bound closely together by race, by neighbourhood, and by a considerable stock of common ideas. It is the difference which polytheism and monotheism work out in their results. Nevertheless in the later periods we can trace, however faintly, something like a reaction from the prevailing polytheism in the worship of Ba'al of Heaven among the Phoenicians, and of the unnamed god 'whose name is blessed for ever' among the Aramaeans of Palmyra (pp. 45, 296 ff.); and out of the common stock of religious ideas there were some which did not altogether lie outside of the scheme of Divine revelation, and were capable of being adopted into the higher faith.

LIST OF PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>Allor. Forsch.</i> | = Winckler <i>Allorientalische Forschungen</i> . |
| BAram. | = Biblical Aramaic. |
| CIA | = <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i> . |
| CIG | = <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> . |
| CIL | = <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . |
| CIS | = <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> . |
| Cl.-Gan. <i>Ét.</i> | = Clermont-Ganneau <i>Études d'archéologie orientale</i> . |
| Cl.-Gan. <i>Rec.</i> | = Clermont-Ganneau <i>Recueil d'archéologie orientale</i> . |
| COT | = Schrader <i>Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.</i> |
| Dalman Gr. | = Dalman <i>Gram. des Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch</i> . |
| DB | = Hastings' <i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> . |
| Del. Assy. HWB | = Delitzsch <i>Assyrisches Handwörterbuch</i> . |
| <i>Ency. Bibl.</i> | = <i>Encyclopaedia Biblica</i> . |
| Eut. | = Euting <i>Nabaldische Inschriften</i> . |
| Eut. <i>Carth.</i> | = Euting <i>Sammlung der carthagischen Inschriften</i> . |
| Eut. <i>Sin.</i> | = Euting <i>Sinaitische Inschriften</i> . |
| <i>Fr. Hist. Gr.</i> | = Müller <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> . |
| Gesenius, or Ges.-Kautzsch } | = Gesenius-Kautzsch <i>Hebrew Grammar</i> , transl. by A. E. Cowley. |
| JA | = <i>Journal Asiatique</i> . |
| KAT ^a | = <i>Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament</i> ^a . |
| KB | = <i>Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek</i> . |
| König <i>Lehrgeb.</i> | = König <i>Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Sprache</i> . |
| König <i>Syntax</i> | = König <i>Syntax der Hebr. Sprache</i> . |
| Lidzb. | = Lidzbarski <i>Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik</i> . |
| Lidzb. <i>Eph. i</i> | = Lidzbarski <i>Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik i</i> . |
| M. or Michel | = Michel <i>Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques</i> . |
| <i>Morg. Forsch.</i> | = <i>Morgenländische Forschungen</i> . |
| NHWB | = Levy <i>Neuhebräisches u. Chaldäisches Wörterbuch</i> . |
| NPun. | = Neo-Punic. |
| PA. or Pers. Ach. | = Babelon <i>Les Perses Achéménides</i> . |
| PEFQS | = <i>Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i> . |

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| <i>RB</i> | = <i>Revue Biblique.</i> |
| <i>Rép.</i> | = <i>Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique.</i> |
| <i>RS</i> | = <i>Babelon Rois de Syrie.</i> |
| <i>SBBA</i> | = <i>Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie.</i> |
| Schröder | = Schröder <i>Die Phönizische Sprache.</i> |
| <i>Spic. Syr.</i> | = Cureton <i>Spicilegium Syriacum.</i> |
| Vog. | = de Vogüé <i>La Syrie Centrale.</i> |
| Wadd. | = Waddington <i>Inscriptions Grecques et Latines de la Syrie.</i> |
| <i>ZA</i> | = <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.</i> |
| <i>ZATW</i> | = <i>Zeitschrift für die alt-test. Wissenschaft.</i> |
| <i>ZDMG</i> | = <i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i> |
| <i>ZDPV</i> | = <i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins.</i> |

On the analogy of the familiar abbreviations 'א and 'נ, the stroke ' is used to mark shortened forms; thus 'ח denotes a word beginning with ח; ח' a word ending in ח.

NORTH SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

MOABITE

1. The Moabite Stone. Circ. 850 B.C. Louvre.

- 1 אֲנִי מִשְׁעִי בֶן־כֶּמֶשׁ . . מֶלֶךְ־מֹאב־הָד
2 יְבִנִי | אֲבִי־מֶלֶךְ־עַל־מֹאב־שִׁלְשָׁן־שָׁת־וְאֲנִי־מֶלֶךְ . . .
3 תִּי־אֲחִיר־אֲבִי | וְאֶעֱשֶׂה־הַבְּמַת־זֹאת־לְכֶמֶשׁ־בִּקְרָחָה | בְּנִי . . [י]
4 שֶׁעִי־הַשְׁעֵנִי־מִבֶּלֶה־לִּכְנֹךְ־וְכִי־הִרְאֵנִי־בְכָל־שְׁנָאִי | עֹמֵר
5 י־מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל־וְיַעֲנוּ־אֶת־מֹאב־יְמִן־רֶבֶן־כִּי־יֹאנֶה־כֶּמֶשׁ־בְּאֵר
6 צֶה | וְיַחֲלֹפֶה־בְּנֵה־וְיֹאמֶר־גַּם־הָאֱלֹהִים־אֶעֱנוּ־אֶת־מֹאב | בִּימֵי־אֹמֶר . . .
7 וְאֵרָא־בֵה־וּבְחַתָּה | וְיִשְׂרָאֵל־אֲבִד־אֲבִד־עַלְמִי־וְיִרְשֶׁה־עַמִּירִי־אֶת־[אֵר]
8 יְיָ־מִהֲרָבָא | וְיִשָּׁב־בֵּה־יִמֵּה־וְחִצֵּי־יְמֵי־בְנֵה־אַרְבַּעַן־שָׁת־וְיֵשׁ
9 בֵּה־כֶּמֶשׁ־בִּימֵי | וְאֲבִן־אֶת־בַּעַלְמֶעַן־וְאֶעֱשֶׂה־בֵּה־הָאִשְׁשֹׁחַ וְאֲבִן
10 אֶת־קִרְיָתָן | וְאִשׁ־גִּד־יִשָּׁב־בְּאַרְצָן־עֲטֹרֶת־מַעֲלָם־וְיִבֶן־לֵה־מֶלֶךְ־יֵהוּ
11 שְׂרָאֵל־אֶת־עֲטֹרֶת | וְאֶלְתַּחַם־בִּקְרִי־וְאֶחָזָה | וְאֶהְרַג־אֶת־כָּל־הָעָם . .
12 הַקִּרְיָת־לְכֶמֶשׁ־וְלֹמֹאב | וְאִשָּׁב־מִשָּׁם־אֶת־אַרְאֵל־דֹּדֵהוּ וְ[אֵס]
13 חֲבֵה־לְפָנַי־כֶּמֶשׁ־בִּקְרִיָּתָן | וְאִשָּׁב־בֵּה־אֶת־אִשׁ־שָׁרָן־וְאֶת־[ש]
14 מִחֶרֶת | וְיֹאמֶר־לִי־כֶמֶשׁ־לֶךְ־אַחֲזִי־אֶת־נִבְהֵה־עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל | וְאִי
15 הַלֶּךְ־בִּלְלָה־וְאֶלְתַּחַם־בֵּה־מִבְּקַע־הַשְּׁחֶרֶת־עַד־הַצְּהָרִים | וְאִי
16 זֶה־וְאֶהְרַג־כָּל־שְׁבַע־אַלְפֵי־גִבּוֹרִים־וְגִבּוֹרֵתֵי . .
17 תִּירְחַמְתָּ | כִּי־לַעֲשֹׁתִי־כֶמֶשׁ־הַחֲרַמְתָּהּ | וְאֶקַּח־מִשָּׁם־אֶת־
18 לִי־יְהוָה־וְאֶסְחַב־הֵם־לְפָנַי־כֶּמֶשׁ | וּמֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל־בְּנֵה־אֶת־
19 יְהִי־וְיִשָּׁב־בֵּה־בְּהִלְתַּחְמָה־בִּי | וְיִגְרֹשֶׁה־כֶּמֶשׁ־מִפָּנָי [ו]

- 20 אִקְחִי מִמֶּאֱבֹתַי מֵאִשׁ כָּל־רֶשֶׁה | וְאִשְׁאָה־בִּיהִן וְאֶחָזָה־
 21 לְסַפַּת־עַל־דִּיבֶן | אֲנִי־בְנֵת־קִרְחָה־חֶמֶת־הַיַּעֲרֹן־וְחֶמֶת
 22 הָעֵפֶל | וְאֲנִי־בְנֵת־שַׁעֲרִיָּה־וְאֲנִי־בְנֵת־מִגְדֹּלָתָהּ | וְאִ
 23 נִי־בְנֵת־בֵּת־מֶלֶךְ־וְאֲנִי־עָשִׂיתִי־כָּל־אִי־הָאִשׁוּן[חֶלֶם]־בְּקֶרֶת[בִּ] ²³
 24 הָקָר | וְכִי־אֲנִי־בִקְרֹב־הָקָר־בִּקְרָחָה־וְאָמַרְתִּי־לְכָל־הָעָם־עֲשׂוּ־לִי ²⁴
 25 כִּם־אִשׁ־בֵּר־בְּבֵיתָהּ | וְאֲנִי־כִרְתִּי־הַמִּכְבֹּרֶת־לְקִרְחָה־בְּאִמִּי ²⁵
 26 יִשְׂרָאֵל | אֲנִי־בְנֵת־עֲרַעֲרִי־וְאֲנִי־עָשִׂיתִי־הַמַּסֶּלֶת־בְּאֶרֶץ־יִשְׂרָאֵל ²⁶
 27 אֲנִי־בְנֵת־בֵּת־בֶּמֶת־כִּי־הָרֶם־הָאֵל | אֲנִי־בְנֵת־בִּצְרִי־כִי־עֵין־ ²⁷
 28 שֶׁ־דִּיבֶן־חֲמִשָּׁן־כִּי־כָל־דִּיבֶן־מִשְׁמַעַת | וְאֲנִי־מֶלֶךְ־ ²⁸
 29 תִּי־מֵאֵת־בְּקֶרֶן־אֲשֶׁר־יִסְפַּתִּי־עַל־הָאָרֶץ | וְאֲנִי־בְנֵת־ ²⁹
 30 יִשְׂרָאֵל[מִהֶרֶד]־בְּאִי־וְבֵת־דְּבַלְתָּן | וְכִי־בַעַלְמַעַן־וְאִשְׁאָה־שָׁם־אֶת־נִי־ ³⁰
 31 צֶאֱן־הָאָרֶץ | וְחֹרֶנֶן־יֹשֵׁב־בְּהֶבֶן־וְכִי־אִשׁ־ ³¹
 32 אָמַרְתִּי־כִמֹּשׁ־רֹד־הַלְתַּחֵם־בְּחֹרֶנֶן | וְאִי־ ³²
 33 בְּהֶבֶן־כִּמֹּשׁ־בִּימִי־וְעַל־דָּה־מִשְׁמִי־עֲשֵׂה־ ³³
 34 שֶׁ־שָׂרָה־וְאִי־ ³⁴

I am Mesha¹, son of Kemosh- . . king of Moab, the Daibonite.

My father was king over Moab thirty years, and I became king after my father. And I made this high-place for Kemosh in QRHH, with . . . [sal]vation, because he saved me from all the . . . and because he made me see my desire upon all them that hated me.

'Omri, king of Israel, he afflicted Moab many days, because Kemosh was angry with his land. And his son succeeded him; and he too said, I will afflict Moab. In my days he said . . . ⁷ and I saw my desire upon him and upon his house, and Israel perished utterly for ever.

And 'Omri took possession of the [lan]d of Mehēdeba; and he dwelt in it, his days and half his sons' days, forty years; but Kemosh restored it in my days.

And I built Ba'al-me'on, and I made therein the reservoir (?); and I buil[t] ¹⁰ Qiryathān.

And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Aṭāroth from of old; and the king of Israel ¹¹ built 'Aṭāroth for himself. And I fought against the city and took it. And I slew all the people. ¹² the city, a gazingstock unto Kemosh and unto Moab. And I brought thence the altar-hearth of Daudoh (?), and I dr[ag]¹³ged it before Kemosh in Qeriyooth. And I caused the men of ŠRN to dwell therein, and the m[en] ¹⁴ of MḤRTH.

And Kemosh said to me, Go take Nebo against Israel. And I ¹⁵ went by night and fought against it from the break of dawn till the noontide, and I ¹⁶ took it and slew all . seven thousand m[en] and . . and women and . . ¹⁷. and damsels, for I had devoted it to 'Ashtar-kemosh. And I took thence the . . ¹⁸. of Yahweh, and I dragged them before Kemosh.

And the king of Israel had built ¹⁹ Yahaš, and dwelt therein while he fought against me. But Kemosh drove him out before me. ²⁰ I took of Moab two hundred men, all the chiefs thereof; and I led them against Yahaš, and took it, ²¹ to add it to Daibon.

I built QRḤH, the wall of Ye'arim, and the wall ²² of the Mound; and I built the gates thereof, and I built the towers thereof; and I ²³ built the king's house; and I made the sluices (?) of the reserv[oir (?)] for wa]ter in the mid[st] ²⁴ of the city. And there was no cistern in the midst of the city, in QRḤH; and I said to all the people, Make you ²⁵ each a cistern in his house. And I cut the cutting for QRḤH with the help of prisoners of Israel. ²⁶

I built 'Aro'er, and I made the highway by the Arnon.

²⁷ I built Beth-bamoth, for it was overthrown. I built Bešer, for it was in ruins ²⁸ of Daibon were fifty, for all Daibon was obedient. And I became king ²⁹ a hundred, in the cities which I added to the land. And I built ³⁰ . . [Mehēde]ba and Beth-diblatḥān. And as

for (?) Beth-ba'al-me'on, I led there the³¹
 sheep of the land.

And as for Hauronān, there dwelt therein ... and³²
 Kemosh said to me, Go down, fight against
 Hauronān; and I went down,³³
 Kemosh in my days, and from there³⁴
 and I ..

The stone was discovered at Dībān (ll. 1 f. and O.T. דִּיבָן) in 1868. While the negotiations for its removal were going on, it was broken up by the Bedouin of the place, but not before a squeeze of the inscription had been secured while it was still intact. Two large fragments and eighteen small ones were recovered; the missing portions have been reconstructed from the original squeeze; so that the inscription can now be read in a tolerably complete text¹.

It commemorates the successful efforts made by Mesha', king of Moab, to throw off the yoke of Israel. The Moabites had been reduced to subjection by David (2 S. 8 2), but how long they remained in that state is not told. Probably in the time of Jeroboam i, or soon after, they began to revolt; for the inscription implies that some measure of independence had been gained when it states that 'Omri oppressed Moab many days' (l. 5), which no doubt means that he found it necessary to put down a rebellion. He succeeded in capturing Mēdeba and its vicinity (l. 7 f.); 'the king of Israel' also fortified 'Aṭāroth, the ancient dwelling-place of the families of Gad (l. 10 f.); Nebo and Yahaṣ became Israelite strongholds (ll. 14. 18 f.). It is interesting to find that there was a sanctuary of Yahweh at Nebo (l. 17 f.), where the Israelites must have established themselves in some numbers. 'Omri's powerful arm, however, did not reach so far as the Arnon, for the more southern cities, Dibon, 'Aro'er, Qeriyyoth, remained in the possession of Moab; but how effectually the land was subdued may be judged from the heavy tribute which 'Omri's successor, Ahab, exacted from king Mesha' (2 K. 3 4). Then, in the latter years of Ahab's reign, perhaps at the moment when he was engaged in the war against Syria (1 K. 22), Mesha' revolted. According to 2 K. 1 1. 3 5 the revolt occurred after the death of Ahab; but the inscription, with the authority of a contemporary document, corrects

¹ A recent attempt to trace the missing fragments is vividly described by Gautier, *Autour de la Mer Morte*, Genève (1901) 93-98. The text given above is based upon that of Lidzbarski *Nordsem. Epigr.* 415 f., corrected by his later investigations in *Ephemeris Sem. Epigr.* i (1900) 1-10.

this detail of the history. The king of Moab recovered the cities occupied by Israel, and strengthened various weak spots in his territory. The towns mentioned in the inscription were situated, with the exception of Hauronān, in the debatable land N. of the Arnon, which was nominally assigned to Reuben and Gad (Num. 32 34-38. Josh. 13 15-28); but Mesha's revolt seems to have produced a durable settlement, and for the future these towns belonged to the kingdom of Moab (Am. 2 2. Is. 15 2 ff. Jer. 48 1 ff. Eze. 25 9). The inscription appears to be silent about the invasion of the allied kings recorded in 2 K. 3, unless there is an allusion to it in l. 4. Taking the inscription to be a comprehensive summary of Mesha's reign, as it was probably intended, we must suppose that the king of Moab ignores his reverses (2 K. 3 24-27), just as the Hebrew history omits to mention the losses of Israel (Bennett *DB* iii 411, art. Moab).

The language of Moab, as the inscription proves, was only a dialect of Hebrew (cf. Dt. 2 11). Such characteristic idioms as the impf. with waw conv., the inf. abs. with the fin. verb (used similarly, however, in Arabic and Syriac) אבר אבר l. 7, the use of אשר for the relative, ראה ב', the words הושיע *save*, ירש *take in possession*, נרש *drive out*, הרג *slay*, החריב *ban*, ואעש (apoc. form), לפני, בקרב, show that Moabite was more closely akin to Hebrew than to any other Semitic tongue. The forms of the proper names point in the same direction. The following differences may be noted: חמטת זאת (Hebr. חמאת), the fem. sing. ending ת and the dual and plural ending ן (sometimes in the O.T.), שנה for שנה, the conj. הלתחם (Arab. conj. viii), אחו, אחו city, (Hebr. לחר) *take a city*, the use in prose of חלה *succeed* l. 6, בקע *break* of dawn l. 15, נברת and נברן l. 16 for נשים and נשים *damsels* l. 17. These differences are merely dialectical; some of them are related to Phoenician or Canaanite on the one side, and to Arabic¹, the language of Moab's neighbours in Edom, on the other. The words אשח l. 9, רית l. 12, מכרת l. 25, do not occur in the O.T. The inscription is the classical example of the archaic form of Hebr. writing (cf. 2). The scriptio defectiva is the rule, e.g. חא is used for the 3rd sing. mas. pronoun, though consonants are employed for final vowels, e.g. אבי, לפני, בי, בה, and in דיבני, דיבן; the suffix of the 3rd sing. mas. is ה' for ו'; the words are divided and separated by dots as in the ancient inscriptions 2. 61-63 (old Aram.), but also 18 and 16 (Phoen.). In general style the inscription is a real piece of literature, and indicates that Moab in the ninth cent. B.C. was not behind Israel

¹ See notes on מלחום ll. 11. 19; מואן l. 20; מדיבא l. 8 (?); אחו, אחו l. 11; חק l. 6.

in civilization. Finally, we have here clear evidence that not merely the language, but also the ideas, of the two nations had much in common. The religion of Kemosh was evidently very like the popular religion of Yahweh; and the manner in which the national god of Moab was regarded and spoken of finds remarkable parallels in expressions used of Yahweh in the O.T.

Among recent commentaries on the Moabite Stone the following are the most important: Bennett, art. Moab, Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible* (1900); Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* i (1900); Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* (1900), see Lidzb. *Eph.* i 145; Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x (1901); Driver, art. Mesha, *Ency. Bibl.* (1902).

Line 1. אֲנִי Not pronounced אֲנִי as in Hebr., for elsewhere in the inscr. י is written where the final vowel was sounded. In Phoen. the 1st pers. pron. is אֲנִי 8 1 n., in Canaanite *anuki* (Tell-el-Am. 180 66. 69), in Assyr. *andku*, in old Aram. אֲנִי 61 1 and אֲנִי 62 19. In later Aram., Arab., Eth. the form is אֲנִי, 'ana. מִשַׁע i.e. *deliverance*, from יִשַׁע, in 2 K. 3 4 מִיִּשַׁע, LXX *Mωρά*; the latter form implies a derivative from the Hif. stem like הוֹשַׁע, הוֹשַׁעוֹת, Ps. 68 21. The pronunciation, therefore, may have been either *Mesha'* or *Mosha'*. There is room for only two letters after 'מש', so כִּמְשִׁיךְ is not correct. Clermont-Ganneau reads כִּמְשִׁנִּר; Lidzbarski, after a fresh examination of the stone, suggests כִּמְשִׁכֵּן, cf. יִכְנִיחֵ, יִכְנִיחֵ, *Eph.* i 3 f. See l. 3 n. הִרְיִבְנִי The name הִרְיִבֵּן ll. 21. 28 was probably pronounced *Daibon* rather than *Dibon* (O.T. דִּיבֹן, LXX *Δαίβων*), for the latter would not be written with the vowel letter; cf. חֲרִיבֵן l. 31 f. prob. *Ḥauronān*, l. 12 prob. *Daudoh*. Nöldeke, however, thinks that the vowel was *ē*, *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1870) 33; cf. בִּיתָה l. 25, which, as בִּתָּה l. 7 shows, could not have sounded *baiṭho*. But in דִּיבֹן the י is invariably written, and this is rather in favour of the former view. Dibon, Is. 15 2. Jer. 48 18. 22 &c., now *Dībān* (دِيبَان),¹ lay a little to the N. of the Arnon; Buhl *Geogr. all. Paläst.* 268.

L. 2. שֶׁן שֶׁן Hebr. שֶׁן שֶׁן; שֶׁן is therefore sing., see 6 1 n., and cf. l. 8. The plur. ending ך in the O.T. (twenty-five or twenty-six times, fifteen times in Job) is mostly dialectical or late; in Aram. it is normal, e.g. 68 9. 13 מִלְכֵּן רִבְרֵבֵן.

L. 3. הָאֲרָם הָאֲרָם Cf. Phoen. הָאֲרָם הָאֲרָם 4 6 &c., and see add. note ii p. 26. The fem. sing. ends in *ath*, as in Phoen. and occasionally in the O.T.; see add. note i p. 25. With the expression הָאֲרָם הָאֲרָם

¹ Modern forms from Kampfmeier *ZDPV* xv-xvi (1892-3).

cf. 2 Ch. 21 11 עֶשֶׂה בְּמִוֶּחַ; a sanctuary or altar is prob. intended, rather than a literal 'high-place.' Illustrate from 1 K. 11 7. Is. 15 2. 16 12. Jer. 48 35. לְכִמֹּשׁ Kemosh was the national god of the Moabites (Num. 21 29. 1 K. 11 7. 33. Jer. 48 46 &c.), occupying among them much the same position as Yahweh among the Israelites. The name is found in compounds, e. g. l. 1 [.] כְּמֹשׁ; *Kemosh-nadab*, *king of Moab*, *KB* ii 90 (= Schrader *COT* 288); כְּמֹשׁ־נָדָב on Moab. seals, *Lidzb. Eph.* i 136 ff. The identification of Kemosh with Ares is based upon an error of Eusebius, *Onom.* 228 66 ff. ed. Lagarde. Other deities worshipped by the Moabites were עֶשֶׂתֶר Num. 25 1-3, local cults of Ba'al (? of Kemosh); and possibly נֶבַח l. 14 n. קְרַחָה ll. 21. 24 f. The stone is expressly associated with the sanctuary at קְרַחָה ('this high-place to K. at קְרַחָה'), but it was found at Dibon, evidently *in situ*. We may suppose, therefore, that קְרַחָה was the name of a place in the district of Dibon (Nordlander), see l. 21 n. Among the Moabites Dibon may have had this extended sense, although in the O.T. it seems to be always the name of a town. קְרַחָה can hardly have been the acropolis of Dibon (Cl-Gan. &c.), for this is inconsistent with the terms of ll. 21 ff. Another explanation is suggested by Lagrange, *Rev. Bibl.* x 527 f. He takes לְכִמֹּשׁ בְּקְרַחָה closely together, *Kemosh-at-QRHH*, like לְכִמֹּשׁ בְּאִינֶצֶם 39 1. 24 2 n. This expression is used of the cult of a deity transplanted from one place to another, especially to a foreign land; it would be unnatural in Moab, where Kemosh was the chief god of the whole country¹. According to Sayce קְרַחָה is the *Karhu* mentioned in the Karnak list of the conquests of Ramses ii, *Patr. Pal.* 237 cf. 21. The pronunciation of the word is not certain; it was either קְרַחָה or perhaps rather קְרַחָה like קְרַחָה, with the ending ה' as in שִׁלֹּה, וְיִלֹּה, and prob. רִחָה l. 12; Driver *Samuel* xc. [י] Lidzb. detects traces of נ and ס, and reads כְּמֹשׁ בְּנֶסֶךְ [י · נ] with a *drink-offering of deliverance*; for 2 cf. 2 Ch. 29 35 בְּנֶסֶכִּים. Lev. 16 3; illustrate from Ps. 116 13. Lagrange proposes כְּמֹשׁ בְּנֶסֶךְ cf. Ex. 17 15; other suggestions are

¹ Lagrange identifies קְרַחָה with קִיר הָרֶשֶׁת, קִיר הָרֶשֶׁת Is. 16 7. 11. Jer. 48 31. 36. 2 K. 3 25; regarding the latter as a corrupt form of קִיר הָרֶשֶׁת 'New town' LXX Is. 16 7. 11 (so Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* col. 2676), and קְרַחָה as its ancient name. But the reading of the LXX in Jer. 48 (LXX 31) 31 *κῆρα* B, *κῆρας* A + *αὐχμῶς* does not imply an original קְרַחָה; it is merely a transliteration of קִיר הָרֶשֶׁת (for קִיר הָרֶשֶׁת). Qir-hareseth is prob. the same as Qir-Moab—the modern Kerak (Targ. on Is. and Jer. loc. cit.). Nöld. has shown that there is no etymological connexion between קְרַחָה and Kerak, *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* 8 f. See *Expos. Times* xiii (1902) 186 f.

במשע *for the deliverance of Mesha'*, Smend u. Socin *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1886) 17; במח ישע *a high-place of deliverance*, Driver l. c.

L. 4. חלכנן (Cl.-Gan., Nöld., Lidzb.), i.e. (?) חלכנן *those who attack (?)*, assailants, lit. *cast themselves*. Neither the form (חלכנן like חלכנן) nor the meaning occurs in Hebr., which uses only the Hif. and Hof. of חלך. In Arab. حَلَّ i = *to put in, make to enter*, possibly in Moab. the vb. = *impel, assail*. The reading חלכנן is less probable. חלכנן הרמני בכל שנאי Cf. l. 7. Ps. 59 11. 118 7 &c.

L. 5. ויעני i.e. ויעני, the 3rd rad. of the לָו (Hebr. לָו) verb being retained, as in ויעני l. 6. If מלך ישראל = *king of Israel* as elsewhere, ויעני must be the impf. with waw conv. introducing the predicate, 'Omri . . . he oppressed, a very harsh construction here; see Gesenius § 111 h; Driver *Tenses* § 127 a. The rendering *was king over I.* is more suitable, although this requires על after חלכנן (l. 2). Perhaps the prep. was omitted by accident. ויעני Impf. of continuance in the past. The yodh seems certain (Lidzb.). For ויעני cf. 1 K. 8 46 (Qal). 2 K. 17 18 (Hithp.). ויעני Cf. Num. 21 29. Jer. 48 46 כמחש . . . עמ. מואב. The ancient ח, of the suff., *ahu-au-δ* ḥ, is preserved in Moabite; contrast ḥ in the Siloam inscr. 2 2-4. The form ח' is found in the O.T., e.g. ח' Gen. 9 21 &c.; Driver *Sam.* xxxv.

L. 6. ויחלפה i.e. ויחלפה (Nöld.), or less probably ויחלפה in accordance with Hebr. usage; and similarly elsewhere in the inscr. ויחלפה = *succeeded him*; so حَلَف in Arab. In Hebr. the Hif. = *cause to succeed, substitute*, Is. 9 9. ויחלפה נח Cf. Gen. 27 31. 1 S. 19 20-24. For ויחלפה see 8 9 n. After ויחלפה there are traces of a letter, possibly מ (Lidzb.), doubtfully כ; the reading ככה or כדבר is thus very questionable.

L. 7. ויעלם i.e. ויעלם אבד עלם, אבד אבד עלם *for לעלם* as in poetry, e.g. Ps. 89 2. 3. 38; or ויעלם אבד עלם, cf. Jer. 51 39 ויעלם שנת עולם (Driver). ויעלם Either ויעלם or ויעלם. The context requires a plupf. sense, for which ויעלם would be the normal expression (l. 18).

L. 8. מדיבא i.e. מדיבא (Nöld.), in the O.T. מדיבא, or מדיבא (Cl.-Gan. *Sèle de Dhiban* (1877) 55), as in the modern name مدبا; so König *Lehrgeb.* ii 345, explaining the form by the Arab. dialectical form *māhun* = *mā'un* 'water'. Medeba (Num. 21 30. Josh. 13 9.

¹ The ח in מדיבא and in נח l. 14 used to denote ḥ and ḥ, according to Hommel, marks an affinity with the Minaean dialect of Arabic known from the el-Ūla inscr. (NW. Arabia); *Anc. Hebr. Trad.* 276. The alleged affinity between Moabite and Minaean must be received with caution; at the same time it is natural that the

Is. 15 2 &c.) was E. of the N. end of the Dead Sea. יִשְׁבּ The subj., though grammatically 'Omri, must really be Israel. יִמָּה
 The reading seems certain; יָמָה for יָמָיִה *yamaih(u) = יָמָיו his days*.
 For the form with *u* cf. the Hebr. יָדִיחַ Hab. 3 10. נְבוֹרִיחַ Nah. 2 4.
 יָדִיחַ Job 24 23, and the Syr. ܝܕܝܚ, where the original *h* of the suff.
 is written but not sounded. For the plur. form without *yodh* cf. רִשָּׁה
 l. 20. מְנִרְלָתָה l. 22, contrast שְׁעָרֶיהָ l. 22. בָּנָה Prob. is also plur.,
his sons (see below); although בָּנָה l. 6 is sing.

L. 9. בָּהּ To be completed by restoring יִשְׁבּ at the end of l. 8, i. e. יִשְׁבָּה (Nöld.). Ll. 6-9 are important for the historical setting of the inscr., although the exact bearing of some details is obscure. יִמָּה
 l. 6 points to a fresh attempt made by Ahab to assert his authority in Moab; this was prob. the immediate cause of Mesha's revolt. l. 7 יִמָּה indicates that the revolt was successful both against Ahab (בָּהּ) and his dynasty (יִשְׂרָאֵל, cf. אחָאב. בית אחָאב. 2 K. 8 18. 9 7 ff. 10 11. Mic. 6 16 &c.).
 l. 7 records the final overthrow of Israel's power in Moab, marked, as we may infer from 2 K. 3 27, by the futile conclusion of Joram's expedition¹, or by the extinction of the house of 'Omri. Then in ll. 7-9 the inscr. goes back to the first stage of the revolt. This began with the recovery of Mehēdeba (l. 8 end), which had been occupied by 'Omri: 'and he dwelt in it his days and half the days of his sons, forty years.' 'Omri's reign, according to 1 K. 16 23, lasted 18 years, Ahab's 22 (1 K. 16 29), Ahaziah's 2 (1 K. 22 52), Joram's 12 (2 K. 3 1). Thus 'Omri's 'days' were 18, and 'half the days of his sons' were 18, making a total of 36, or 'forty years' in round numbers. 'Half the days' of 'Omri's sons brings us, strictly speaking, to the 18th year of Ahab; at any rate it was in the closing years of Ahab's reign, and not after his death (2 K. 1 1. 3 5), that Mesha' began his struggle for independence. But the biblical record so far agrees with the inscr., inasmuch as the Moabite rebellion continued after Ahab's death, during the reigns of his two successors (l. 7 וּבְבָחָה). This second stage of the rebellion is recorded in ll. 10 ff.; 'Aṭāroth, Nebo, Yahaš were recovered, until Israel was finally driven out. At the close of his 18 years' struggle, Mesha' was able to commemorate his victories, and the efforts which

language of Moab should betray the influence of its Arabic-speaking neighbours. See further König *Hebr. u. Sem.* 82.

¹ 2 K. 3 27^b seems intentionally to cast a veil over the abrupt retirement of the allies. It may have been due to superstitious dread of the god of the land after the sacrifice of Mesha's son, or perhaps to an unexpected invasion of the Syrians. See Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x 538-545.

he made for the future security of his kingdom, on a triumphal inscription. The stone, be it noted, was set up in קרתה l. 3; but קרתה was not fortified till Moab's freedom had been won, and Israelite prisoners could be employed upon the works, ll. 24-26. The foregoing account to a great extent turns on the rendering of בנה l. 8 *his sons*¹, i. e. יָמָה like יָמָה *his days* in this line. To take בנה as a sing., *his son* i. e. Ahab, raises serious chronological difficulties. It is impossible to get 40 years out of 'Omri's 18 and the half of Ahab's 22. Wellhausen makes the attempt by discarding the dates in Kings, and lengthening the combined reigns to 60 years (*Isr. u. Jud. Gesch.*² 9 f.); but to do this is to dislocate the biblical chronology, and the translation of בנה *his son* is not so certain as to demand such a violent measure³.
 בעלמען l. 30 בַּת בעלמען Num. 32 38. Josh. 13 17. Jer. 48 23 (בית מען). Eze. 25 9 &c. Now Má'in (ماعين), SW. of Mâdebâ. אשח Prob. from שוח sink, so *pit* (cf. שחח Jer. 18 20) or *reservoir* for water, l. 23. The word prob. occurs in this sense in Sirach 50 3, where אשח בם is to be corrected to אשח בים λάκκος ὡσεὶ θαλάσσης cod. A. See *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, Cambr. (1899) 63.

L. 10. קריתן=Hebr. קְרִיתִים Gen. 14 5. Jer. 48 1 &c., now Qurêyât (قریات), S. of 'Ajjârûs. For the form cf. רבלתים l. 30=רבלתן l. 31 f.=חורנים. These names are prob. not in the dual—it is difficult to see what significance the dual could have—but in the sing., with the sing. termination יָ, ם, called by Barth a 'local ending' (*Nominalb.* 319 n. 5); cf. יִתָּן 2 K. 6 13. קִרְתָּן Josh. 21 32. This ending was subsequently expanded into יָם; e. g. in Hebr. חִירְנִים, יִרְשָׁלַם &c., in Aram. שְׁמֶרֶן=שְׁמֶרֶן, Hebr. שְׁמֶרֶן; similarly the Moab. צהרם=Hebr. צְהָרִים. If these forms were originally duals, it is not clear how יָם, יָם could have been contracted into ם, יָ. It is true that the dual in Moab. ended in ף, e. g. מאתן l. 20=מאתים, but the origin of this form is quite distinct. See Gesenius-Kautzsch 256; on the other hand, König *Lehrgeb.* ii 437, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 150, regard these forms as dual, and Nöldeke points יָ, קִרְתָּן &c. ואשח עטרת . . נר Cf. Num. 32 34 JE. 'Aṭāroth=modern 'Aṭṭārûs (عطاروس),

¹ So Nordlander *Inscr. Kön. Mesa* (1896) 30 f. See Lidzbarski *Ephemeris* i 143 f.

² Marti has recently suggested the rendering 'he (i. e. 'Omri) dwelt therein his days, and half of my days (i. e. יָמָה for יָמָה) his son (dwelt therein),' *Ency. Bibl.* i col. 792. This gets over the chronological difficulty, but it involves a very harsh construction. Marti rather exaggerates the awkwardness of the passage. Winckler cuts the knot by making חצי the half mean the whole! *Altor. Forsch.* ii 401-407.

i. e. **וְאֵשֶׁב** 2 K. 17 24. **שָׁרֵן** if not a city, may be the **שָׁרֵן** of 1 Ch. 5 16 (E. of Jordan) which is prob. the same as **הַמִּישֹׁר** Dt. 3 10. Josh. 13 9. 16 f. At the end of the line an **א** can be traced, prob. part of **אֵש**.

L. 14. **מִצְרַת** Site unknown; not in the O. T. **וַיֵּאמֶר לִי כְמֵשׁ לִךְ** Cf. l. 32. Josh. 8 1. Jud. 7 9. 1 S. 23 4 &c. **נֶבֶח** Num. 32 3. 38 JE (assigned to Reuben). Is. 15 2. Jer. 48 1. 22. A city on or near Mt. Nebo; Buhl 266 f. The name may point to the worship of the Babyl. god Nebo in the city or on the mountain, though not necessarily, cf. Arab. **الْتَبَاة** *the height*. **וַיֵּאמֶר** So in Job 16 22. 23. 8; in prose only Ex. 9 23.

L. 15. **בְּלִלָה** Pronounced **בְּלִלָה**, as Is. 15 1 **בְּלִיל** 21 11 **בְּלִיל** show. **אִזּוּ יִבְקַע כְּשֹׁחַר אֹרֶךְ** Cf. Is. 58 8 **אֹרֶךְ**. In Hebr. **עַלָּה** is usual, e. g. **כְּעֹלֹת הַשֶּׁ'** 1 S. 9 26, and with **מֵ',** **מַעֲלוֹת הַשֶּׁ'** Neh. 4 15. Prob. sing. with the ending *ām* (l. 10 n.) rather than dual. In Moab. the dual ends in **ן**, **ל מֵאֵתָן** l. 20.

L. 16. **כָּל** Restore **כָּלָה** i. e. **בְּלִי**. After **שִׁבְעַת** we may read **נִרְ** i. e. **נִרְ** *resident foreigner, sojourner (stranger, AV., RV.)*, or possibly, as this is not very suitable, **נִרְ** *young, child* (Lidzb.); see 20 A 15 n.

L. 17. **רַחֵם** i. e. **רַחֵם** cf. Jud. 5 30 **רַחֵם**, prob. female slaves. **עֲשֹׂתִי כְמֵשׁ** A compound deity like **מַלְכַּעֲשֹׂתִי** 10 3 n. **עֲשֹׂתִי** was most likely a female deity, though the name is written without the usual fem. ending, as in the Babyl. *Ishtar*, the Palm. **עֲתִיר** (in **עֲתִירְעִתָּה** 112 4), and in the Phoen. pr. n. **עֲבִרְעִשְׁתִּיר** 22 1. The male **עֲשֹׂתִי** belonged only to the S. Semites. See 4 1 n. **הַחֲרִמְתָּהּ** i. e. **הַחֲרִמְתָּהּ**. For the practice of *devoting* a city to the god, cf. in Israel Num. 21 2 f. JE. Dt. 2 34. 36. Josh. 6 17–19. The *ban* (Arab. **حَرَّمَ** *separate, prohibit*) involved the destruction both of persons and of property, Lev. 27 28 f. See Driver *Sam.* 101 f. *Deut.* 98 f., for the idea Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 434 &c., and 79 8 n. At the end of the line restore **לִי** **אֶת-כָּל** rather than **לִי** **אֶת-רֵא**; the latter in l. 12 is sing. and has **אֵת** before it.

L. 18. **וַיֵּאמֶר** The pron. is here used as an accus.; cf. **וַיֵּאמֶר** *eos* Ezr. 4 10. **וַיֵּאמֶר** Dan. 2 35. In Bibl. Aram., as in Syr., there is no verbal suff. 3 plur.; in Syr. **ܐܢܬܝܢ**, **ܐܢܬܝܢ** are used instead.

L. 19. **יֵחָן** Num. 21 23. Dt. 2 32. Is. 15 4. Jer. 48 21 &c. The site is not known, but it lay on the E. plains, N. of the Arnon; according to Eusebius it was between Dibon and Medaba (*Onom.* 264 96 ed. Lagarde). Yahaş was occupied by the Israelite king at the beginning of the war, prob. as an advanced post. **וַיֵּאמֶר** i. e. **וַיֵּאמֶר** or

following the Arab. form *اِنْتَال* inf. conj. viii. The place-names *אֶשְׁחַזְלָא*, *אֶשְׁחַזְלָא* are in form infinitives of conj. viii. *וַיִּנְרְשׁוּ וְנָא* Cf. of Yahweh Dt. 33 27. Josh. 24 18.

L. 20. *קִאֲתִין* = *קִאֲתִים*, pronounced *קִאֲתִין*, cf. the dual ending of the oblique cases in Arab. *يَن*, and the contraction of *ai* to *ē* in Aram. *אֲנִי*, *אֲנִי*; or the pronunciation may have been *קִאֲתִין*, like the Arab. *وَأَتَان*, Targ. *קִאֲתִין*. *רִאשֵׁי* Prob. *his chiefs*, = *רִאשֵׁי*, the plur. with suff. as *בְּנֵי* (l. 8). In Moab, as in Israel, the nation was organized in clans or families; e.g. Ex. 6 14 P. 18 25 JE. *וַאֲשָׁאֵה* i.e. *וַאֲשָׁאֵה* cf. l. 30. The suff. is sing. collective.

L. 21. *לְסַפְתָּ* Inf. of *סָפַח* (l. 29), i.e. *לְסַפְתָּ*, as *לְסַפְתָּ* should be read in Num. 32 14. Is. 30 1. Ges.-Kautzsch 195 n.¹ *רִיבֵן* Perhaps a district, rather than a city (l. 3 n.); note the expressions *עַל לְסַפְתָּ* (cf. *יִסְפְּחֵי עַל הָאָרֶץ* l. 29) and *כָּל דְּמִשְׁמַעַת* l. 28, which seem hardly applicable to a city (Nordlander 42). *וַיַּעַר* Lit. *the woods*, prob. the royal groves or park *קִרְחָה*; cf. Qoh. 2 6.

L. 22. *הַעֲמֵל* the *acropolis* of *קִרְחָה*; cf. Neh. 3 27. 2 Ch. 27 3. Is. 32 14 &c. of the fortified mound within Jerusalem, 2 K. 5 24 within Samaria. *שַׁעֲרֵיהֶם* Plur. with scriptio plena, cf. l. 8 n. *מִגְדֵּלְתָּהָ* must also be plur., i.e. *מִגְדֵּלְתָּהָ* or *מִגְדֵּלְתָּהָ* (Nöld.), l. 8 n.

L. 23. *בַּת מֶלֶךְ* Cf. 1 K. 16 18. *כִּלְאִי* Either *both*, *double*, Hebr. *כִּלְאִי*, Arab. *كِلَا*, *both*, Eth. *kelē*, or *sluices* from *כִּלְאִי*, *restrain*. After *וַיַּעַר* there are traces of *ו*; restore *וַיַּעַר* [לְמַן] *לְמַן*. *וַיַּעַר* in *בְּקִרְבִּי* is doubtful (Lidzb.). i.e. *לְמַן* or *לְמַן*.

L. 24. *אֵין* i.e. *אֵין*. The order as in Gen. 47 13.

L. 25. *הַמְכַרְתָּהָ* Prob. *הַמְכַרְתָּהָ* from *כָּרַת*, *cutting*, perhaps for water. In Hebr. *כָּרַת* is used of *cutting* trees, and *כָּרַת* of *cutting* wells or trenches. *כָּרַת* may be taken from *כָּרַת* (point *כָּרַת*) whence *כָּרַת* *pit*, Zeph. 2 9; but it is difficult to see how *מְכַרְתָּהָ* can come from a *כָּרַת* verb, unless it be a peculiar Moab. form. *בְּאִסְרִי* i.e. *בְּאִסְרִי*. The yodh is faintly visible. For *ב* with the *help of*, cf. 1 S. 14 6 and l. 28 n.

L. 26. *עֲרַעֲרָא* Num. 32 34. Dt. 2 36. Jer. 48 19 &c. The ruins 'Ará'ir (عراعر) S. of Dibon are on the N. edge of the ravine of the Arnon (W. el Mojib). After *וַיַּעַר* perhaps the stroke | followed.

L. 27. *בְּמֹתָ* Prob. the same as *בְּמֹתָ* Num. 21 19 f. *בְּמֹתָ* 2 K. 22 41 &c., situated perhaps on Mt. 'Attarús. *הָרִם* i.e. *הָרִם*. 3 25. *בָּצָר* Dt. 4 43 (in Reuben) &c. 1 Macc. 5 26 ff. *Βοσόρ*. The site is unknown; it must have been towards the E. border of the Moab. table-land. *עֵין* i.e. *עֵין* Mic. 3 12.

L. 28. At the beginning we may conjecture ש[חא | ור]; for רש see l. 20 n. Halévy suggests plausibly ש[חא | בוא], i. e. *with the help of fifty men of D.* (l. 25), *Rev. Sép.* (1900) 292. משמעת obedience, cf. Is. 11 14 ובני עמון משמעתם. For the idiom see Driver *Tenses* § 189. 2. At the end of the line part of a כ can be discerned; restore מלכת[י]. In the space which follows על רש *over chiefs* may be supplied.

L. 29. בקרן Prob. בְּקָרָן *in the cities*. יסמחי Cf. l. 21.

L. 30. Before ובת only בא can be seen, perhaps to be completed מחדבא l. 8. רבלחן Jer. 48 22. Num. 33 46 עלמן רבלחים. ובת בעלמען Cf. l. 9 n. The preceding stroke usually marks a stop; and as בעלמען was 'built' in l. 9, it seems unreasonable to take 'ובת' as accus. after בנתי l. 29. On the other hand if 'ובת ב' begins a new sentence as casus pendens, and as for *Beth-b.*, the construction of ואשא (cf. note on ויענו l. 5) becomes awkward. At the end of the line the usual restoration נקר is possible, meaning *breeders* of a particular kind of sheep; cf. 2 K. 3 4 (of Mesha').

L. 31. See l. 1 n. 10 n. Is. 15 5. Jer. 48 3 ff. The city lay on the table-land S. of Wadi Kerak, but on lower ground; hence the verb ירד l. 32, and מורד ח' in the O.T. The word must be construed as a casus pendens. Neither ב[ן · דרן · ודרן] (Smend u. Socin) nor ב[ני · חורי] (Nöld.) can be supported by a close examination of the stone. Lidzb. suggests .בת · וק. As Hauronān lay in the S., and outside the Israelite occupation, it is likely that these lines gave an account of campaigns against the Edomites.

L. 32. אמר לי כמש Cf. l. 14. At the end of the line Halévy (l. c.) supplies ימן רבן 'and I fought against the city many days.'

L. 33. Restore וישבה i. e. וַיִּשְׁבָּה l. 8 f. על[א]רה prob. the name of a place.

L. 34. שרק? meaning.

HEBREW

2. Siloam. Circ. 700 B.C. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

1 ... הנקבה • חה • היה • דבר • הנקבה • בעוד
 2 הגרזן • אש • אל • רעו • ובעוד • שלש • אמת • להנק[ב] • נשמ[ע] • קל • אש • ק
 3 רא • אל • רעו • כי • הית • זרה • בצר • מימן א • ובים • ה
 4 נקבה • הכו • החצבם • אש • לקרת • רעו • גרזן • על[ן] • גרזן • וילכו
 5 המים • מן • המוצא • אל • הברכה • במאתים • ואלף • אמה • ומא
 6 ת • אמה • היה • גבה • הצר • על • ראש • החצבם

... the boring through! And this was the manner of the boring through: whilst yet² the pick, each towards his fellow, and whilst yet there were three cubits to be bored [through, there was hear]d the voice of each calling to his fellow, for there was a split in the rock on the right hand And on the day of the ⁴ boring through the miners struck, each to meet his fellow, pick upon pick; and ⁵ the waters flowed from the source to the pool for two hundred and a thousand cubits; and a hundred cubits was the height of the rock above the head of the miners.

This ancient Hebrew inscr. was discovered in 1880 on the right wall of the tunnel which connects the Virgin's Spring ('Ain Sitti Maryam) with the pool of Siloam (Birket Silwân, Jn. 9 7), about 19 ft. from the Siloam end. This tunnel pierces the SE. spur of the hill on which the temple of Jerusalem formerly stood. Above the inscr. the rock was dressed for a considerable space, as though it had been prepared for some more writing, or for a relievo representing the miners at work (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 295. ib. ii 285 illustrn.). The inscr. describes an incident in the boring of the tunnel: the gangs which started from opposite ends successfully effected a junction, and so freed a passage for the water from the spring to the pool. The course of the tunnel is marked by two curious curves which perhaps were designed intentionally to avoid some underground obstacle, supposed by Cl.-Gan. to have been the tombs of the kings (*Rec.* ii

L. 1. At the beginning of the line we may conjecture הן *behold!* or זאת, or בים cf. l. 3. Blake (see n. 1 below) suggests חם; for the construction cf. Gen. 11 1. Is. 47 11. נקבה Not in the O. T.; but the vb. occurs in 2 K. 12 10 &c. = *pierce*, Arab. نَقَبَ *ib.* נקבה may be pointed נִקְּבָה or נִקְּבָה, Syr. نَحَلَ *hole*, Arab. نَقَبَ *tunnel*. The word is to be translated as a verbal noun active, *piercing through*; see l. 3. רבר Cf. Dt. 15 2 השממה 19 4. 1 K. 9 15. In the lacuna there must have been a verb and a subject, e.g. *the miners were lifting up* את, מניפם וחצבם את (Ex. 20 25); or הניפו ונו'.

L. 2. רעו So Jer. 6 21 = רָעוּ. הִנָּקֵב i.e. בעור להנָקֵב; for the construction cf. Gen. 48 7. The נ is fairly clear (Socin l.c.), and a part of the top of ק (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 53). This restoration was proposed by Guthe l.c. 737. נשם Pf. as in 2 S. 12 22; or נִשְׁמַם.

L. 3. חית i.e. הִיָּת 2 K. 9 37 Keth., rather than הִיָּת which in this inscr. would be הִיָּתָה (see above). זרח The context suggests *fissure*; but the meaning is uncertain, and the word not otherwise known. The √ זרח *seethe, act presumptuously* gives no suitable sense¹. After מים many restore ומשמאל *and on the left*, i.e. *from S. to N.* facing the two gangs, in the direction of the tunnel. Socin in his facsimile gives אל and what are supposed to be fragments of וס; but while the ס is certain, the ל is very doubtful, and the restoration אל [ומשמאל] is not sufficient to fill the gap (Lidzb. l.c.).

L. 4. החצבם *the hewers*; חצב of *hewing out* cisterns Dt. 6 11. 2 Ch. 26 10, and of *mining* Dt. 8 9. See the word in Sirach 48 17 (p. 16 n. 1). לקרת i.e. לקרת from קרה. וילכו Note the use of waw conv. with impf.

L. 5. מוצא *spring* of water; i.e. the Virgin's Spring, from which the tunnel starts. Cf. 2 Ch. 32 30 מוצא מימי גזחון העליון מאחיים. מוצא מימי גזחון העליון העליון. For the unusual order cf. Num. 3 50 מוצא ואלף אמה. The actual length of the tunnel is 1706.8 ft. (Conder l.c. 122), very nearly 1200 cubits of 17 in.; but the 1200 is only a round number, like the 100 at the end of the line, and therefore is of no value for fixing the length of the cubit.

L. 6. גבה הצר i.e. גובה הצר. The thickness of the rock above the excavators is roughly calculated at 100 cubits. 'Towards the north the rock surface is 170 feet above the roof of the tunnel.' Conder l.c. 127.

¹ Blake, in the *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* xxii. i (1901) 52 f., suggests נרה from √ נרה which seems to have the primary meaning of *narrow* in Syr. and Arab., نَرِهَ *evacuavit, privavit* (Payne Smith), نَدَ *fill, be in straits for water*, conj. ن *straitened in one's bosom* (Lane). This is possible.

PHOENICIAN

PHOENICIA

8. Byblus. CIS i. v-iv cent. B.C. Paris.

- 1 אנך יחומלך מלך גבל בן יחדבעל בן בן ארמלך מלך
- 2 גבל אש פעלתן הרבת בעלת גבל ממלכת על גבל וקרא אנך
- 3 את רבתי בעלת גבל [כ שמע] קל ופעל אנך-לד בתי בעלת
- 4 גבל המזבח נחשת זן אש בח[צ]ר ז הפתח חרץ זן אש
- 5 על פן פתחי ז והערות חרץ אש בתבת אבן אש על פתח חרץ זן
- 6 והערפת זא ועמדה ז... ס אש עלהם ומספנתה פעל אנך
- 7 יחומלך מלך גבל לרבתי בעלת גבל כמאש קראת את רבתי
- 8 בעלת גבל ושמע קל ופעל לי נעם תברך בעלת גבל אית יחומלך
- 9 מלך גבל ותחוו ותארך ימו ושנתו על גבל כ מלך צדק הא ותתן
- 10 [לו הרבת ב]עלת גבל חן לען אלנם ולען עם ארץ ז וחן עם אר
- 11 [ץ].... כל ממלכת וכל אדם אש יסף לפעל מלאכת עלת מז
- 12 [בח ועלת פת]ח חרץ זן ועלת ערפת זא שם אנך יחומלך
- 13 פעל מלאכת הא ואם אבל תשת שם א. י ואם ה.
- 14 אית ה א... י... ים. ה עלת מקם ז ו.
- 15 הרבת בעלת גבל אית האדם הא חרעו

I am Yehaw-milk, king of Gebal, son of Yehar-ba'al, grandson of Uri-milk, king ² of Gebal, whom the lady, mistress of Gebal, made king over Gebal ; and I invoke ³ my lady, mistress of Gebal, [for she hears] my voice. And I make for my lady, mistress ⁴ of Gebal, this altar of bronze which is in this court, and this engraved work of gold which ⁵ is over against this engraved work of mine, and the uraeus (?) of gold which is in the midst of the stone, which is above this engraved work of gold, ⁶ and this portico and its pillars and the . . . which are

upon them and its roof do I, 'Yehaw-milk, king of Gebal, make to my lady, mistress of Gebal; inasmuch as I invoked my lady, 'mistress of Gebal, she has heard my voice and done kindness to me. May the mistress of Gebal bless Yehaw-milk, 'king of Gebal, and grant him life and prolong his days and his years over Gebal, for he is a righteous king! And may ¹⁰[the lady, m]istress of Gebal, give [him] favour in the eyes of the gods and in the eyes of the people of this land and the favour of the people of the lan[¹¹d . . .]! Every prince and every man who shall make any addition to this alt[¹²ar or to this engraved wor]k of gold and to this portico I, Yehaw-milk, ¹³. set him who does that work; and if thou do not set there (??) . . and if . . . ¹⁴. upon this place and . . . ¹⁵. the lady, the mistress of Gebal, that man and his seed.

This is the oldest Phoenician inscr. yet found in Phoenicia itself. It belongs to the Persian age. Above the inscr. Yehaw-milk, in Persian dress, stands with left hand uplifted, and with the right offering a bowl to the seated goddess. The scene perhaps pictures the occasion when he dedicated the objects recorded below. A conjectural restoration of the stele standing on the two lions which were found near it is illustrated in Berger *Hist. de l'écriture*² 162.

L. 1. אַנְך The usual form of 1 sing. pron. in Phoen.; rarely אַנְכִי CIS i 103 c. 104. 107. Though not written (cf. מַעֲלִיָּן l. 2, ו, כ &c.), the final *f* vowel was prob. pronounced. In later Punic usage the final vowel seems to have been dropped in pronunciation as well as in spelling, e.g. Plautus *Poenulus* v 2 35 *anech*, Schröder xxix 18 4 אַנְך. Cf. 1 1 n. יְהוֹסֵלֶךְ i.e. יְהוֹסֵלֶךְ, *let Milk grant life* cf. חַוּוֹ l. 9 and יְהוֹסֵלֶךְ 2 Ch. 29 14. נָבַל Cf. 1 K. 5 32. Eze. 27 9. The Greeks changed the name Gebal to Βύβλος; it is now called Djebél, about half-way between Tripoli and Beirût, where the inscr. was found in 1869. *Gubla* is frequently mentioned in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e.g. 50 2. 53. 54. 123 &c. יְהוֹרְבַעַל *Ba'al is proud* cf. יְהוֹרְבַעַל *haughty* Pr. 21 24; NHebr. (Hiithp.), Aram. יְהוֹרְבַעַל *be haughty*. The reading, however, is uncertain. The Corp. and Lidzbarski read יְהוֹרְבַעַל *B. rages*; Vogüé יְהוֹרְבַעַל *B. gives joy* cf. יְהוֹרְבַעַל 1 Ch. 5 24. בֶּן Cf. 5 14. 27 4. CIS i 372. 391 f.; in Aram. 68 2; in Hebr. Ex.

10 2. **אִירְמִלִּי** *fire of Milk* cf. **אִירְמִלִּי** 1 Ch. 6 9, and *Urumilki of Gebal* on the Taylor cylinder of Sennacherib, col. ii 50 (*KB* ii 91)—an earlier king of the same name. The occurrence of *milk* in the royal names **אִירְמִלִּי** and **אִירְמִלִּי** points to the cult of the patron-deity of Gebal, by tradition identified with *Krónos*, the mythical founder of the city, Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568 δ *Krónos* . . . πόλιν πρώτην ἀτίλειον ἔργον ἐπὶ Φωινίκης Βύβλον. Milk alone as the name of the god has not been found on any inscription; it is merely a title.

L. 2. **אִש** The Phoen. relative, pronounced as a monosyllable *ish* or *ash*, e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* v 2 56 *assamar* = **אִש** **אִמֶּר**, or possibly as a dissyllable **אִשְׁ**, Plaut. ib. 1 5; Apuleius *Herb. Medicam.* 47 (48) *nesso esse sade* = **אִשְׁ** **אִמֶּר** **אִשְׁ** **אִמֶּר**. The short form **ש** is also found, e.g. CIS i 112 b¹, and more frequently in Pun. and NPun. e.g. 41 2. 3. 55 6. 57 7. 9. 10 **שלא** = **שְׁלֵי**, and in the transcriptions *si*, *se* Plaut. ib. 1 1. 8 &c. The etymology of **אִש** is obscure. Taking **ש** as the original element, it is possible that **א**, properly a demonstrative sound, 'Deutelaut,' was added to it; cf. the **א** in **אִשְׁ**, **אִמֶּר**, **אִמֶּר**, **אִמֶּר**, König *Lehrgeb.* ii 323; on the other hand, in the Assy. *ša* the vowel sound followed the consonant. Whatever the relation between **אִש** and **אִשְׁ** may be, in actual usage the Phoen. **אִש** forms historically a link between the Hebr. **אִשְׁ** and **ש**. See Wright *Comp. Gr.* 119; Zimmern *Vergl. Gr.* 77. **אִשְׁ** i.e. **אִשְׁ** cf. **אִשְׁ** 4 7. **אִשְׁ** 5 5. The form of the rel. sentence is exactly like Gen. 45 4 **אִשְׁ** **אִשְׁ** **אִשְׁ** (Ges. § 138 d). The sentence has been rendered 'for whom . . . made the kingdom,' treating the suff. as=prep. and suffix, as in **אִשְׁ** Josh. 15 19 &c., but **אִשְׁ**=*royal person* not *kingdom* in Phoen.; see note below. **אִשְׁ** The title **אִשְׁ** is very ancient; it was used by the inhabitants of Gebal in the fifteenth cent. B.C. of the goddess of their city, *Bilit ša Gubla* (Tell-el-Am. letters 55–110). Whether *Bilit* (**אִשְׁ**) was the name of the deity, or whether it was used in an appellative sense, *mistress*, like **אִשְׁ** lit. *owner, lord*, cannot be decided with certainty¹. Among the Phoenicians of a later age, at any rate, there is no clear evidence of a distinct goddess Ba'alath. The meaning of the expression **אִשְׁ** 47 is too obscure to be decisive². Probably, therefore, **אִשְׁ** is only the title of the chief goddess of the city, *the mistress*

¹ This goddess was, of course, a Canaanite not a Babylonian deity. But the Assy. *Bilit* raises the same difficulty; sometimes it is used as a pr. name, sometimes as a title 'lady,' sometimes—and this illustrates the usage here—merely as a designation of Ishtar. Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 226; Zimmern *KA 7* 356.

² The NPun. pr. n. **אִשְׁ** is uncertain; Berger *Inscr. céram. d'Hadrumète* 2.

of Gebal; her actual name was not pronounced, perhaps out of reverence. But there can be little doubt that the Ba'alath of Gebal was 'Ashtart, just as the Ba'al of Tyre was Melqarth (36 1), the Ba'al of H̄arran was Sin (p. 182), and בעלת סימע was the title of an unnamed goddess in Sabaeen (CIS iv 172 3)¹. There is abundant evidence that 'Ashtart was the chief goddess of Gebal. The city was specially sacred to her; its coins are stamped לנבל קדשת (149 B 11), with her symbol, the cone, standing in the temple-court (Rawlinson *Phoenicia* 146, Perrot et Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii 60). Moreover, the goddess represented in the sacrificial scene above the inscr. is almost certainly 'Ashtart. In appearance, indeed, she resembles the Egyptian Isis-Hathor, having on her head the solar disk between two cow-horns²; but the Phoenicians borrowed some of the attributes, as well as the outward representation, of the Egyptian Isis for their own goddess. In an inscr. lately found at Memphis (1900) Isis and 'Ashtart are named together . . . לרכתי לאלם אדירת אם אלם עשתרת ולאלנם (p. 91 n. 1); and Plutarch has preserved the legend that Isis journeyed to Byblus (Gebal), where she was called 'Αστέριτη, *de Os. et Is.* § 15³. By the Greeks Ba'alath was taken to be a distinct deity, Βήλθης, Βααλτίς, and in particular the Ba'alath of Gebal was identified with Aphrodite, 'Αφροδίτη Βυβλίη, Lucian *de dea Syr.* 6⁴. In certain parts of Arabia the planet Venus had the name of *Balith*⁵. The title רבת is given to 'Ashtart and to other goddesses; see 45 1. 47. 50. 60. 77 B. הרבת The article in Phoen. is far less common than in Hebr.; thus in 5 it occurs 7 times where Hebr. would have used it 28 times, Schröder 161. מלכות *kingdom, sovereignty*, then generally, *royal person*, cf. l. 11. 57 2 &c.; in contrast to אדם 5 4. 6; and often on coins of African kings=מלך, 57 1 n. מלך The ptcp. followed by the pron. as in על

¹ So with the Nab. משיח lit. *lord of Shara*; the actual name of the god is unknown. Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heid.* 51; and see E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3742.

² Cf. Philo Bybl. § 81 'Αστέριτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλῇ τούτου *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569.

³ Is. 10 4, if emended to אֶת־רַחֵם אֶת־רַחֵם אֶת־רַחֵם (Lagarde), may further illustrate the combination of Phoen. and Egypt. deities; Beltis is perhaps the goddess of Gebal. Cheyne *Isaiah*, SBOT 137.

⁴ Cf. Philo Bybl. § 81 Κρόνος Βύβλω μὲν τὴν πόλιν τῇ θεᾷ Βααλτίδι, τῇ καὶ Διώνῃ, δίδωσι ἰδ.

⁵ Chwolson *Die Ssabäer* ii 22 (= En-Nedîm i iv) يوم الجمعة الزهرة واسمها بلثي. Isaac of Antioch (died circ. 460 A. D.) speaks of Baaltis as a goddess common to the Osrhoenes and Arabs (*Opera* i 210 l. 98; 212 l. 129 ed. Bickell). Cumont in Pauly's *Realencyclopädie* (1896) s. v. Baltis.

קרא אני 13 48 Is. cf. in Hebr. Is. 48 13 שם אנך 3 6 ll. אנך Jer. 38 14 שאל אני 14. The idiom is more frequent in Aram., e.g. ירע אנא Dan. 2 8. In the Mishnah the ptc. and pron. are united and form a present tense, Driver *Tenses* § 135. 4. Cl.-Gan. thinks that the words refer to the scene above 'I am (here) invoking,' *Ét.* i 11.

L. 3. אית 1. 7. 28 4. 42 21 usually אית ll. 8. 15, the sign of the accus. אית was prob. pronounced 'iyyath, later 'iyth, 'tlh=yth in Plautus, אית in later inscr. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* xl (1886) 738, suggests that the pronunciation was 'tāth ('iydth, 'iydth); but the analogy of the Hebr. form 'iwayath, 'iyyath, 'elh, favours the vocalization אית. The Aram. forms ית, א, seem to be shortened from the fuller form preserved in Phoen. (61 28 n.); these, like the Arab. اَيْت, presuppose an original *fydth* (so Nöld. l. c.): König *Lehrgeb.* ii 295, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 112. כל [כ שמע] Cf. the common formula 28 7. 24 2 &c. and Ps. 116 1. 13. 17.

L. 4. המזבח נחשת זן The word denoting material (נחשת) is in apposition to the preceding noun, a familiar construction in Hebr., e.g. הבקר הנחשת K. 16 17 &c., Driver *Tenses* §§ 188 (1). 191; but in accordance with Phoen. usage (l. 2 n.) there is no article with זן, נחשת, cf. הערת חרץ זן in this line, 5. 1. 24 מרקע חרץ זן, נחשת might be explained as an accus. of limitation of the type 1 Ch. 28 18 and 1 חֲבִירִים זֶבֶח (Driver l. c. § 193, Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 44 e), but the former construction is far more probable in Phoenician.

Ll. 4-6. The principal objects dedicated by Yehaw-milk were apparently three, (1) המזבח נחשת זן, (2) הפתח חרץ זן, (3) הערפת זן. Notice that these three have the demonstrative pron., and appear again in the recapitulation L. 11 f. Attached to (2) was הערת חרץ זן, just as עמדה זן, ומספנתה זן were attached to (3). The meaning of the second object, הפתח חרץ זן and הערת חרץ זן, is obscure. A reasonable sense is obtained for ll. 4 and 5 by treating פתח as=Hebr. פְּתִיחַ *engraving* on a seal (Ex. 28 11 &c.), or plate (1 K. 7 37), or wall (1 K. 6 29. 2 Ch. 3 7). פתחי זן will then mean *this engraved work of mine*, i.e. the stele which bears the inscription; *over against, opposite to* this (על פן cf. 45 3. 1 K. 8 8. 2 Ch. 5 9), was הערת חרץ זן, another incised stone, gilded, and surmounted by הערת חרץ זן *set in the midst of the stone*, i.e. prob. as a centre-piece at the top of it. What the gilded incised stone represented it is impossible to say for certain. Perhaps the stone was carved to represent a small shrine, like the façade of a temple, with the goddess standing or seated within, such as may be seen on the coins of Gebal, e.g.

Babelon *Pers. Achém.* nos. 1398, 1403, 1407 &c.; cf. the *aedicula* from Sardinia, CIS i 148, Pl. xxx. It has been suggested that פתח may mean not merely *engraved work* but *statue* or *bust*, and that the statue of the king (פתחי ז) was erected opposite to a gilded statue of the goddess (הם' חרץ ז); a position which may be illustrated from the Rosetta Stone, where the priests decree a statue of Ptolemy to be placed near the principal god of the temple, Cl.-Ganneau *Ét.* i 17. But whether פתח could be used in this sense is questionable; and even if the word is to be found in τοῖσι Φοινικηίοισι παραῖκοῖσι, which Herodotus says 'the Phoenicians place at the prow of their triremes' (iii 37), this single example of doubtful significance—παραῖκοῖσι may refer to figures of the Egyptian god Pthah—is hardly sufficient to warrant the rendering *statue*. An obvious meaning of פתח is *door*, here a *monumental door* or *pylon* (Vogüé, Renan); this suits פתח חרץ ז but not פתחי ז, which seems to denote the stele of the inscr. What is intended by העזית, if that be the right reading, is even more doubtful. Possibly ערת is the Phoen. equivalent of the Egyptian 'ar'a, i. e. the uraeus, or small serpent, which appears sometimes as an accessory to the winged disk and on the head-dress of gods and kings in Egyptian art. Cl.-Ganneau takes the word as a plur. denoting an uraeus-frieze of Egyptian pattern on the epistyle of the *aedicula* (הפתח); he gives several illustrations of Egyptian and Phoen. votive shrines with this decoration (l. c. 22-24). בוז[צ] in this court is the best restoration of the text; cf. 33 2. 3. חרץ=χρυσός, 4 5. 24 1. 33 3. 5. In Hebr. חרץ is poetical, e. g. Ps. 68 14; many words poetical, archaic, or rare in Hebr. are common in Phoen., e. g. טוב for נעם, בשר for שאר, שור for אלה, רגל for פעם, עשה for פעל, ירח for חרש &c. In this inscr. and in 4 5. 33 5 חרץ has been rendered *incision, engraving* from חרץ=*cut, sharpen* in Hebr. See 33 5 n. The rendering *gold* is preferable here and in 4 5. בחכת Prob.=פחות cf. עלת for על ll. 11. 12. 14 &c. הערפת Prob. *gallery, portico, stoa*. Etymologically the word is the same as the Arab. غُرْفَة lit. 'eaves to catch the rain,' or 'gable from which the rain drips'; then 'the gallery below the roof,' 'upper balcony'; see Hoffmann *Ueb. einige Phön. Inschr.* 12 f. in *Abh. Gött. Ges.* xxxvi (1890). The word occurs again 10 1. 33 5. The Corp. reads, with less probability, הערכת the row of columns, cf. the Hebr. מערכה a row (of lamps) Ex. 39 37. עמדה i. e. עֲמֻדָּה; cf. in Sabaeen the dedication of the peristyle of 'Umdān מכנתן עמון CIS iv 240 6. מ . . . perhaps מן[ראש] and the capitals, Ex. 36 38. 38 17. ומספנתה and its ceiling cf. ספון in Jer. 22 14. Hag. 1 4.

cative particles after the adjuration which he restores in l. 12 (קנמי), cf. Neh. 13 25, *Do not set there . . . nor*. בל perhaps = בל *not*.

L. 14. Cl.-Ganneau suggests יסח[ח] *sweep* refuse into the sanctuary; cf. Lam. 3 45 סחי. The prohibition may be illustr. by a Gk. inscr. (B. C. 380) ἐπὶ τὰς ἱερὰς γὰς κόπρον μὴ ἄγειν μηδεμίαν Michel *Rec. d'inscr. gr.* 702 21.

L. 15. זרעו In fig. sense as 4 7 n. 5 8. 11. 22; cf. also Ps. 21 11. זרע is an isolated instance of the suff. ׳ with a noun instead of the usual ׳. A verb is required at the beginning of the line, such as חקק *may . . . cut off!* 5 9 f. 22.

Judging from this inscr., the dialect of Gebal approached nearer to Hebr. than the normal Phoen. speech. Thus the suffixed forms follow the Hebr. type, עלהם l. 6, זרע l. 15, ימו ושנתו (plur.) l. 9, עמרה (plur.) l. 6, מספנתה (sing.) l. 6; תחוו l. 9 with תח for תח cf. יחיהו Ps. 41 3. The verb חוה seems to have been used at Gebal; in NPun. it occurs rather often in the form חוה, עוה &c.; in Phoen. proper it is only found in compound names. Idioms which resemble Hebr. are כמאש = כאשר l. 7, על פן l. 5 *over against*, תארך ימו l. 9, תתן חן לען l. 9 f., יסף לעשות l. 11 cf. K. 16 33. Dt. 13 12 &c. There is a Hebr. ring about the phrase חוה צדק חוה l. 9.

Additional note i. The fem. sing. ending in Phoenician. The ending of the fem. sing. of nouns in Phoen., whether in the absol. or constr. state, is ת', an archaic form which belongs also to the language of Moab, e. g. במת 1 3, מסלת 26. 28. 29. The ת' was prob. pronounced ת- (in transcriptions 'ath), as in the names of the old Canaanite towns, ת-ת, ת-ת, ת-ת &c., in the O. T.; for Phoen. followed the same general laws of tone as Hebr., which lengthened the vowel of *ath* under the accent. Hebrew, however, went further, and aspirated the final ת into ת, e. g. in the Siloam inscr. נקבה 2, הברכה 5; the transcription of some pr. names suggests that the Punic dialect did the same to a limited extent, e. g. Dido = ידירא, Carthago = חרשא, קרת חרשא, Ἰμλων = חמלכא &c., Schröder 126. The instances of the ending ת' with fem. nouns cited by Schröder 171 n. 9 are all doubtful. With regard to the fem. ending of the verb, it seems that Phoen. proper did not use a consonantal form, e. g. שפעל . . . שפעל 3 8. The ending ת', developed like the Hebr. ת- out of an original ת-, is confined to the Punic and Neo-Punic inscrr., e. g. נדרע, נדרא *passim*, שפעל 27 3, שפעל = שפעל CIS i 180 4. See Stade *Morgenl. Forschungen* (1876) 214 ff.; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 134.

Additional note ii. The forms of the demonstrative pron. in Phoenician.

Sing. (1) ז mas., sometimes fem. e.g. 3 10. 5 3. 7 1. 19 1. 42 3 &c., and often in NPun. ז אבן 54 1. 58 1. Cf. the Old Aram. ז in פמז 61 3. ומו 4. 22, and the Hebr. זו Ps. 12 8. It does not take the art. after a definite noun; cf. Moab. הבטח זאת 1 3; *Poen.* v. 1 1 *macom esse*=מקום הזה is an exception.

(2) זן mas. 3 4. 5. 12. Cf. Old Aram. זן 61 1. 62 1 and the emphatic זנה 62 22. 63 20. 64 3. 68 6. 76 c 2 (p. 185 n. 1); in Nab., Palm., Palest. (זינ) and Bibl. Aram., רנה; Eth. *sentū*.

(3) זא fem. 3 6. 12. Cf. Old Aram. 61 18 f. 69 13. 76 B 5 (used as fem. of זנה); in Nab., Bibl. Aram., רא (used as fem. of רנה); Palm. רח; Eth. *zāfi*.

(4) זת fem. NPun. 54 4. 57 3 &c.; in Plautus *syth*. Both זא and זת are, in origin, fem. formations from ז.

(5) זא mas. 11. 24 1. 25 1. 30 1, and fem. 13 2. 15 1. The א is a demonstrative sound, not the article.

Plur. זאל 5 22. CIS i 14 5 &c.; cf. 1 Ch. 20 8; with the art. זאל 27 3, cf. זאל in the Pentateuch; in NPun. זאל, Plautus *ily*; Old Aram. זא (?) 61 29; Egypt. Aram. זאל 74 A 2; Nab. זאל 87 3 &c.; Palm. זאל 110 1 &c.; Bibl. Aram. זאל, זאלה (Jer. 10 11); Palest. Aram. זאל; late Hebr. זאלי; Eth. *'ellu*.

4. Sidon. Tabnith. Circ. 300 B.C. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

- 1 אנך תבנת כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם בן
- 2 אששנעזר כהן עשתרת מלך צדנם שכב בארן
- 3 ז מי את כל אדם אש תפק אית הארן ז אל אל ת
- 4 פתח עלתי ואל תרגון כאי אדלן כסף אי אדלן
- 5 חרץ וכל מנם משר בלת אנך שכב בארן ז אל אל תפת
- 6 ח עלתי ואל תרגון כתעבת עשתרת הדבר הא ואם פת
- 7 ח תפתח עלתי ורגו תרגון אל י[כ]ן ל[ך] זרע בחים תחת שמ
- 8 ש ומשכב את רפאם

I, Tabnith, priest of 'Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, son ² of Eshmun-'azar, priest of 'Ashtart, king of the Sidonians, lie in this coffin : ³ My [curse be] with whatsoever man thou art that

L. 2. ארן Of a mummy-case, as Gen. 50 26.

L. 3. מי את כל אדם אש תפס The construction is uncertain. Taking מי as *whosoever* and את as = אֵתָה, we may render *whosoever thou art—any man—that shalt bring forth*; cf. מן את תהנס 64 5 f. *whosoever thou art that shalt rob* (so Cl.-Gan.); but here the construction is complicated by the insertion of אדם כל and becomes very laboured. Renan may be right in explaining מי as a mistake for קנמי, *my curse be with every man*; see 5 4 n. תפס is prob. Hifil impf. of פוק which means (1) *bring forth, fetch out*, e.g. Is. 58 10; cf. the Aram. פס go forth, in Af. *bring forth*; or (2) *light upon, find*, e.g. Pr. 3 13 || מציא 8 35. The first meaning is preferable here. According to Hoffmann פוק = *primarily to come upon by accident, break in upon, break* (*Ueber einige phön. Inschr.* 57 ff.).

L. 4. ולא יפתח עליהם II. 6. 7. 5 7. 10. CIS ii 226 2 עליהם is prob. the prep. with suff., *upon me*, used pregnantly after פתח lit. *open over me*; contrast 5 4 ז אל יפתח אית משכב ז. Less prob. עליה is a noun (1) *inner chamber* (of the vault), the root עלה being used, as often in Assy., in the sense of *going away*; so Winckler, *Allor. Forsch.* i 63 n.; or (2) *roof, lid*, lit. 'that which ascends,' cf. 𐤀𐤊𐤍𐤏 upper part, 𐤀𐤊𐤍𐤏 an elevated place; so Hoffmann l.c. But no derivative of the verb is actually used in Assy. or in Arab. with the meanings proposed in (1) and (2). To take עלה as = Hebr. עֲלִיָּה *upper chamber* does not suit the reference to a sepulchre. It is safer to render עליה *upon me*. See further 5 6 n. תרנן i.e. תִּרְנְנִי Cf. I S. 28 15 of

degree the character of the goddesses was alike, and both filled the most prominent place in the worship of the two races. No satisfactory Semitic derivation of Ishtar-Ashtart has yet been found; hence it has been supposed that ultimately the name is of non-Semitic origin, Schrader *COT*³ 179, Sayce *Hibb. Lects.* 252 f. The form אשחר with the fem. ending *t* is peculiar to the Palestinian deity. In Moabite the name occurs as אשח with אשח 1 17; in Aram. it becomes אשח (= אשח = אשח), e.g. Palm. אשח 112 4 n. = *Ασχαγίς*, and the pr.nn. אשח CIS ii 52, אשח Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118. In S. Semitic (Sabæan) the phonetic equivalent is אשח CIS iv 41 2. 46 5 &c., a male, not a female deity. 'Ashtart was not properly a moon-goddess, any more than Ishtar; but in some places she appears in this character, e.g. Lucian *de Dea Syr.* § 4 *ὅτι μὲν αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν, 'Αστάρτης ἐστίν' 'Αστάρτης δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω Σεληνάην ἕμμεναι* (speaking of the temple at Sidon), and Herodian v 6 10 *Αἰβυες μὲν οὖν αὐτὴν Οὐρανίαν καλοῦσι· Φοίνικες δὲ 'Αστροδάρχην ὀνομάζουσι, σελήνην εἶναι θέλοντες*. 'Ashtart was sometimes represented, as we have seen (3 2 n.), with the Egyptian symbols of Isis and Hathor, the solar disk between two cow-horns. It has been suggested that these were misunderstood, and taken to represent the full and crescent moon; and in this way 'Ashtart came to be conceived as a moon-goddess. See Schürer *Gesch.* ii 23 f.; Driver, art. *Ashorah*, Hastings *Dict. Bibl.* vol. i; Lagrange *Rev. Bibl.* x (1901) 550 ff.; E. Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3741 ff.

disquieting the dead. אִי The Phoen. negative; twice in the O.T. 1 S. 4 21. Job 22 30; in Assyr. *a-a, ē, ai*. It is the usual negative in Eth., and frequently occurs in Rabbinic, e.g. אִי אִפְשָׁר. The pr. nn. אִיחָמַר, אִיזַבֵּל do prob. *not* contain this form. The other neg. in Phoen. is בִּל 5 3 n. אִדְלֵן The parallel expression in 5 5 אִי כִּנֵּם suggests that אִדְלֵן like בִּן must contain some such meaning as *with me*. At any rate the final ך' is prob. the suff. 1 sing. in the verbal form which was sometimes used with preps.; e.g. תַּחֲתָנִם בִּן 9. Hoffmann l. c. reads אִדְלֵן אִר, which is quite possible, and takes אִר as a particle strengthening the preceding negative (cf. בִּל אִי 42 18)=the Bibl. Aram. הִנֵּה אִר, Pal. Talm. and Midr. הִרִי used sometimes with merely a demonstrative force, *here*; so he renders *there is not indeed with me* (לִי=לֵן). It is possible that S. Augustine on Ps. 123 (*Op.* iv. col. 1407 ed. Ben.) is alluding to this particle when he writes 'quod Punico dicunt *iar*, non lignum (יער), sed quando dubitant; hoc Graeci ἀρα; hoc Latini possunt vel solent dicere, "putas," cum ita loquuntur, "putas, evasi hoc?"' For הִנֵּה after a negative cf. הִלֵּא הִנֵּה Hab. 2 13 and οὐχὶ εἰδού Acts 2 7. Though Hoffmann's explanation cannot be regarded as certain, it is preferable to that of Halévy, who takes אִדְלֵן as = εἰδωλον. It was not the custom to bury εἰδωλα of gold and silver in sepulchres.

L. 5. 5 5. 45 2 f. Prob. = Aram. כְּזֵאתִי, כְּזֵאתִי 65 6, lit. *vessel*, used here like the Hebr. כֶּלִי for *jewels*. Hoffmann takes the word as = μαμωνᾶς, כֶּמֶן, *money, valuables* (Talm.); but this does not account for the plur. form. מִשָּׁר Meaning unknown. בִּלֵּת here apparently = בִּלְתִּי *only*. There is no exact parallel for such usage in Hebr.

L. 6. תַּעֲבֹת עֲשֻׁתָּרָה Cf. תַּעֲבֹת יִדֹה Dt. 7 25. 17 1. 18 12 &c. Pr. 3 32. 11 20 &c. הִרְבָּר הֵא See 8 13 n. 9 n.

L. 7. רִנָּה תְּרִיזִי i. e. רִנָּה תְּרִיזִי. In Hebr. the Qal. inf. abs. is found occasionally with the fin. vb. in a derived conjugation, e.g. חִיף עִלִּים 1 S. 23 22. Nif. יִסְקַל יִסְקַל Ex. 19 13. יִכֵּן לֶךְ The stone-cutter has accidentally omitted the כִּי in these two words. The verb יִכֵּן is used in Phoen., as in Arab. and Ethiop., for the Hebr. הָיָה, in the sense *to exist, to be*; e.g. 5 8. 11. 20. 20 15. 42 3. 7. 13 &c. זָרַע For בָּחִים in metaph. sense cf. 61 20. 64 11. 69 12; and cf. the imprecations in 5 8-9. 11-12, and the Palm. זָרַע וְנָרַע עֵד. לֹא יִהְיֶה לָהּ זָרַע וְנָרַע עֵד Cf. 5 12. The phrase is a favourite one with the author of Qoheleth.

L. 8. מִשְׁכָּב אֵת רַפָּאִם Again in 5 8. For מִשְׁכָּב of a *resting-place* in the under-world cf. Eze. 32 25. For רַפָּאִם cf. Is. 14 9. 26 14. 19.

Job 26 5. Pa. 88 11 &c.; the meaning usually given is *weak ones*, $\sqrt{\text{רפה}}$ *to be weak*; but, as Cheyne remarks, 'the terrible' or 'the wise' is what we should expect; see *Ency. Bibl.* art. Dead.

5. Sidon. Eshmun-'asar. CIS i 3. Date, see p. 27. Louvre. Plate I.

- 1 בִּירַח בַּל בִּשְׁנַת עֶסֶר וָאַרְבַּע — לְמַלְכֵי מֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם
- 2 בֶּן מֶלֶךְ תְּבַנְתָּ מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם דְּבַר מֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם לֵאמֹר נְגוּלַת
- 3 בַּל עֲתִי בֶן מֶסֶךְ יָמָם אֲזֹרָם יָתָם בֶּן אֵלְמַת וְשֹׁכֵב אֲנִי בַחֲלַת ז' וּבִקְבֹר ז'
- 4 בַּמֶּקֶם אֲשֶׁר בָּנַת קִנְמִי אֶת כָּל מַמְלַכַת וְכָל אָדָם אֶל יִפְתָּח אֵיִת מִשְׁכְּבִי ז'
- 5 אֶל יִבְקֹשׁ בֶּן מִנָּם כִּי אֵי שָׁם בֶּן מִנָּם וְאֶל יִשָּׂא אֵיִת חֲלַת מִשְׁכְּבִי וְאֶל יַעֲמֹ
- 6 סֵן בַּמִּשְׁכָּב ז' עֲלַת מִשְׁכְּבִי שְׁנִי אֶף אִם אֲדַמָּם יִדְבַּרְנֶךָ אֶל תִּשְׁמַע
בְּרִנָּם כִּי כָּל מַמְלַכַת ז'
- 7 כָּל אָדָם אֲשֶׁר יִפְתָּח עֲלַת מִשְׁכְּבִי ז' אִם אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא אֵיִת חֲלַת מִשְׁכְּבִי
אִם אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמֹסֵן בָּם
- 8 שֹׁכֵב ז' אֶל יִכֵּן לָם מִשְׁכָּב אֶת רִפְאָם וְאֶל יִקְבֹּר בִּקְבֹר וְאֶל יִכֵּן לָם בֶּן חֹרֵעַ
- 9 תַּחֲתָנָם וְיִסְגְּרָם הָאֵלָנִים הַקִּדְשִׁים אֶת מַמְלַכַת אֲדָר אֲשֶׁר מִשָּׁל בָּנָם לָק
- 10 צִתָּנָם אֵיִת מַמְלַכַת אִם אָדָם הֵא אֲשֶׁר יִפְתָּח עֲלַת מִשְׁכְּבִי ז' אִם אֲשֶׁר יִשָּׂא אֵיִת
- 11 חֲלַת ז' וְאֵיִת זֹרַע מַמְלַת הֵא אִם אֲדַמָּם הֵמַת אֶל יִכֵּן לָם שְׂרֵשׁ לִמְטָו
- 12 פֶּרֶל מַעֲלָו וְתֹאֵר בַּחֲסִים תַּחַת שֶׁמֶשׁ כִּי אֲנִי נָחֵן נְגוּלַת בַּל עֲתִי בֶן מִסִּי
- 13 יָמָם אֲזֹרָם יָתָם בֶּן אֵלְמַת אֲנִי כִי אֲנִי אֲשֶׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם בֶּן
- 14 מֶלֶךְ תְּבַנְתָּ מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם בֶּן בֶּן מֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם וְאִמִּי אֲמַעֲשִׂיתָ
- 15 כֹּהֲנַת עֲשִׂיתָ רַבְתָּן הַמַּלְכָּת בַּת מֶלֶךְ אֲשֶׁמְנַעֲזֹר מֶלֶךְ צִדְנָם אִם בֶּן
אֵיִת בַּת
- 16 אֵלָנִים אֵיִת [בַּת עֲשִׂיתָ] בְּצִדָּן אֶרֶץ יִם וְיִשְׂרָאֵל אֵיִת עֲשִׂיתָ שְׁמִמְאָדָרָם
וְאֲנִי
- 17 אֲשֶׁר בֶּן בַּת לְאֲשֶׁמְנַעֲזֹר [דִּי] קִדְשָׁן עֵן יִדְלֵל בְּהֵר וְיִשְׁבְּנִי שְׁמִמְאָדָרָם וְאֲנִי
אֲשֶׁר בֶּן בַּת

- 18 לאלן צדנם בצדן ארץ ים בת לבעל צדן ובת לעשתרת שם בעל
ועד יתן לן אדן מלכם
19 אית דאר ויפי ארצת דגן האדרת אש בשר שרן למרת עצמת
אש פעלת ויספננם
20 עלת גבל ארץ לכננם לצדנם לעל[ם] קנמי את כל ממלכת וכל
אדם אל יפתח עלתי
21 ואל יער עלתי ואל יעמסן במשכבו ואל ישא אית חלת משכבי לס' יסגרנם
22 אלנם הקדשם אל ויקצן הממלכת הא והארמם המת חרעם לעלם

In the month Bul, in the fourteenth year 14 of the reign of king Eshmun-azar, king of the Sidonians, ²son of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, spake king Eshmun-azar, king of the Sidonians, saying, I have been seized ³before my time, the son of a (short) number of days . . . , an orphan, the son of a widow; and I lie in this coffin and in this grave, ⁴in the place which I built. I adjure every prince and every man that they open not this resting-place, ⁵nor seek with me jewels, for there are no jewels with me there, nor take away the coffin of my resting-place, nor carry me from this resting-place (and lay me) on a second resting-place! Yea, if men speak to thee, do not listen to their words. For every prince and ⁷every man who shall open this resting-place, or who shall take away the coffin of my resting-place, or who shall carry me from ⁸this resting-place, may they have no resting-place with the Shades, nor be buried in a grave, nor have son or seed ⁹in their stead; and may the holy gods deliver them up to a mighty prince who shall rule over them, to cut ¹⁰off that prince or man who shall open this resting-place, or who shall take away ¹¹this coffin, and the seed of that prince or of those men! May they have no root downwards or ¹²fruit upwards, nor any comeliness among the living under the sun! For I am to be pitied (?); I have been seized before my time, the son of ¹³a (short) number of days . . . , an orphan, the son of a widow was I. For I, Eshmun-

'azar, king of the Sidonians, son ¹⁴ of king Tabnith, king of the Sidonians, grandson of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians, and my mother Am-'ashtart, ¹⁵ priestess of 'Ashtart, our lady, the queen, daughter of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians—(we are they) who built the houses ¹⁶ of the gods, the house of 'Ashtart in Sidon, the land of the sea, and we caused 'Ashtart to dwell there, making (her) glorious (?); and we ¹⁷ (are they) who built a house for Eshmun, in the holy field (?), the well of Yidlal in the mountain, and we caused him to dwell there, making (him) glorious (?). And we (are they) who built houses ¹⁸ for the gods of the Sidonians in Sidon, the land of the sea, a house for the Ba'al of Sidon, and a house for 'Ashtart, the Name of Ba'al. And further, the lord of kings gave to us ¹⁹ Dôr and Yâfê, the glorious corn-lands which are in the field of Sharon, in accordance with the great things which I did; and we added them ²⁰ to the borders of the land, that they might belong to the Sidonians for ever. I adjure every prince and every man that they open me not, ²¹ nor uncover me, nor carry me from this resting-place, nor take away the coffin of my resting-place, lest ²² these holy gods deliver them up, and cut off that prince and those men, and their seed, for ever !

L. 1. בל 12 1. 24 2. the eighth month, November, cf. 1 K. 6 38; Assy. *Arah samna*, Palm. כנן, Jewish מרחשן. The name is probably native Canaanite; its original meaning is not known. עטר For עשר, an orthographic peculiarity found only here; 42 3. 46 1 עשרת. In Phoen. as in Hebr. ש stands for *s* and *sh*, e.g. שמע l. 6 and ישא l. 7. שנת is plural. Phoen. uses 'in 14 years' for 'in the 14th year'; see 6 1 n. and cf. the construction vi ביטם 12 1 n. למלכי is usually taken as inf. constr. with suff. 3 mas. sing., 'of his reign,' viz. of king Eshmun-'azar, cf. the Aram. idiom in which the suffixed noun is followed by ד', ך', before the genitive. The Hebr. בבאו האיש Eze. 10 3 is similar; Ges. § 131 n. and note ³, Schröd. 149 f. But the construction is awkward in Phoen., and the parallel which is quoted from 42 4 ff. אחרי השאר can be otherwise explained. Lidzsb. may be right in treating מלכי as inf. constr. with ' compaginis, cf. 6 1 f. בירח בלך ברעשתרת. In 24 2. 26 2 למלכי has the suff.

3 mas. sing., but the construction is different. אשמונעזר i.e. Eshmun-azar ii, see 4 1 f.

L. 2. בנ מ' תבנת See 4 1. דבר . . . לאמר Elsewhere peculiar to Hebr. The ✓ דבר l. 6 has not been found in Phoen. outside this inscr.

L. 3. בל נגולת בל עתי l. 12, cf. Job 22 16 עת קטמו ולא עת Qoh. 7 17, and the beginning of Hezekiah's hymn, Is. 38 10. The Phoen. negative בל, in Hebr. poetic, occurs again in 42 15, 48 6. The other negative is אי l. 5 and 4 4 n.; the two are apparently combined in איבל 42 18, 21. 48 11. לא is not used in Phoen. The meaning of the eight following letters (again in l. 12 f.) is obscure. They may be read בן מסך ימים the son of a (small) number of days, cf. מספר Num. 9 20 a few days. The word מסך prob. comes from סכך (for the form cf. מסך Ex. 26 36, מסך Num. 31 28), and means number, sum, as סך in the Babyl. Aram. of the Talmud, e.g. B. Bathr. 2 1 a סך מקרי דרדקי the number for a teacher of the young; hence the denom. vb. סך to sum, count up, e.g. B. Bathr. 166 b (Levy *NHWB* s.v.); cf. the Syr. ܣܚܐ (from ܣܡܝܐ sum, limit, and Arab. ٴسأ to stop, close up. The Hebr. סך (שך) to fence, hedge round Job 3 23, מסוכה, hedge Mic. 7 4, is prob. a kindred root. With regard to בן another explanation is possible; it may be written for בן before a word beginning with מ, cf. l. 6 n., 29 13 בן מנחת (Lidzb. 3 12); in Himyaritic בן is the equivalent of מן from, e.g. CIS iv 20 4, בעמחו = בן עמחו iv 2 9 f. If this is the case, tr. from the (full) number of (my) days. אורם l. 3. Meaning unknown. The four letters occur again in an inscr. from Hadrumetum (Susa), Euting *Hadr.* 9 2 אורם אורם (Carth. In. Anh. 6). To derive the word from אור to gird (Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 225 f.) gives no sense that suits the context; on the other hand, if the root be ארם, it may have the same sense as the Arab. ٴرأ cease, stop short, and אורם, possibly an Afel form, may mean cut off, i.e. by disease (Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 67); but it is hard to say what part of the verb אורם (Afel) can be. None of the explanations which have been proposed, e.g. Hoffmann's ארם [בין] אל, commend themselves. The letters which follow may be read אלמת perhaps = Hebr. אלמנות widowhood, here widow. חלת Prob. *sarcophagus*. The ✓ חלל = bore, hollow out; Arab. ٴخل, hence ٴخل box, case; Aram. ܚܠܐ sheath; Bab. Talm. חלתא bee-hive; ll. 5. 7. 11. 21.

L. 4. בנת i.e. בנתי. קנמי את כל וני my curse be with every . . . l. cf. l. 20. 4 3 (corr.). In the Mishnah קונם is used in adjurations and imprecations, very much in the same way as קרבן (e.g. *Nedarim* 10 a), גיפין 45 b a man of Sidon said to his wife מנרשיך אמי קונם אמי

curse upon me if I do not divorce thee!'; the word may have been used in Phoen. for similar imprecations. It is to be explained most prob. by the Syr. *ܡܢܫܐ* *substantiv., personae*, so *person* (from *ܡܢܫܐ*), often used in such phrases as *ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ* *tu ipse*, and with the suff. simply as an emphatic pers. pron. *ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ* *egomet*. In imprecations *ܡܢܫܐ* will then be the object in an elliptical sentence, '(I pledge) myself, my person, with so and so (that I will avenge)...' See Wright *Comp. Gr.* 130. *ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ* 3 2 n. *ܡܢܫܐ* and the vba. which follow may be either sing. or plur. *ܡܢܫܐ* A resting-place in the grave, as 16 2. 2 Ch. 16 14. Is. 57 2, cf. 4 8 n. To violate a grave was the greatest indignity that could be offered to the dead; see Am. 2 1. Jer. 8 1 f.

L. 5. *ܡܢ* Either *ܡܢ* with *me* or *ܡܢ* with *us*. The former is better suited to the context, while the latter is what we should expect from the analogy of Hebr. But the sing. suff. with demonstrative *ܡܢ*, though properly belonging to verbs (e.g. *ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ* 3 2. *ܡܢ ܡܢܫܐ* 9 8), may have been used in Phoen. with prepositions; cf. the form in *ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ*. See note on *ܡܢܫܐ* 4 4. *ܡܢܫܐ* See 4 5 n. 65 6. The five letters *ܡܢܫܐ* are taken by the Corp. as one word *ܡܢܫܐ* for *ܡܢܫܐ* *treasures* cf. *ܡܢܫܐ*. Stade, *Morg. Forsch.* 223, proposes *ܡܢܫܐ* (from *ܡܢܫܐ*) a *rich man*, lit. a *son of pounds*, cf. Talm. B. *Erubim* 85 b *ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ* ܡܢܫܐ. Both explanations are improbable.

L. 6. *ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ* Usually rendered, 'nor superimpose upon this resting-place the chamber of a second resting-place,' taking *ܡܢܫܐ* as impf. 3 plur. with ending *ܡܢ* (cf. *ܡܢ* 1 22, *ܡܢ* 33 6), and *ܡܢܫܐ* as a noun, see 4 4 n. This rendering, however, is prob. incorrect. In Hebr. *ܡܢܫܐ* = (1) *lay a burden upon* (*ܡܢܫܐ*), *lade* Gen. 44 13. Neh. 13 15, and (2) *carry as a burden, lade oneself* Zech. 12 3 (with suff.). Neh. 4 11. Is. 46 3. Each time *ܡܢܫܐ* occurs in this inscr., ll. 5 f. 7. 21, the parallel verb in the context is *ܡܢܫܐ*, just as in Is. 46 3 *ܡܢܫܐ* . . . *ܡܢܫܐ* cf. v. 1 and Neh. 4 11; it is therefore most probable that *ܡܢܫܐ* means not *lay a burden upon* (which would require the prep. *ܡܢ* rather than *ܡܢ*), but *carry me as a burden*, the final *ܡܢ* being the suff. 1 sing. (cf. *ܡܢܫܐ* 4 6. *ܡܢܫܐ* 9 8. *ܡܢܫܐ* 29 15). Similarly in 42 13. *ܡܢܫܐ* 8 is used of an offering *carried* into the presence of the god; cf. also the pr. nn. *ܡܢܫܐ* 39 2. *ܡܢܫܐ* CIS i 941 &c. *ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ* can hardly mean *carry me in this sepulchre*, for the *ܡܢܫܐ*, which denotes not the coffin but the sepulchre or place of burial, could not be carried away. The removal of the coffin or mummy-case is deprecated in the phrase *ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ*, repeated three times in this context (ll. 5. 7. 21). Accordingly *ܡܢܫܐ ܡܢܫܐ* must mean *from this sepulchre*, the *ܡܢ* being written for *ܡܢ*

(כ) before a word beginning with ט, see l. 3 n. The prep. ב itself cannot denote *from* (Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 64 f.); the instances quoted, e.g. 11 בראשת נחשת 9 בפלג לארך 38 6 אלם בכסף אלם are not conclusive. The meaning of עלת is disputed. It occurs after פתח three times in this inscr. ll. 7. 10. 20 (cf. l. 4 אית), and three times in 4, ll. 4. 6. 7; similarly after יער l. 21. It is safest to take it here (l. 6), and in every case, as the prep. עלת used in a pregnant sense; thus after יעססן, *carry me (and lay me) on a second sepulchre*, after יפתח, *open over me, over this sepulchre i.e. open me up &c.*, exactly as the Palm. ונאש לא יפתח עלהי נומחא *and let no man open over him this chamber* 145 3. Note the alternative construction with the accus. l. 4 4 אית משכב ז. See 4 4 n. ארם Plur. of ארם, not found in Hebr.; ll. 11. 22. 20 A 5. 38 4. 7. 42 16. 17. דיברנך For suff. after רבר cf. the rare usage in O.T., e.g. Gen. 37 4 יצרו. The form here is Piel impf. 3 plur., and the suff. has a demonstrative נ; cf. יספננם l. 19. Ps. 50 23 יבברני Gen. 27 19. 31 תברכני Job 7 14 תבעתני; König *Lehrgeb.* ii 443 c. ברנם This might mean *their vain talk* from בר Is. 16 6. Jer. 48 30 &c., but it is much more likely that the stone-cutter made a mistake (cf. ll. 9. 15. 16), and intended to write ברברנם i.e. בְּרִבְרָאָם. For שמע ב cf. Gen. 22 18. 2 S. 12 18 &c. with בקול.

L. 7. 4 4 יפתח עלת. זא or who shall take away. Here and in ll. 10. 11 זא by itself=*or*, a variation from the Hebr. usage. In 42 3 &c. זא... זא=*whether ... or*, as in Hebr.

L. 8. 4 7 יכן. לם Prep. ל with suff. 3 plur., l. 11. Many scholars, however, take this suff. to be sing. and not plur., and suppose that it was pronounced לם -*ahim-ēm* (as *ahi-ē* ' , the usual form of this suff.); Schröd. 153-157, see 42 5 n. But in this inscr. the context does not require לם to be taken as sing. 4 8 רפאם.

L. 9. 8 10 תחתנם = תחתיהם *in their stead*. Piel or Hifil impf. 3 plur. mas. with suff. נם, *and may ... deliver them up*; here followed by את *with*, instead of ביד as in O.T. האלם הקדשם Cf. l. 22. 8 10 n. Dan. 4 5. [ת]מלכ So the text is prob. to be corrected. Cf. the mistake in [ת]מלכ l. 11. מלכ splendid, mighty, an epithet assumed by the Ptolemaic kings, 10 6; cf. Ps. 136 18 מלכים אדירים. מל Qal ptc. where the impf. might be expected. בהם = בנם See add. note on suff. נם p. 39.

L. 10. 10 לקצחנם *to cut them off*, see add. note p. 39. The object of the inf. is expanded in the two long clauses which follow: '(even) that prince ... or those men (l. 11).' It is possible to put the stop at לקצחנם and take אית מלכת ו' as accus. pendens, the construction

12 4. עבראשמן 17 f. 19 2 &c. At Carthage he had a temple which stood on the highest ground in the city, the Byrsa (cf. CIS i 252 4 'עבר בת א'). His worship was carried to the Carthaginian colonies, e. g. to Sardinia, cf. 40 and the pr. nn. עבראשמן ib. 39 2 &c. At Carthage his attributes were combined with those of 'Ashtart, e. g. עברמלקרת כהן אשמןעשתרת CIS i 245 3 f., and in Cyprus with those of Melqarth, e. g. לאדני לאשמןמלקרת CIS i 16. The etymology of the name is obscure. According to the ancients אשמן was derived from שמי the eighth of the Κάβειροι¹; recently G. Hoffmann has suggested a connexion with אשמן, 'the fat one,' ZA xi 227. The two letters before קרש are almost obliterated; the latter of the two is ר or ר. The Corp. suggests יער=ירק the sacred grove; שד=שדה l. 19 the sacred field (Lidzb.) is more likely. Hoffmann's holy demon (שד) is improbable. ען ידלל Meaning uncertain; perhaps, well of Ydial. וישבני Hifil pf. 1 plur. with suff. ו and we caused him to dwell, i. e. וישבני.

L. 18. לאלני i. e. לאלני plur. constr., cf. 20 A 3. לבעל צדן to the Ba'al of Sidon 33 6, cf. Hesychius Θαλάσσιος Ζεύς ἐν Σιδῶνι τιμᾶται. For Ba'al with a local designation cf. לבנן ב' 11. צר ב' 38 1. תרו ב' 149 A 1 ff.; in O.T. ב' חרמן Jud. 3 3. ב' חצור S. 13 23. ב' מעור Dt. 4 3 &c. The actual name of the god was not pronounced; see 8 2 n. עשתרת שם בעל 'A. the name of Ba'al, i. e. the manifestation of B. In the O.T. the Name of Yahweh is frequently used for His manifested presence (Ex. 23 20 f. 1 K. 8 16. Is. 18 7 &c.), or His Person and attributes as revealed to men (Ex. 3 15. 34 5 f. &c.). The Phoenicians, in accordance with their polytheistic tendencies, personified the attributes of Ba'al, and the name of Ba'al became a distinct deity and underwent a change of gender; the manifestation of B. became 'Ashtart his consort. Cf. תנה פן מעל Tanith the Face of B. in the Carthaginian inscrr.; and see further Vogt's Mélanges d'Arch. Orient. 53 ff., Stade Morg. Forsch. 196. Some authorities, however, interpret differently, pronouncing שם as שם, and rendering 'Ashtart of the heaven of Ba'al, Dillmann Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad. (1881) 606 ff., Nowack Hebr. Archäol. ii 306 f., E. Meyer Ency. Bibl. 3745. These scholars in l. 16 group the letters שם אדרם 'A. of the glorious heavens; see note in loc. But the meaning Himmels-Ashtarte Baals, i. e. 'Ashtart the consort of Βεελσαμην (Dillm.), can only be extracted

¹ E. g. Damascius ap. Phot. 352 b, ed. Migne iii 1305 οὗ δὲ τὸν Ἑσμοῦνον ἐγδοον ἀξιούσιν ἐμμενεύειν ὅτι ἐγδοος ἦν τῷ Σαδύκῳ παῖς. Philo Bybl. Fr. Hist. Gr. iii 569 οὗ ἐστὶ Σαδὴκ παῖδες Κάβειροι, καὶ ἐγδοος αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸς Ἀσκληπιός.

from שם בעל by violence; the equivalent of such a title would be ע' שטח or עשתרת ב' ש', see p. 27. Besides the temples of 'Ashtart and Eshmun (ll. 16. 17), perhaps the gods of the royal house (Hoffm.), the king and his mother had founded temples to the patron deities of the state, Ba'al of Sidon and 'Ashtart the Name of Ba'al (l. 18). The 'house of 'A.' in l. 18 is different from the 'house of 'A.' in l. 16; the same goddess was worshipped in two temples under different aspects. יתן The Phoen. form of the Hebr. נתן, ll. 12 3 &c., and the pr. nn. יתנבעל, יתנבעל &c. The form נתן, however, is implied in some names, e.g. מתנבעל 2. מתנבעל &c.¹ ארן מלכם = the Ptolemaic title κύριος βασιλείων (Gk. inscr.), the chief holder of royal power in the East, e.g. 10 5 f. (Ptolemy iii). 27 1 (Ptolemy ii). 28 2 (Ptolemy i). 29 4 ff. (Ptolemy vii?); in 9 5 Alexander the Great (Seleucid era). Here the reference is perhaps to Ptolemy ii Philadelphus; and the position of Eshmun-'azar as a subject-prince may be confirmed by Diodorus Sic. (xix 58), who mentions Phoen. kings *after* Alexander in the time of Antigonos (so Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 86). As illustrating Eshmun-'azar's commemoration of his suzerain's bounty, cf. what Theocritus says of Ptolemy ii, Πολλὸν δ' ἰφθίμοισι διδώρηται βασιλεῦσιν Πολλὸν δὲ πολλέσσιν, πολλὸν δ' ἀγαθοῖσιν ἑταίροις *Id.* xvii 110 f. The death of Eshmun-'azar may have occurred about 275 B.C. His dynasty has been placed much earlier, in the Persian period; but the use of the title ארן מלכם favours the view adopted; the Persian king is always מלך מלכים, cf. 71 3; Cl.-Gan. l.c. and *Rec.* v 223, E. Meyer l.c. 3762 n. See Appendix I.

L. 19. דאר The modern Tanṭura, on the coast, N. of Jaffa. In Assy. inscr. it is called *Du'ru*, Schrader *COT* 168; in the O.T. דור Josh. 12 23 or דאר ib. 17 11 &c. יפי Joppa, Josh. 19 46. Jon. 1 3 יפו. הגדרת *great, glorious* ll. 9. 16 f. The idea of expanse is contained in the root (Ex. 15 10. Ps. 93 4 of the waves of the sea, *majestic*); so אדר is suitably applied to the wide corn-lands of שרן (Is. 65 10. 1 Chr. 27 29 &c.). שר = שרה cf. 29 9. למדת Prob. in proportion to, in accordance with, cf. כמדת 42 17; from מדר

¹ Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 69 f. explains ארן as originally (H)ifil of רן (cf. יסח), subsequently used as the basis of a new Qal formation. In the same way he accounts for the Hebr. דר, דר, דר &c., viz. as Qal formations from the (H)ifil of verbs דר. But (1) there is no evidence for a Hifil in Hebr. with ' for 'ה, and (2) the cognate languages show that these verbs were originally דר, not דר, e.g. דר = Aram. (Targ.) דר, Arab. دَرَسَ; דר = Aram. (Targ.) دَرَسَ; דר = Arab. دَرَسَ; دَرَسَ, Arab. دَرَسَ, Assy. dēru.

measure. 'עצמת ונ' *the mighty things which I did*, perhaps referring to the support given to Ptol. ii in his struggle with Antiochus i, which began about 275 B. C., Bevan *House of Seleucus* ii 233–235. The words have been transl. 'for the great tributes which I paid'; but מרה Neh. 5 4, BAram. מרה, מרה, is a loan-word from Assyr. (*madattu*), and even if it had found its way into Phoen. through Aram., מעל is not a suitable verb to go with it; the Hebr. עשה נדר is not really parallel. יספננ Qal perf. 1 plur. with suff. and we added them i. e. יספננ, see add. note; to take the form as Qal perf. 3 sing. with suff. does not account for the first נ. Stade, *Morg. Forsch.* 310, regards יספננ as imperf. 3 sing. with waw conversive; but this idiom is not found elsewhere in the Phoen. inscr. at present known (see 42 4 n.); and though the נ energicum belongs to the imperf. rather than to the perf. in the cognate languages, yet a double energetic נ, with the verb and in the suff. נם, produces a combination too clumsy to be probable. יסף עלח 3 11.

L. 20. לְהִיזְתִּים = לכננ Cf. 4 7 n. and add. note below. נבל
Prob. plur. = נבלי.

L. 21. יער Piel juss. 3 sing. or plur. from ערה *lay bare, uncover*, cf. 2 Ch. 24 11 ויערו את הארון; here followed by the prep. עלח (cf. יפתח עלח l. 7 & c. 4 4 n.), unless עלח is to be taken as a noun, *inner-chamber* l. 6 n. לָפֶתַח = למ in the sense of *lest*. In dialectical or late Hebr. למ preceded by the relat. has acquired this meaning, e. g. Cant. 1 7 שְׁלֵמָה. Dan. 1 10 אשר למ. In Aram. ܠܡܐ is the ordinary word for *lest*; so in BAram. למ די Ezr. 7 23, and למ alone Ezr. 4 22; Kautzsch *Gr. Bibl. Aram.* 131, see further Driver *Samuel* 123 f. In the expression למ יעסם CIS i 270 ff. (49 5 n.), למ has a prohibitive sense; cf. in Palm. למא ישבע *let him not be satisfied* 145 7. יסנרנ l. 9 n.

L. 22. ילח = אל Cf. 45 2. 27 3 האל יעץ Qal or Piel impf. 3 plur. with ending ילח, cf. ישאן 33 6. הלט l. 11 n.

Additional note on the suffix of 3 plur. in Phoen. There are three forms: (1) הים, so far only found in Plautus *Poen.* v 1 4 *syllōhōm* i. e. שְׁלֹהֶם, cf. Hebr. הֵם, Arab. هُمْ, Aram. הֵם. (2) מ' prob. *ēm* (from *ahim*), e. g. זרעם l. 22. קלם 23 7. מנם 43 6. (3) נם, with nouns sing., e. g. חברנם l. 6. רב[נ]ם l. 6. 27 5; with nouns plur., e. g. עורנם 25 2 (ptcp.); with the verb, e. g. לקצחנם l. 10. לכננם l. 20 (inf.). יסנרנם l. 9 (impf.). יספננם l. 19 (pf.); with preps., e. g. תחתנם l. 9. בנם ib. This suff. is compounded of נ+ם, the נ being the energetic or demonstrative *nun* which is common in Arab. with the

impf. (also before suffixes, e.g. *yaqṭulan-ka* and *yaqṭulanna-ka*), and appears in Hebr. occasionally, e.g. יִכְבְּדֻנִי. In Phoen. it has been already noticed l. 6 above, ידברנך. This same נ is regularly used in the Aram. dialects with the plur. suff. attached to the verb, e.g. Bibl. Aram. נִכְּחוּ, Mand. ינאן, 'נכח, 'ינהן (Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* 88), Palest. Talm. נִינְח, 'נכח, 'יננא (Onk. 'יננא, 'יננא (Dalman *Gr. d. Jüd.-Pal. Aram.* 79). It is a peculiarity of Phoen. that this נ is combined with the suff. ס, and that this נס is used as a suff. with nouns and preps. See König *Lehrgeb.* ii 444, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 194.

6. Sidon. CIS i 4. iv cent. B. C. Louvre.

- 1 בירח. מפ[ע] בשת מ[לכ]
 2 י מלך ברעשתרת מלך
 3 צדנמ כ בן ברעשתרת
 4 מלך צדנמ אית שרן אר[ץ]
 5 [ו] ל[א] לי לעשתרת

In the month MP', in the year when king Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, came to the throne, (it was) that Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, built the plain of this land to his god 'Ashtart.

L. 1. [ע] Restored after 29 6. ב' בשת מלכי מלך lit. 'in the year of the reign of king B.,' i.e. prob. his first year. For the construction מלך מלכי see 5 1 n.; in the latter case we find למלכי. שח (for שחך as בח for בחך) is obviously singular here, as it is in such expressions as שח הא שח 27 2, and similarly 9 5. 10 8. בשח שפמם 40 2. 47 1. . . בשח . . . בים 33 1; so on the Moab. St. 1 2. 8, and in Aram. 69 1. On Phoen. coins, to denote the year, it is always שח or בשח, not שנת, e.g. Babelon *Pers. Ach.* p. 211 ff. On the other hand, שנת is the form used for the plural; thus . . . בשנת . . . בימם 12 1. 13 1. 14 1. 23 1 and similarly 5 1. This is quite clear in the phrase אש המט xxxiii שנת 29 5. In NPun. שנת, שנתא, is obviously plural, e.g. 53 2. 54 3. 56 4. 58 3. There are cases where בשח sing. is used, e.g. 9 4. 10 5. 33 1, instead of the normal בשנת plur. 23 6. 24 2. 26 2. 29 4. 8. 30 4; but these cases may be accounted for by the imitation of the Gk. formula ἐν ἔτει or ἐτὸς. Thus the usage seems to be estab-

lished: in Phoen. שח was used for the sing. and שנת for the plur. (cf. Hebr. בת and בנות). The above is worked out clearly by Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii § 75.

L. 2. ברעשתרת Perhaps Straton i 374–362 B. C.; cf. 149 B 13, and see Appendix I. The meaning of the prefix בר is disputed. The word may be explained by the Hebr. בר plur. בָּרִים *parts, members*. The theophorous pr. nn. which contain this prefix, e.g. ברמלקרת 39 2. ברמשן 42 2. ברנת. ib. 1, will then describe the individual as being under the protection of the deity, a *member* or *client* of 'Ashtart, Eshmun &c.; cf. 17 2 n. In the same way we can account for the use of בר in a series of Carthaginian inscrs. CIS i 269–286, where it occurs, not in connection with a deity, but with the name of the donor's patron, e.g. 49 2 f. (=CIS 269) בר אדני בר אשמנית *B. the Sidonian, the client of his master Eshmun-yathon*. This usage is explained by the old Semitic custom which allowed a foreigner to place himself under the protection of a native, a *member* of whose household he became. The donors of these inscrs. were apparently strangers (e.g. אש צדן) who availed themselves of the custom at Carthage; so Lidzbarski 134 n., Bloch *Phoen. Gloss.* 19 n. Most authorities (e.g. Corp. p. 345) take בר to be a shortened form of עבר *servant*; but this does not suit the cases where בר is used of women (CIS i 279. 280)—אמת would be the proper word—nor the cases where בר and עבר occur in the same context, e.g. ברמלקרת בן עברמלקרת and vice versa, CIS i 203. 199. The pronunciation of ברעשתרת &c. was prob. Bod'-ashtart &c., the short vowel before ר with daghesh (. . . בֵּרִי) being lengthened when בר was used in composition before another syllable; this pronunciation is supported by the Gk. form Βουδάστρον, in an inscr. from Cos, Michel 424, Θῆρων Βουδάστρον Τύπιος. A different etymology is suggested by Grunwald, *Eigennamen des A. T.* 7 n., who quotes the Assy. *Pudi-ilu, Budu-ilu* = 'prince of God' (?) KB ii 91, *Budi-ba'al* ib. 173; this meaning of *Budu*, however, is not clearly established.

L. 3. כ בן i.e. בָּנָה *for he built*; or supplying a clause before the conjunction . . . (*it was*) *that he built*. Cf. 33 3.

L. 4. שרן אר[ץ] Various restorations and renderings have been suggested; the simplest is *the plain of this land*, שרן being a *plain* between the mountains and the sea, cf. 5 19. To *build the plain* is not a very natural expression, but it is paralleled by 1 K. 16 24 את יבן החר. Hoffmann, *Üb. ein. Phön. In.* 59, connects the word with אֶשְׁרָא Ezr. 5 3. 9 *walls* (Vulg.), a form which is itself equally obscure.

L. 5. ל[א]לי לע' Cf. 24 1. CIS i 94 4. The Phoen. suff. 3 m. sing.

is $\text{ʿ} \ell$, contracted from *ahi*; cf. Aram. ܐܝܝ , ܐܝܝܐ , ܐܝܝܐ . Both the Phoen. and Aram. have weakened the original *ahu* preserved in the Arab. أه and the Hebr. אָה , אָה , אָה .

7. Sidon. Sid. 4. iii-ii cent. B.C. Louvre.

הַמְנַחַת ז' אִשׁ יִתֵּן עַבְד־מִסְכָּר רַב עֹבֵר לַסַּפָּת
רַב שְׁנֵי בָּן בַּעֲלֵצֶלַח לְאֶרְצִי לְשִׁלְמָן יִבְרַךְ

This offering (is that) which 'Abd-miskar, governor of the other side of SFT, the second governor, son of Ba'al-šillah, gave to his lord Shalman: may he bless!

L. 1. מְנַחַת Here of an *offering* in general, as perhaps in CIS i 14 5 מְנַחַת//אל; elsewhere מ' is used of sacrifices, with or without blood, e.g. 29 13. 42 14. 48 10. For ז with a fem. noun see 3 add. note ii. עַבְד־מִסְכָּר Cf. חֲמַרְמִסְכָּר 59 A 5. נִרְמִסְכָּר CIS i 267 &c. מִסְכָּר must be the name of a deity, though it appears as the name of individuals in the Latin forms *mescar*, *misicir* &c. CIL viii 5194. 5217. The etymology of the name is uncertain. Renan thinks of the Egypt. Sokari, who at Memphis was the god of the dead (Maspero *Hist. Anc.* 26. 412); another suggestion is that the name is pure Egypt. *mer-seker* 'loving silence,' a title of Hathor (cf. חֲמַרְמִסְכָּר *supr.*), with an elision of the *r*; Hoffmann proposes a compound of the Cyprian מִרִּי (= מִלְקֶרֶת 40 i n.) + the Egyptian Σώχαρις, *Skr*, ZA xi 239 f.; Cl.-Gan. suggests that מִסְכָּר = מִזְכָּר (cf. 9 6 n.), which may be the equivalent of Μνημόσυνη to whom a temple (*Aedes Memoriae*) was dedicated at Carthage, *Rev. Arch.* iii. t. 33, 274. This last explanation is certainly attractive. רַב עֹבֵר לַסַּפָּת רַב שְׁנֵי Meaning obscure. Lidzbarski 367 renders, most plausibly, 'under-prefect of Trans-LSPT,' or 'of Trans-SPT,' taking the ל as a prep. (cf. לִירֵדֵן (עֹבֵר) and סַפָּת as the name of a stream (סוּף/), or as = Hebr. שֶׁפָּה *bank*; Eph. i 16. 147. This rendering may be illustrated by the legend on some Cilician coins of Mazaïos, מִזַּיֹּס מִזְרִי יָעַל עַבְד־נִזְרָא חֹלֶךְ i.e. 'Mazaïos governor of Trans-Euphrates and Cilicia,' 149 A 6. Cl.-Ganneau's explanation, 'rab retired, moreover rab for the second time,' is less probable; it is difficult to believe that לַסַּפָּת = *added to this*, and שְׁנֵי = *שְׁנֵי*. Landau, *Beitr. z. Altertumsk. d. Or.* ii 13, renders 'which 'A. gave for LSPT, the over-šni,' treating רַב in רַב as due to dittography, and reading בַּעֲבֵר = *בעֲבֵר*.

L. 2. אִשְׁמַנְצֶלַח 85 2; דַּעֲמַנְצֶלַח 82 2. גִּלְחָח 85 2. *Ba'al prospers*, cf. דַּעֲמַנְצֶלַח. The name of this deity has been found on a Piel.

Gr. inscr. from Shêh Barakât, N. of Aleppo, Σελαμανης CIG 4450. 4451. The Assy. *Shulmanu* may be the same word (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 48), but as it occurs only in pr. nn., e.g. Shalman-asar, it may be merely the title of some god; Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 189. יברך A brief petition often found at the end of a votive inscr., e.g. 9 8. 12 4. 30 6 &c.

8. Tyre. iii cent. B.C. Louvre.

- 1 . . . רת עלת שםאלקצרי .. נפעל הסף ז
 2 באבן צר ועד כסף ת N N N מבע צר משנ .
 3 . . . נדר עבדך אדנבעל השפט בן עזמלך בן
 4 . . [הש]פם בן בדמלקרת השפט בן דעמלך
 5 . . [השפ]ט בן עזמלך פעל אית חצי הסף ז
 6 . . . ת יתן אית החצי הסף ז
 7 . . . דל . . . ד שפט בן בדמלקרת
 8 . . . צאת . . . בן
 9 . . . [ע]בדבעל . . .

L. 1. עלת is the prep. *upon*. The next four letters are read *שםאל* the left by Cl.-Ganneau *Rec.* i 89; but the letters are very doubtful. נפעל Nif. pf. 3 m. sing. הסף is used in the O.T. for a *sacrificial bowl* Ex. 12 22. 1 K. 7 50. Jer. 52 19. Here we must suppose that the word is used in an extended sense of a large receptacle or *reservoir*. The inscr. is carved on a small moulded cube of stone pierced with a round passage about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter; it was probably a spout through which water ran into a tank or reservoir. It seems to be the latter which is referred to as הסף, and not the stone which bears the inscr. The Hebr. סף has also the meaning *threshold*, e.g. Is. 6 4; but this meaning is not suitable here.

L. 2. באבן צר may possibly mean *in Tyrian weight*, cf. אבן המלך 2 S 14 26; but the first word is very uncertain. ועד כסף and moreover (?) *silver (shekels)*. The first of the numerical signs is probably to be taken as the symbol for 1000 ת; it seems to be different from the three signs which follow. This symbol ת is found on the Aram. papyrus CIS ii 147; see Euting *Nabaldische Inschriften* 96 and Schröder *ZDMG* xxxix (1885) 317. The total number will be

1070. טבע צר *coinage of Tyre*, טבע lit. *stamped*; so in Arab. *ṣabā* seal, imprint. The coinage of Tyre, i.e. the Tyrian or Phoen. as distinct from the Attic standard, is frequently mentioned in the Talmud, e.g. *Bab. Qam.* 90 b מנה צורי *Bekoroth* 49 b. Jos. *Bell.* ii 21 2 *Τυρίων νόμισμα*. This was the standard adopted by the Hasmonean princes, as being the native and traditional one; see *Levy Gesch. jüd. Müns.* 155.

L. 3. השפט The title only here in Phoenicia itself. At an early date, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, we hear of a succession of *judges* at Tyre, who took the place of the king; they held office for short terms, and in one instance two ruled together for six years, Jos. *c. Ap.* i 21. Whether this precedent was followed in the third cent. is not known; cf. 17 2. The *suffetes* at Carthage belonged to a more developed constitution. עמלך i.e. *Milk is (my) strength*, a common name in the Pun. inscr.

L. 4. ברמלקרת 8 2 n. דעם-מלך = דעם-מלך *Dom is king*, cf. 32 2 דעם. These names show that דעם was a deity who had votaries among the Sidonians at the Piraeus. No further traces of him have as yet been found in Phoen.; but D. H. Müller, *ZDMG* xxx 691 f., quotes דעם (with mimation) as a pr. name found in Himyaritic; in Arab. too pr. names are formed from the same root. The Arab. *ḍamm* = *prop, support*; and it is possible that דעם = *Supporter, Upholder*.

L. 5. חצי חספא *made the half of this tank*. חצי again in CIS i 169 11.

L. 6. חצי חספא is a grammatical anomaly.

9. Umm-el-'Awāmid. CIS i 7. Date 132 B.C. Louvre.

- 1 [לארן] בעל שמם אש נדר עבראלם
- 2 בן מתן בן עבראלם בן בעלשמר
- 3 בפלג לארך אית השער ו והדלהת
- 4 אשל פעלת בתכלתי בנתי בשת צז
- 5 צז צז לארן מלכם צז צז וו שת לעם
- 6 צר לכני לי לסכר ושם נעם
- 7 תחת פעם אדני בעל שמם
- 8 לעלם יברכן

To the lord Ba'al-shamem (this is that) which 'Abd-elim, ²son of Mattan, son of 'Abd-elim, son of Ba'al-shamar, in ³the district of Laodicaea, vowed:—even this gate and the doors ⁴thereof I made in fulfilment of it (? ?); I built (this) in the year 189 ⁵of the lord of kings, the 143rd year of the people ⁶of Tyre, that it may be to me for a memorial and a good name ⁷under the foot of my lord Ba'al-shamem ⁸for ever: may he bless me!

Umm-el-'Awâmfîd is a ruined site near the coast between Tyre and 'Akka.

L. 1. *לֹדֵי שָׁמַם* *lord of the heavens*, i.e. the god who dwells in the heavens, to whom the heavens belong¹. Unlike the early Ba'als who were connected with the earth and with special localities, *Ba'al of heaven* had a general, universal character. He makes his appearance in the later stages of Sem. religion, during the Gk. period. The earliest texts which mention him are the Punic (3–2 cent. B.C.), *קָרַר חֲנָא כְּהֵן שְׁבַע־לִשְׁמָם* 379 (Carthage); *לֹאֲרִין לְבַע־שָׁמַם* 189; *חֲסִלְכַת כְּהֵן בְּעַל־שָׁמַם* ו' (a newly discovered inscr. from Carthage, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 248 n.); Plaut. *Poen.* v 2 67 *balsamen*. But Carthage was not the original home of the cultus. This inscr., dated 132 B.C., gives evidence for Phoenicia, and throughout the N. Semitic world 'ב' ש' can be traced at this and a later period; thus among the Nabataeans of Hauran CIS ii 163 *בַּעֲשָׁמִין* 176 *לְבַעֲשָׁמִין*; in the *Ṣafā* inscr. *בַּעֲלִי סָמִין* (Littmann *Ṣafā-Inscr.* 58. 70); in Palm. 133 i n. The name implies a conception of deity which seems to have been produced by outside influences. Lidzb. l.c. suggestively notices that the Jewish title *אלהי השמים* Ezr. 1 2 *אל השמים* Ps. 136 26 *אלה שמיא* Ezr. 6 9 &c. *מֵרָא שְׁמִיָּא* Dan. 5 22 &c., which begins to be used in the Persian period, and may reflect the influence of Persian religion, was circulated by the Jews of the Dispersion at the very time when 'ב' ש' came into vogue (3–2 cent.); and it is probable that Jewish monotheistic ideas found their way into the surrounding heathenism, as they certainly did at Palmyra (135 i n.). On the other hand, when Syria came under Gk. rule, 'ב' ש' was readily

¹ The S. Arab. *god* *עֲשָׂמִי* is generally said to = 'ב' ש'; but Lidzb., *Eph.* i 243 ff., has proved that the identification cannot be sustained. The S. Arab. inscr. do not give *עֲשָׂמִי* the position of 'ב' ש'; he is only one among other deities; and 'heaven' is never written *עֲשָׂמִי* in S. Arab. The Minaean form is *עֲשָׂמִי*, the Sabaeen *שְׁמִין*, and 'heaven' is always *sing.* (Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 46). Like other Arab. names with *ج*, *possessor of* . . . , *עֲשָׂמִי* is an epithet, prob. = *possessor of loftiness*.

identified with *Zeus*, as later, under the Romans, with *Jupiter*; thus in 2 Macc. 6 2 ܕܕܠܗܡܝܢ = *Zeus* Ὀλύμπιος and *Z. Eónios*¹. Yet '𐤁'𐤌 never occupied the predominant position of *Zeus* or *Jupiter* among the N. Semitic races². Among the Nabataeans (supr.) in Roman times he never took the place of the national god *Dushara*; at Palmyra he was not counted among the *περιεργὸι θεοί*, and it is remarkable that the dedications which contain his name were made by private persons, and they are few in number. There is no record of any official or general adoption of his worship by a king or city. A striking reference to the god occurs in the story of *Ahiqar*. Down to the fifth cent. A.D. his cult lasted in Syria, and from there passed into Armenia; see Lidzb. l.c. 𐤁𐤌 Cf. 2 K. 11 18 𐤁𐤌 a priest of Ba'al; *Mitna* a king of Tyre, inscr. of Tiglath-pileser, *COT* 169; *mitkun*, *mythum* &c. in Lat. inscr., CIL viii p. 1030 a. 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 'Αβδηλῆμος *Joan. c. Ap. i 21*; see SS 6 n.

L. 3. 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 Cf. Hebr. בְּלֵל Neh. 3 17 f., and the Assy. *pulug(g)u* and *pulukku*, both in the sense of 'district,' 'border,' Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* 525. 527. It is impossible to say which of the many *Laodiceas* in Syria is intended; perhaps L. ad mare, as distinguished from L. ad Libanum, is the most likely. Appian, *Syriaca* 57, mentions a *Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινικῇ*, and there is a series of coins belonging to L. ad Libanum which bear the legend 𐤁𐤌 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 149 B 8³. In the Talm. a 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 is mentioned, and the context implies that it was near Tyre, *Menahoth* 85 b: also *Siphre* (Deut.) 148 a, ed. Friedmann. The 𐤁 in 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 is rendered 'oriundus a' by Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 65; but the rendering is scarcely supported, see 5 6 n. Cl-Gan. takes 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 as the name of a month, *Λαοδίκιος*, and explains thus: the vow was made in the middle (𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 lit. *division*) of the month, and the building carried out at the end of it (𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌), *Ét.* i 37 ff. 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 From 𐤁𐤌 20 A 5. Pa. 141 3 = 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 .

¹ The 𐤁𐤌 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 of Dan. 12 11 &c. is prob. an intentional disfigurement of 𐤁𐤌 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 , Nestle *ZATW* (1884) 248, Driver *Daniel* 188. In *Julian* ed. Hoffmann 249 l. 8 he is mentioned along with *Zeus*, *Hermes*, *Serapis*.

² Philo of Bybl. exaggerates when he says $\text{τοῦτον γὰρ (τὸ ἥλιον) θεὸν ἐνόμισαν μόνον οὐρανοῦ κύριον βασιλεύον καλοῦντες}$, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 565 f. The identification with the sun is hardly correct.

³ Babelon gives 𐤁𐤌 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 L. *the metropolis of Canaan*, *RS* p. 84, cf. p. 86 𐤁𐤌 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 149 B 15 𐤁𐤌 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 𐤁𐤌 𐤁𐤌𐤁𐤌 ; but the construction '𐤁' 𐤁𐤌 is objectionable, and 𐤁𐤌 the rel. should be read, 𐤁 and 𐤁𐤌 being almost indistinguishable on the coins. It is surprising to find the same legend on coins of Berytus (Babelon *Pers. Ach.* clxiii f.); but the L. of the inscr. is not likely to have been Berytus, which was destroyed by Tryphon in 140 B.C.

For the ה artificially inserted in the plur., cf. Hebr. אֲמָרוֹת, Aram. אֲמָרָן, אֲמָרָן, Arab. أَمَّهَات, and 68 16 n.

L. 4. אֲשֶׁל מַעֲלָת בַּחֲכַלְתִּי בְנָתִי No satisfactory explanation of these words has been discovered. The translation given above is that of the Corpus; אֲשֶׁל = אֲשֶׁר לוֹ = אֲשֶׁר לוֹ, מַעֲלָת, אֲשֶׁר לוֹ Pf. 1 sing., בַּחֲכַלְתִּי in the fulfilment of it, i.e. the vow, בְּנָתִי Pf. 1 sing. But ל by itself = לִי (לוֹ) is contrary to usage, and the suff. in בַּחֲכַלְתִּי has no direct antecedent. Another explanation is אֲשֶׁל לְמַעַלְתָּ בֵּית קִלְתִּי בְנָתִי which are for the making of the temple, I have finished; I built it . . . , or I have completely built. But we should expect the forms בָּלַת, בָּנַת for the Pf. 1 sing., and perhaps הַבָּת. Lidzb. proposes to treat ל before מַעֲלָת as an affirmative, the Arab. ج, and חֲכַלְתִּי as a noun תַּכְלִית or תַּכְלֵת with ם compaginis, and בְּנָתִי as inf. constr. with suff., which I have indeed made in the completion of my building; this involves too many doubtful assumptions. בָּשַׁח Sing.; see 6 1 n.

L. 5. לְאֹרֶן מַלְכָּם 5 18 n. The date is reckoned by the Seleucid era which began in 312 B.C.¹ Strictly speaking the *lord of kings* was Alexander the Great (died 323 B.C.); at the time when the era was instituted, however, the reigning king was Seleucus I Nicator. 'The 180th year of the Seleucids' will be 132 B.C., and 'the 143rd year of the people of Tyre' thus makes the Tyrian era begin in 275 B.C., at which time the city, after its capture by Ptolemy Philadelphus, began to recover itself as an autonomous municipality.

L. 6. לְחַיִּיתוֹ = לִכְנִי לְכִנִּי i.e. לְכִנִּי שָׁם 56 זכר = סָכַר שָׁם Cf. Is. 56 5; and for שָׁם נָעַם cf. שָׁם טָב 65 3, and in the Mishnah, e.g. Berakoth 17 a.

L. 7. מַעַם = Hebr. מַעַם. רָגַלְתִּי My or his lord. The context makes the former more suitable.

L. 8. יִבְרַכֵּן Cf. 7 2 n. The suff. shows that here and elsewhere the verb is Piel not Pual.

¹ Its starting-point was the victory of Ptolemy I Soter, the ally of Seleucus, over Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus, at Gaza in 312 B.C. This was followed by the victory of Seleucus over Nicanor the general of Antigonus, the recovery of Babylon, and the conquest of Susiana and Media. Porphyr. Tyr. Fr. Hist. Gr. iii 707. See Cl.-Gan. Ét. i 60 ff.; Bevan *House of Seleucus* i 52. The Seleucid era was used by the Nabataeans, 97 iii n., by the Palmyrenes, 110 5 n., and by the Jews, who called it סִנְיָן שְׁמוֹת the era of contracts, e.g. Ab. zar. 10 a. For other designations see 1 Macc. 1 11. Jos. Ant. xii 5 3. xiii 6 7.

10. Ma'sûb. Date 222 B.C. Louvre.

- 1 ערפת כברת מצא שמש וצ
 2 פלי אש בן האלם מלאך מלכ
 3 עשתרת ועברי בעל חמן
 4 לעשתרת באשרת אל חמן
 5 בשת מ ו ו ו לפתלמים ארן
 6 מלכם האדר פעל נעם בן פת
 7 למים וארסנאם אלן א[ח]
 8 ים שלש חמשם שת לעם [צר]
 9 כמאש בן אית כל אחרי
 10 . . . אש בארץ לכן לם ל
 11 עלם

The portico on the quarter (?) of the sun-rise and the north (side) ² of it, which the Elim, the envoys of Milk-³ 'Ashtart and her servants, the citizens of Ḥammon, built ⁴ for 'Ashtart in the ashērah (?), the god of Ḥammon, ⁵ in the 50th year of Ptolemy, lord ⁶ of kings, the noble, the beneficent, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, the divine Adelphoi, in the three (and) fiftieth year of the people of [Tyre]; ⁹ as also they built all the rest ¹⁰ which . in the land, to be to them for ¹¹ . . . ever.

Ma'sûb is situated to the S. of Umm-el-'Awâmfîd, about half way between Tyre and Ptolemais ('Akka). The general purport of the inscr. seems to be this: Certain distinguished citizens of Ḥammon, a town near Tyre, build or restore a portico in the neighbouring temple of 'Ashtart at Ma'sûb, in honour of their own Milk-'Ashtart, the deity of Ḥammon. It may have been that the temple of Ḥammon was founded from that at Ma'sûb, and the restoration an act of piety towards the mother-shrine.

L. 1. ערפת See 3 6 n. כברת The ✓ כבר = *be much, great*, as in Assy. *kabûru*, Old Aram. e.g. 61 11. 62 4. 9, Aram. כָּבַר; so כ' may be taken as an adj. agreeing with ערפת *the great portico*.

A more expressive meaning, however, is suggested by the Assyr. *kibratu* 'a (widely) extended territory,' 'a quarter of the world,' e.g. *šar kibrat arbati* 'king of the four quarters,' Schrader *COT* 247. cf. the Hebr. כְּבֶרֶת הָאָרֶץ Gen. 35 16 &c. *a distance* (lit. *a large space*) of land; hence we may render כְּבֶרֶת 'quarter'. In this case כְּבֶרֶת will be an accus. of place, defined more fully by the following genit. מִצָּע שָׁמַשׁ (a single term) as often in Hebr., e.g. Ex. 33 10. 1 K. 19 13. Jer. 36 10. If כְּבֶרֶת be rendered *great*, then מִצָּע will be accus., *on the east*, cf. Josh. 1 4. 15. 23 4. For מִצָּע cf. Ps. 75 7 and the Old Aram. מִקְצָא שָׁמַשׁ 62 14.

L. 2. צָפֹן וְצָפֹל Perhaps *and the north (side) of it*, צָפֹן = צָפֹל, being interchangeable with צָפֹל, as לְשֹׁכָה and נִשְׁכָּה *chamber*. The 1 co-ordinates the word with עֵר, to which also the suff. refers. For the suff. 1 used for the fem. (עֵר fem. in 3 6) as well as for the mas. cf. עֵבֶר 1. 3 and CIS i 280 בֶּרֶךְ אֲדֹנֵי שִׁרְדִּנָּה. A different meaning is suggested by Halévy *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* xii 109 f., who takes צָפֹל as a dialectical form of צָפֹל (cf. נָצַר and נָצַר) = *attach, add*, in Rabb. Hebr. צָפֹל *something attached, subordinate*, so וְצָפֹלֶיהָ = *and its annexes*. The first explanation is preferable. הָאֵלִים appears to be a title, 'primores,' *chiefs, leaders*; cf. אֱלֵי מֹאב Ex. 15 15. Eze. 17 13 &c. This use of the word is perhaps to be found again on the Phoen. seal 150 5 לְבַעֲלִיתִן אֵשׁ אֵלִים אֵשׁ מִלְּקֶרֶתְרֶצֶף. Plur. constr. = מִלְּאֲכֵי, in appos. to הָאֵלִים. Cf. Le Bas-Waddington *Voy. Arch.* iii no. 1890 Λούκιος Ἀκαβαίων ἐβσεβ[ω]ν καὶ πεμφθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ κυρίου Ἀταργάτης (from Kefr Hawar).

L. 3. מִלְּקֶעֶשְׁתָּר The name of the goddess and her city occur again in inscr. from the same neighbourhood, CIS i 8 חֲמֵן מִלְּקֶעֶשְׁתָּר אל חֲמֵן, and מִלְּקֶעֶשְׁתָּר בֶּן עֲבֹדָהּ כֹּהֵן (recently discovered) Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* v 151; cf. also the Pun. inscr. CIS i 250 עֲבֹדָהּ בֶּרֶעֶשְׁתָּר. בֶּת מִלְּקֶעֶשְׁתָּר. Milk-'Ashtart is a distinct deity formed out of the combined attributes of Milk and 'Ashtart. In the combination 'Ashtart predominates, for the deity thus conceived is a goddess, not a god. Other examples of compound divinities are אֲשֶׁמֶנֶעֶשְׁתָּר CIS i 245 3 f. עֲשֹׁתֵר כִּמְשׁ 1 17 מִלְּבַעֲלָה 37 1 n. ib. מִלְּקֶרֶתְרֶצֶף 150 5 &c.; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 37 ff. As the name of a god, מֶלֶךְ alone is not found (see, however, 50 1 n.); but the many pr. nn. of which מֶלֶךְ forms a part imply that a deity was worshipped in Phoenicia and its colonies under this title; 3 1 n., Driver *Deut.* 223¹. Not plur. constr., for this form is not written with

¹ Hoffmann, *Ueb. einige Phön. Inscr.* 26, renders *Queen-'Ashtart* (Milka-'Ashtart, but in Phoen. this would be Milkath-'Ashtart), *King Ba'al* &c. We

‘ in Phoen., e.g. מלאך l. 2, בעל (prob.) l. 3, אלן l. 7; it is therefore plur. with suff. 3 fem. sing. = עֲבָדֶיהָ. Cf. צמלי l. 2 n. בעל חסן This must prob. be rendered *citizens of Hammon*, cf. CIS i 120 הרנא בעלת בצתי ‘Eirene, the citizeness of Byzantium.’ 309 בעל חבריש 3 NPun. בעל חסות 54 2; Sab. אבעל CIS iv 86 8. 172 1; and בעלי ירדו Josh. 24 11. Jud. 9 2. If בעל be taken as a divine name, עברי must = *her servant the Ba'al of H.*, an unsuitable expression, for Ba'al could not be termed the servant of ‘Ashtart. To render *his servant B.-hammān's*, on the analogy of מלך אשמונעור 5 1, is to introduce confusion into the general sense of the inscr. A place called חסון (*hot spring?*), near Tyre, is mentioned in Josh. 19 28 as belonging to Asher; it is prob. to be identified with Umm-el-'Awāmid (9), where there are ruins of a Phoen. city: Guérin *Gabille* ii 141, Hoffmann l. c., Buhl *Geogr. Alt. Pal.* 229¹.

L. 4. לעשתרת באשרת This difficult phrase is usually rendered to ‘*Ashtart in the ashērah*, the goddess being regarded as dwelling in her symbol, the sacred pole (בַּאֲשֵׁרָה); see Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 83, Robertson Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 172, Driver *Deuteron.* 202 f. We have no clear evidence, however, that the *ashērah* was the symbol of ‘Ashtart. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus, the Bible and Homer* 165. 168, explains ‘*Ashtart in the ashērah*’ as referring to an image of ‘Ashtart standing in a niche in an *ashērah*, and he gives an illustration of Artemis in a similar position. But it is by no means certain that the poles or trees figured on gems &c. to which he alludes are *ashērahs*; so that this explanation has only the value of a conjecture. The most plausible solution of the difficulty is that proposed by Hoffmann l. c. The primary meaning of אשרת he takes to have been a *sign-post* set up to mark the site or the boundaries of a deity's influence; cf. Assy. *alru* ‘place,’ Aram. אֲלִי place, Arab. اَلْرَّ sign, trace, from the same root. Meaning originally the *sign* of the deity's habitation, the *ashērah* would readily be used of the *sacred precincts* or *temenos* of the god, which is exactly the sense required here; in Assy. *alirtu, elirtu*

must take מלך, like בל and אֵן, as an appellative; but while two divine names are sometimes compounded to form a single divinity as above, the language does not favour a combination of this kind; the analogy of ordinary pr. nn. compounded with מלך requires that מלך be taken as a predicate, e.g. מלכיה *Yah is king*. *Ba'al is king* would be a suitable name for a man, but not for the god himself.

¹ Meyer, *Ency. Bibl.* 3741, renders חסן ב' *B.-hammān* (37 4 n.) i. e. the numen occupying the *hammān* of Milk-'Ashtart, *the god of the hammān-pillar*, who in turn has an *ashērah* in which dwells an Astarte, the dedication being made to the latter. This seems improbable. Would חסן ב' be called *his servant* (עבד) in relation to חסן?

actually denotes a 'sanctuary' or 'temple'; so Zimmern *KAT*³ 437 n. The fem. ending does not mark the gender, according to Hoffmann, but has merely a grammatical significance; it is the sign of a 'nomen unitatis' (Ges. § 122 f). The word *ashērah* has been read in only one other inscr., 14 3, and there the text is uncertain. It is true that אֲשֵׁרָה was a goddess, known in Assyria as *Ash-ra-tum*, in Arabia as *Athirat* (cf. 69 16 n.), and in Canaan, 1 K. 15 13 = 2 Ch. 15 16. 2 K. 21 7. 23 4. 7; see Lagrange *Relig. Sémit.* 120 ff. Here, however, אֲשֵׁרָה cannot be treated as a divine name. אֵל חֲמַן Again in CIS i 8 מִן חֲמַן אֵל חֲמַן לְמַלְכֵּנוּשְׁתָּרָה from Umm-el-'Awāmid; this shows that אֵל חֲמַן is in apposition to אֲשֵׁרָה.

L. 5. מֶלֶכָם אֵין מֶלֶכָם 5 18 n.; Ptolemy iii Euergetes, B.C. 247–221. בִּשְׁת Sing. for the usual בִּשְׁתִּים plur., see 6 1 n.

L. 6. הָאֵדֶר corresponds to the Gk. *μεγαλοδόξου*; see 5 9 n. עֵלֶם נֶעַם i.e. *εὐεργέτου*; cf. 3 8. בֶּן פְּתֹלְמִיִּם *son of Ptolemy*, i.e. of Ptolemy ii Philadelphus, B.C. 285–247. Cf. 27 1.

L. 7. אֲרִיסְטֹאס i.e. *Ἀρσινόης*. The Phoen. has transcribed the genitive; cf. 27 2. אֵלֵן אֵין אֵין i.e. *ἄδελφῶν* cf. 3 10 n., the Phoen. equivalent of the title *θεῶν ἀδελφῶν* in Gk. Ptolemaic inscr., e.g. the bilingual inscr. of Canopus (B.C. 238), where Ptolemy iii is styled *τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ Ἀρσινόης θεῶν ἀδελφῶν*, Michel 551; see 95 1 n.

L. 8. [צָר] לָעַם See 9 5 n.

L. 9. כְּמֹאֲשֶׁר = אֲשֶׁר, see 3 7 n.; lit. *according as*, introducing a fresh *item*; similarly 45 1. 4. בֶּן The subj. is הָאֵלֶם l. 2. אֲחֵרִי Prob. = אֲחֵרִית, here used in a concrete sense, as in 42 4. 8. 10 אֲחֵרִי אֲשֶׁר; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 85. Hoffmann conjectures [חֲמַן] for the missing word.

L. 10. בְּאֵרָן Perhaps the land within the domain of the sanctuary of Hammon (Hoffm.). . . לֵן לֵם לֵן Cf. 9 6, which suggests that the line may be restored לֵן לֵם לֵן נֶעַם וְשֵׁם לֵן.



CYPRUS

11. Ba'al Lebanon. CIS i 5. viii cent. B.C. Biblioth. Nat., Paris.

א... סכן קרתחדשת עבד חרם מלך צדנם או יתן לבעל לבנן אדני

א ... בראשת נחשת ח

ב... טב סכן קרתחדשת

ג [לב]על לבנן אדני

a ... governor of Qarth-hadasht, servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians, gave this to Ba'al of Lebanon, his lord, of choicest bronze.

b ... ṬB, governor of Qarth-hadasht.

c to Ba'al of Lebanon, his lord.

These inscriptions, the most ancient examples of the Phoen. language and writing yet discovered, are found upon eight fragments of thin bronze, which formed parts of bowls or paterae used for ceremonial purposes¹. Six of the fragments when pieced together make up inscr. *a*; the remaining two, *b* and *c*, are considered to have belonged to a second bowl, owing to slight differences in some of the letters, e. g. א and ל. The writing is of the archaic type represented by the Moabite Stone (ix cent.) and the Old Aramaic of the Zenjirli inscr. (viii cent.), allowing for the differences between engraving on metal and carving on stone. The Old Greek alphabet belongs to the same type; in particular, the correspondence between the ⚭ i. e. ι and the ⚭ i. e. η and the same letters in Old Greek is noticeable. On this account Lidzbarski (p. 176) is disposed to assign the inscr. to a date not far from the period when the Greeks borrowed their alphabet from the Semites (2nd millennium B.C.), considerably earlier than the date of the Moabite Stone. Internal evidence, however, favours a later age,

¹ Fine specimens of these bowls, discovered at Nimroud, may be seen in the British Museum, Nimroud Gallery, table-cases C and D. They are the work of Phoen. artists; in some instances the artist's name is inscribed on the edge in Phoen. letters. The design and workmanship exhibit the characteristics of Egyptian art. The date of the bowls is not earlier than 700 B.C. See Brit. Mus. *Guide to Babyl. & Assy. Antiq.* (1900) 22 f.

that of the Zenjirli inscr. (61-63), the middle of the eighth cent. B.C.; and the character of the writing agrees with this.

The fragments, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, were found in Cyprus. The dedication to Ba'al of Lebanon seems at first sight to point to Phoenicia or Syria as their original home. But the Phoen. colony in Cyprus may well have carried with them the cult of their deity from the mother-land; or if the סבן *governor* came from Phoenicia, he may have wished to remember the god of his native place, just as the Tyrian colonists at Malta made their dedication to Melqarth, the Ba'al of Tyre, 36 1.

סבן *governor, prefect*, cf. סבן *steward* Is. 22 15. The title occurs in the Tell-el-Amarna letters, apparently as a Canaanite loan-word, *sukini* = *rabisi* 'officer' 237 9. The ו = *be of use, service* (Hebr.), *care for* (Assyr.). קרתחורשת i.e. *new-town*, 'Carthage.' That there was a place of this name in Cyprus is made certain by the mention of *Ḫarti-ḥadas* (Ḫti) (Assyr. Ḫ interchanged with north-semitic ḫ) in the lists of Asarhaddon and Ašurbanipal, along with well-known Cyprian towns, such as Paphos, Idalion, Tamassos; *KB* ii 240. It is clear from this inscr. that the city at this period was under the dominion of the Phoen. king. Its site is unknown. An attempt is made by Schrader, *Sitzungsab. Berl. Akad.* (1890) 337-344, to identify it with Kition, the modern Larnaka. *Ḫarti-ḥadas* occupies, he says, the place on the Assyr. lists where we should expect to find Kition; and as the name קרתחורשת *new-town* suggests a previous 'old town,' it is probable that ק'ח was the Phoen. quarter of the ancient Kition. The identification he thinks to be confirmed by the discovery in Larnaka itself of an inscr. containing the words עבר הקרתחורשת 'Abd. the man of Carthage, 20 B 6. This is very likely the Cyprian Carthage; but the special mention of the individual's native place rather points to the fact that his home was not in Kition but elsewhere. The bronze fragments are said to have been found on a mountain 20 miles NE. of Limassol and 10 from the sea (*CIS* i p. 23), at some distance from Larnaka; but this can have no bearing on the argument, for the bowls may have been removed from the place to which they originally belonged. The evidence, in fact, is not sufficient to establish Schrader's identification. עבר *servant* i.e. high official as עבר מלך בבל in 2 K. 25 8. Lidzb., ? *vassal* as in the Zenjirli inscr. 63 3. חסלך i.e. חסידים = אחיכם *brother of the exalted one*; cf. חסלך 40 2. חסלכת ib. חסל 1 K. 16 34 for 'אח. Hiram here has the title מלך צידים *king of the Sidonians*. It is improbable that he is the Hiram i

who was the friend of David and Solomon, for this Hiram is consistently called *king of Tyre* in the O.T., e.g. 2 S. 5 11. 1 K. 5 15. 9 11 &c.; and historical usage shows that מלך צר did not mean the same thing as מלך צירנים. The official title *king of the Sidonians* implies the union of Tyre and Sidon under one ruler; thus Ethba'al circ. 855 B.C. is called מלך צירנים in 1 K. 16 31 and Τυρίων καὶ Σιδονίων βασιλεύς by Josephus (*Ant.* viii 13 1 cf. Τυρίων βασιλ. ib. 13 2). The king of the Sidonians was virtually king of all Phoenicia, Sidonians being a general term for Phoenicians used by the people themselves (e.g. 4 1 f. 5 1 f.), by the Assyrians, by the Hebrews (e.g. Jud. 3 3. 1 K. 11 5 &c.), and by the Greeks (Homer, e.g. *Od.* 4 618. *Il.* 6 290). Another Hiram (*Hirummu*) is mentioned by Tiglath-pileser iii as paying tribute in 738 B.C. (*COT* 252). It is true he is called *of Tyre* (Šurrai); but since no king of Sidon is mentioned—if there had been one the Assyrian king would certainly not have allowed him to escape tribute—we may conclude that Sidon was at this time subject to Tyre, and Hiram ii king of both cities. Hence מלך צדנא would have been his full official title; and the probability is that this Hiram ii, who was reigning in 738, is the king alluded to in the inscr. The epigraphical evidence supports this date; for the character of the writing closely resembles that of the Old Aram. of the Zenjirli inscr., which belong to this period, and mention Tiglath-pileser by name, 62 15 f. 63 3. 6. The third Hiram known to us as the contemporary of Cyrus (Jos. *c. Ap.* i 21) is altogether excluded; he could not have been called מלך צדנא, for by his time the title had long been an anachronism. The union of the two cities under the hegemony of Tyre came to an end in 701, when Sennacherib expelled Luli *farro Siduni* (= Ἐλουλαῖος king of Tyre, Jos. *Ant.* ix 14 2), and made Sidon subject to Assyria; *KB* ii 90. Tyre survived as a separate state with a king of its own. The above view is stated forcibly by Landau *Beitr. z. Altertumsk. d. Orient* i (1893) 17–29. אד Demonstr. pron.; add. note ii p. 26. בעל לבנ is not mentioned elsewhere; cf. הר בעל חרמון Jud. 3 3, and the Ζεὺς ὄρειος = בעל חררים to whom a temple was dedicated at the gates of Sidon, Renan *Mission de Phénicie* 397. ארני Cf. 7 2. 12 4 &c. 'בראשת Cf. Am. 6 6 ראשית שנים the best of ointments; it is also possible to render as the first-fruits (ἀπαρχή) of bronze, cf. Ex. 23 19 &c. The 'ב is *beth essentiae*.

12. Kition. CIS i 10. B. C. 341. Paris.

- 1 ביסם ווו לירח בל בשנת מ' למ[לך פמייתן מלך כתי ו]
 2 אדיל ותמש בן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל מזבח א[ו]
 3 וארום אשנם ו אש יתן ברא כהן רשפחין בן יכנש
 4 לם בן אשמנארן לאדני לרשפחין יברך

On the 6th day of the month Bul, in the 21st year of ki[ng Pumi-yathon, king of Kition and] Idalion and Tamassos, son of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion. This altar and two hearths (?) 2 (are they) which Bodo, priest of Reshef-heş, son of Yakun-shalom, son of Eshmun-adon, gave to his lord Reshef-heş. May he bless!

L. i. vi ביסם lit. *in days*, 6 for *on the sixth day*, xxi בשנת lit. *in years*, 21 for *in the twenty-first year* (see 6 i n.). This clumsy expedient is used to express the ordinal numbers which Phoen. does not possess; instinctively the noun was written in the plur. before the numerical signs; cf. 14 i. 23 i. 27 i. In Hebr. and Aram. a similar usage is occasionally found, e.g. Ex. 19 15 לשלשת ימים *after three days*, i.e. *on the third day*; Dan. 12 12 unto 1335 days, i.e. *unto the 1335th day*; Mishnah *Berakoth* 9 b עד נ' שעות i.e. *to the third hour*; Mt. 20 3 מִן הָעֵת; König *Syntax* § 315 m, *Lehrgeb.* ii 255 n. A less probable explanation is that יסם is not plur. but sing., יסם, like the Aram. יסמא, (Nöldeke *ZDMG* xl 721); the Aram. יסמא, however, is used of *day* as distinguished from *night*, and not in such constructions as the above. Cf. 5 i n. למ[לך פמייתן

Restored from 13 i f. With פמייתן cf. עברפמי 23 6. אמתפמי = מתפמי CIS i 55. פמיש[מע] ib. 197 3. The form suggests that there is some connexion between פמי, clearly a divinity, and the god פעם in the pr. nn. עברפעם CIS i 112 c¹. c². נעמפעם Eut. *Carth.* 263 2 (*namphamo* &c. in Lat. inscr., CIL viii p. 1030 b), but the exact nature of the connexion has not been made out. It is possible that פעם forms an element in the names Pygmaios, Pygmalion (? פעם עלין¹); at any rate Pygmalion could be confused with Pumi-yathon, as will appear below. An

¹ It is curious actually to find the name פסלין in Phoen. (Punic), and in combination with עשרתו, apparently as a deity. It occurs in an inscr. on a gold medallion found in a grave at Carthage, 1894, and written in the earliest type of characters. The form of the name must be due to Gk. influence. The inscr. is given in Lidzbarski 171; see also Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* v 152 n.

interesting side-light is thrown by Gk. historians upon Pumi-yathon (361-312 B.C.). Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.*, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 472, on the authority of the historian Daris, says that Alexander, after the capture of Tyre (332 B.C.), gave to one Pnytagoras an estate which Pasicyprus king of Amathous sold along with his crown to Pumatōs of Kition, Πυμάτω τῷ Κιτιεῖ. There is good reason for believing that this estate was none other than Tamassos. For if we compare 26 1 and this inscr., on the one hand, with 13 1 on the other, we may infer that Pumi-yathon acquired Tamassos between the 8th and 21st year of his reign, and lost it between his 21st and 37th year, i.e. between 341 and 325. This agrees very well with the statement of Athenaeus that Alexander disposed of it in 332. Pumi-yathon's reign continued for some time after the latest date furnished by the inscr. (13 1), as appears from his coins, stamped with his 46th year (149 B 6). Diodorus Sic., xix 79, tells us how his reign came to an end; he was put to death by Ptolemy i Soter, who came to Cyprus ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας τῶν βασιλέων Πυγμαλιῶνα δὲ εὐρὼν διαπρεσβευόμενον πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἀνέειλε. Diodorus calls him Pygmalion; but this is prob. only another name for Pumi-yathon; see Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxx, Droysen *Hellenica* ii 2 10. His death took place in 312; after this, the reckoning by the era of כתי עם began, i.e. in 311 B.C. מלך כתי ואריל. The usual title of the kings of Cyprus. כתי=Kition, on the S. coast; the importance of the town was such that 'the people of Kition,' קיתיים or קתיים, was the name given by the Hebrews to all the inhabitants of Cyprus. אריל=Idalion, in the middle of the island, NW. of Kition. This and the following city are found in the lists of Asarhaddon and Assur-banipal, *COT* 355 ll. 13. 19.

L. 2. חמש = Tamassos, N. of Idalion; only here in the Phoen. inscr. known. מלכיתו Cf. 13 2. CIS i 16. 89 &c., and on coins, 149 B 5. מוכה Cf. 3 4.

L. 3. אריום Meaning uncertain, possibly *lions* (אַרְיִים=אַרְיִים), carved in stone and placed beside the altar; cf. τοὺς δύο λέοντας, dedicated to Ba'al or Zeus, in a Gk. inscr. found near Sidon, Renan *Miss. de Phén.* 397. More probably *altar-hearths*, from ארה (ארי, ארי) *burn*, Arab. *أَرَة* plur. *أَرَات* *hearth*; 1 אריל 2. אריום=אריום cf. 23 6.

For the prosthetic א cf. Arab. *أَرَات*. ברם Cf. 14 2 f. 31 c, frequently in Carth. inscr. It is prob. that ברם is a shortened form of ברמלקרת, or some such name, rather than of עברם; see 6 2 n. In Hebr. the ending would be א', e.g. עברם=חנא=חנא. רשף The deity רשף, *Reshef* or *Reshaf*, cf. the Assy. *רשף* (א) or *רשף* (א), occurs frequently in Cyprian inscr. and pr. nn.,

e.g. רשפיתן 15 2. 23 2-6. עבררשף 27 4; cf. מלקרחרצף 150 5. His cult was popular in Cyprus, and especially at Idalion; but beyond an allusion to his temple at Carthage CIS i 251 [ף] עבר בת ארש (the reading [ף] עברארש in ib. 393 is uncertain), Phoen. inscr. do not mention him outside Cyprus. In N. Syria, however, his worship was of ancient date; 61 2. 3. רשף = *flame, lightning-flash*, Ps. 78 48. Cant. 8 6; hence the god was identified with Apollo (30, Tam. 2, CIS i 89), who as *ἰκηβόλος, ἰκατηβόλος* &c. was the author of pestilence (*Il.* i 50 f.). Thus רשף may have been the Phoen. Fire-god who smites men and cattle with fiery darts (cf. Dt. 32 23. Hab. 3 5; Driver *Deut.* 368). The name always has a qualifying term, e.g. רשף-מכל (24 2. 25 2. 26 2 from Idalion), ר' אליית (30 3 f. from Tamassos), ר' אלייתס Tam. 2 4. In these three instances the qualifying term is the name of a place or city; it is probable, therefore, that the same is the case in ר' חן *Reshef of ḥṣ*, ḥ Issos (Cilicia). Cl.-Ganneau, vocalizing ר' חן, takes the name to be a Phoen. rendering of Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυαῖος 'Apollo who guards the streets'; the explanation is ingenious, and may be illustrated by the Assy. *ilu suḫi* 'the god of the streets.' The original pronunciation of רשף is preserved in the name of an Arab village near Jaffa, *ارسوف Arsuf* (cf. ארשף above) = the Seleucid *Apollonias*; *Rec.* i 176 ff. In Egyptian the god is called Raspu or Resoup; he is represented as bearded, like Apollo, and is mentioned among Asiatic deities; Müller *Asien u. Eur.* 311 f. The Corp. takes the view that ר' חן = *Reshef of the arrow*, cf. Ps. 76 4 רשפי קשת; but the figure of Raspu from Egypt. monuments, given in Corp. p. 38, holds a spear, not an arrow, and for other reasons the view is improbable. יכנשלם i.e. *peace be (to him)*; again in 14 2 (rest.), and in NPun.

L. 4. אשטנאן See 5 17 n.

13. Kition. CIS i 11. B.C. 325.

- 1 בימם מ ווו לירח. מרפא. בשנת מ → ווו ווו למלך. פמייתן.
מלך. כת[ני]. ואדיל. בן. מלך.
- 2 מלכיתן. מלך[ך]. כתי. ואדיל. [ם]מלת. א[נ]. אש. יתן. ויטנא.
מנחשת. יאש. אשת. [בעלת]יתן. עב
- 3 [ר. בת. עשתר]ת. [בת]שמעא. ב[ן]ב[עליתן]. לרבת. לעשתרת.
[תש]מע[ך]. קל

On the 14th day of the month Merpa, in the 37th year of king Pumi-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, son of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion:—This statue (is that) which Yaash, wife of [Ba'alath?]-yathon, temple-serv[ant of 'Ashtar]t, daughter of Shime'o, son of Ba'al-yathon, gave and set up of bronze to her mistress, 'Ashtart; may she hear (her) voice!

This inscr. was found and inaccurately copied by Pococke at Larnaka in 1738, with 32 others; they have all since disappeared.

L. 1. xiv ביטם See 12 1 n. מרפא Name of a month, according to Euting, *Sechs Phön. Inscr.* (1875), the 7th month, October. It is also called מרפאם Idal. 7 (Euting *Sitz. Berl. Akad.* (1887) 422), CIS i 124 3 (Malta), 179 5 (Carthage). פסייתן See 12 1 n. It is noteworthy that Tamassos does not occur in the king's title in his 37th year.

L. 2. מלת [ם] Fem., because the statue represented a female figure—the goddess 'Ashtart; similarly CIS i 40. When the statue represented a male the mas. is used, e. g. 23 2. 5. 25 1. 27 3; the same distinction is observed in the use of צלמא and צלמתא in Palmyrene. In the O. T. יתן ימנא occurs Dt. 4 16. Eze. 8 3. 5. 2 Ch. 33 7. 15. יקרש 3 fem.; the same formula in 23 2. 30 1. ימנא is Hif., cf. יקרש 28 4. יקרשת 29 9. 14. The initial *h* of the Hifil was weakened into the spiritus lenis and written with initial *y*, but prob. pronounced *iqdʃh*; cf. the similar weakening of the *h* into *ʃ* in Arabic, conj. iv; Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 208. In NPun. the Qal ימנא is used in the same sense. [בעלת] יתן So Corp.; but the reading is very doubtful.

L. 3. עבר בת ע' So restored by Berger, and adopted by Corp.; frequently in Carth. inscrs. שמעא In Hebr. שמעון, a diminutive from שמע-בעל 33 2. Adopting the text above, the husband, father, and grandfather of Yaash are mentioned. לרבתי The suff. *ʿ* is here used for the 3 sing. fem.; similarly בני 27 4.

14. Kition. CIS i 13. B.C. 375.

- 1 [בין] מם מ לירח זבחששם בשנת 11 ..למלך מלכיתן מלך כתי
ואדיל סמלת ז אש יתן ו]
2 ימנא עבדאסר בן בדא בן יכ[נשלם על אשתי על...בת...בן...בן]
3 בדא לרבתי לאם האזרת כ שמע[ע קל תברך]

On the 20th day of the month Zebaḥ-Šišsim(?) in the 2nd(?) year of [.] 'Abd-osir, son of Bodo, son of Yak[un-shalom], set up [. . . .] of Bodo, to his lady, the glorious(?) Mother, because she heard [. . .].

More than half of the inscr. has perished; but most of what is missing may be supplied with probability from the preceding inscr. 12 and 13.

L. 1. xx בִּיטֶם See 12 1 n. זְבַח־שִׁשִּׁים The name of a month. The text here is rather obscure, but the reading given is determined by 29 4, where the word occurs again. Berger, *Rev. d'Assyr.* iii (1895) 69 ff., regards שִׁשִּׁים as the name of a god, and, supposing that ש is interchanged with ס, identifies him with ססם *Sasom* in the Cyprian name עֲבֵר־ססם 16 1 n. 27 3 &c. The month זְבַח־שִׁשִּׁים is then explained as the month in which sacrifices were offered to *Sasom*; for the constr. cf. זְבַח־אֱלֹהִים 'sacrifices offered to God,' Ps. 51 19. But as Cl.-Ganneau justly remarks, there is no evidence that *Sasom*, who seems to have been a foreign deity, occupied such a place of importance in the Phoen. pantheon as to have given his name to a month in the calendar. We should therefore render זְבַח־שִׁשִּׁים *sacrifice of sixty*, i.e. the month of the sixty sacrifices, and compare *ἑκατομβαιών*, the name of the first month in the Athenian calendar; *Ét.* ii § 20. The king mentioned here was either Milk-yathon or Pumi-yathon, prob. the former; for the full style of Pumi-yathon, as given in 12 and 13, would make the line too long.

L. 2. יטנא See 13 2 n. עֲבַד־אֲסִיר *Servant of Osiris*, cf. 16 1. 18 2 f. 36 2 (in Gk. *Διοσίριστος*). 27 2 אֲמַת־אֲסִיר 69 9 מַטְסָרִי בֶרַא בֶן יִכְ[נָשֶׁלָם] The same names in 12 3 f., but not the same persons. The Bodo ben Yakun-shalom who dedicated an altar in the 21st year of Pumi-yathon (341) could hardly have had a son who set up a statue early in the reign of Milk-yathon, circ. 375.

L. 3. לִרְבָּתִי Cf. 13 3. לֵאמָּה For *Mother* as the title of a goddess cf. לֵאמָּה רַבָּת מִן בַּעַל 47. לִרְבָּת לַחֲנָה CIS i 195 2. 380 4, all Carthaginian. The *Mother* may have been a Phoen. goddess, or one adopted from the Gk. or Egypt. pantheon; there are traces of the worship of Demeter in Cyprus (see Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 154 f.). הָאִוֶּרֶת The meaning is uncertain. Perhaps the א here = ע, and the name is ptc. f. of עֹוֶר *she who helps*, cf. 52 5 וּבָאוֶרֶת for וּבַעֲוֶרֶת; but א for ע is Punic and late. If the word be derived from אִוֶּר the meaning will be *she who girds on*, figuratively *protects*;

the Piel would properly express this, Ps. 18 33. In CIS i 255 we find עשתרת הארת i.e. (prob.) 'A. the *glorious*'; it is natural to suppose that הארת here is merely a variety of this word.

15. Kition. CIS i 44. iv-iii cent. B.C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 47.

1 המצבת או לאשמנאדני שרדל בן עבדמלקרת בן
2 רשפיתן מלין הכרסים

This pillar (is) to Eshmun-adoni šrdl, son of 'Abd-melqarth, son of Reshef-yathon, interpreter of the thrones.

This inscr. is carved on the base of a marble obelisk, about 5 ft. high, terminating in a pyramidal or gabled top. The monument is an unusually perfect specimen of the Phoen. type of *maššēbah* (see the heliogravure in CIS i Tab. viii, and the illustration in Nowack *Hebr. Arch.* ii 18, Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 380); it may be compared with the fine specimen discovered at Larnaka (Kition) in 1894, now in the Brit. Mus., no. 31, Cyprus Room; see 21.

L. 1. המצבת The usual word in Phoen. (rarely מצבת 56 1) for a gravestone or pillar erected over a tomb to commemorate the dead and perpetuate his memory among the living; cf. 16 1. 18 1. 19 1. 21 1 &c.; similarly among the Hebrews, e.g. Gen. 35 20 קברת רחל. The name of the person commemorated is usually introduced by ל, e.g. 18 3 f. 19 3 f. CIS i 59 116; see further 16 2 n. Thus the usage of מצבת and the form of the sentence leave little doubt as to the way in which this inscr. is to be interpreted; it records the fact the stone was erected to the memory of Eshmun-adoni שרדל and set up over his grave. The view, therefore, that the *maššēbah* was a religious offering '(which) שרדל (erected) to Eshmun his lord' is not in accordance with the usage of the language; it requires אש ימנא to be supplied; and in the case of a dedication to a god the order of words would be different, as for instance in 12. 13 and 14. See add. note p. 26; 1 is also found after מצבת 19 1. CIS i 61. אשמנאדני is to be taken as a pr. name formed by a combination of Eshmun and Adon, the latter being the title of a god whose actual name was not pronounced. Similar combinations current in Cyprus are Eshmun-

melqarth (CIS i 16. 23. 24) and Adonis-Osiris¹. In these cases, however, the combination forms the name of a deity, cf. 10 3 n. In CIS i 42 and 43 אשמנארני is followed by what appears to be fragments of pr. names, . . . אשמנארניכז 42 and . . . אשמנארנינשכ 43; here the word which follows is שרדל, evidently also a pr. name. It is prob. that in all three instances we have the individual's nomen and cognomen given, a very unusual practice (so Lidzb.). The name שרדל is found again in a Pun. inscr. CIS i 444 3 f. שרדל[ל]; the etymology and pronunciation are unknown.

L. 2. רשפיתן See 12 3 n. It is curious to find the same name followed by the same title in 23 4 f. 6 and, according to some, in CIS i 22 כרסים [רשפ]יתן מל[ן]. The three inscr. prob. belong to the same period; and though in 23 4 f. 6 the son of Reshef-yathon is Adon-shemesh, yet it is conceivable that he had another son, 'Abd-melqarth, who appears here. The facts are worth noticing, but they are not sufficient to establish an identification. מלן הכרסים
The first word certainly means *interpreter* (to refs. above add CIS i 350 4 הסלן); it has this meaning in Gen. 42 23, cf. Job 33 23 and ἑρμηνευτής in Gk. inscriptions. כרסים is prob. the plur. of כרסי = Hebr. כִּסֵּא *seat, throne*; for the form cf. Old Aram. כרסא 63 7; Aram. כִּרְסִיא, פִּרְסִיא; Arab. كُرْسِي. The title, then, may signify 'interpreter of the thrones,' i. e. dragoman to the court, whose office it was to act as interpreter between the Cyprian kings and the Persian or Greek courts.

16. Kition. CIS i 46. iv-iii cent. B. C. Bodl. Library, Oxford.

- 1 אנך. עבדאסר. בן עבדססם. בן חר. מצבת.
- 2 למבחי. ימנאת. על. משכב. נחתי. לעלם. ולא
- 3 שתי. לאמתעשתרת. בת. תאם. בן עבדמלך

I 'Abd-osir, son of 'Abd-sasom, son of Ḥor, set up (this) pillar in my life-time over my resting-place for ever; also to my wife, Amath-'ashtart, daughter of T'M, son of 'Abd-milk.

¹ Ἀμαθοῦς, πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ᾗ Ἀδωνὶς Ὀσίρις τιμᾶτο, ὃν Αἰγύπτῳ ὄντα Κύπριοι καὶ Φοίνικες ἱδρυοῦντο, Stephanus Byzant. ed. Meineke, p. 82.

L. 1. אִנְךָ The dead speaks in his own name. In other inscr. of this character we find the donor¹, and once both the donor and the dead, using the 1st person (32). עֲבִירָאִסְר See 14 2 n. עֲבִירָאִסְר Cf. 27 3. CIS i 49. 53. Tam. 2. The analogy of other proper names compounded with עֲבִיר shows that אִסְר is the name of a deity; it was prob. pronounced Sasom (Cypr. *apasasomose*, 'Αψάσωμος = אִסְרָאִסְר Tam. 2, cf. LXX Σασομαί i Ch. 2 40) or Sesom (Σέσματος = אִסְרָאִסְר 28 3), or, as the Cypriote equivalent may imply, Sasm (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 185, ii § 26). The fact that both here and in CIS i 53 (עֲבִירָאִסְר) 'Abd-sasom belongs to families in which Egyptian names occur, makes it probable that אִסְר was a foreign deity, introduced, like Osiris and Horus, from Egypt. Nothing is known of the special character of this god; Baethgen *Beitr.* 64 f. On some coins of Sinope the Aram. legend עֲבִירָאִסְר is certified by Lidzbarski, as against Babelon's reading עֲבִירָאִסְר *Pers. Achém.* lxxix ff. This אִסְר is, however, explained by Lidzbarski as the equivalent of the Persian name Σισίρης; it is therefore not to be identified with the Phoen. אִסְר; *Eph.* i 106. חֲר Horus, the Egyptian god.

L. 2. לְמַחְיָי *during my life-time*; לְמַחְיָי places the fact in the past, and בְּ gives the date; for the three preps. cf. 45 5 לְמַחְיָי. 42 5 לְמַחְיָי. There is no exact parallel in Hebr.; לְמַחְיָי for *what was at first* i Ch. 15 13 is different, לְמַחְיָי being = לְ + מַחְיָי as in לְמַחְיָי 2 Ch. 30 3. As a rule the מצבת was erected by the children (לְמַחְיָי 18 3 f. לְמַחְיָי 19 3 f.) or a friend (32) to commemorate the dead 'among the living' בְּחַיִּים (e.g. 18 1); but here we have an exceptional instance of the מצבת being set up by the person commemorated during his life-time. This was done by persons who had no children to perform the pious duty, as may be seen from 2 S 18 18 וְאֶבְרָהָם לְמַחְיָי וְהַעֲבִירָאִסְר אֶת-מִצְבַּת אֲשֶׁר בְּעֶסְקֵהֶם לְמַחְיָי בְּיָמֵי אֲבִירָאִסְר הַזֶּה. חֲסִמֵּל . . . אֲשֶׁר יִמְנָא לִי 20 3 Perf. i sing., cf. 20 3. על. Again in 21 5 נַחְתָּנִם מ' נַחְתָּנִם מ' נַחְתָּנִם. For מַשְׁכָּב see 5 4 n.; for נַחְתָּנִם cf. Is. 30 15.

L. 3. אֲמַחְשִׁתָּר Cf. 5 14 n. and 27 2 אֲמַחְשִׁתָּר. CIS i 395 3 אֲמַחְשִׁתָּר. ib. 446 2 f. אֲמַחְשִׁתָּר. Restored in CIS i 66 1 but not found elsewhere. עֲבִירָאִסְר Cf. 'Αβδμιλκων in the Cypr. text of CIS i 89 and in 670 3. The name also occurs in the Tell-el-Am. letters, e.g. 77 37 *Abd-milki*.

In this inscr. the words are separated by dots as in 13, and the ancient inscr. 1. 2. 61. 62. 63. It is noticeable that the tops of the letters ט, 4, א are open.

¹ E.g. CIS i 57 'the pillar which I, Menahem, set up to my father.'

17. Kition. CIS i 47.

- לעטהר בת עבראש 1
 מן השפט אשת נר 2
 מלקרת בן בנחר 3
 ש בן נרמלקרת ב 4
 נ אשמנעור 5

To 'THD, daughter of 'Abd-eshmun the judge, wife of Ger-melqarth, son of Ben-ḥodesh, son of Ger-melqarth, son of Eshmun-'azar.

L. 1. עטהר The meaning of this name is unknown. It has been explained as = עטה חור Ps. 104 1. 2; but this derivation is too fanciful to be likely.

L. 2. השפט See 8 3 n. נרמלקרת i.e. *guest of Melqarth*, cf. CIS i 267 3. נרמסכר 31 a 1. נרצד 2. 3. נרעשחרת 2. 40 נרסכן 2. נרחכל (= נר חיקל) ib. 112 b¹. b². The 'guest' (= *πάροικος, παράσιτος*) was one who placed himself under the protection of the deity; cf. in Hebr. Ps. 15 1 ידוה מי יגור באהלך (see Cheyne in loc.), and in Arab. جار الله i.e. one who dwells in Mekka, beside the Ka'aba; the verb جار in conj. iii is used of 'dwelling beside a temple' or 'receiving under protection as a client'; similarly 'cliens Bacchi,' Hor. *Ep.* ii 2 78. It is prob. that in 20 A 15. B 10 the נרם are mentioned as a class in the list of ministers and attendants of the temple of 'Ashtart at Kition. A good illustration of the religious practice is given by a Palmyrene מצבא in the Brit. Mus., Semitic Room no. 581, which is inscribed 'To Shadrapa the good god, that he might be a guest with him, he and all the sons of his house.' The religious idea of the 'guest' of a deity had its origin in the social custom of extending hospitality and protection to a stranger, and in the old Semitic right of sanctuary. Cf. 140 B 8 and 6 2 n.; see further Robertson Smith *Rel. of the Semites*¹ 75 ff., *Kinship* 41 f.

L. 3. בנחרש i.e. 'born on the new-moon.' The name is found again in 30 2 (Cypriote δ Νωμηνίων). 34. CIS i 117 where the Greek equivalent is NOYMHNIOΣ. The naming of children after festivals was common in early Christian times, e.g. سجدل = Κυριακός, Dominicus; سجدل i.e. born on the Ascension; سجدل i.e. born during the spring fast; Paschalis, Natalis &c.

18. Kition. CIS i 58.

- 1 מצבת בחים
2 אש ימנא עב
3 דאסר לאב
4 י לארכתא

The pillar among the living which 'Abd-osir set up to his father Arketha.

L. 1. מצבת בחים Cf. CIS i 116 1 מצבת סכר בחים. This inscr. proves that בחים cannot mean 'in (his) life-time' (למבחי 16 2), like the Gk. ζῶν, ζῶσα, and the Lat. vivus, viva, in similar cases; a son would not set up a memorial to his father while the latter was still alive. The meaning, therefore, is 'among the living'; see 15 n.

L. 3. עבראסר Cf. 14 2 n. The name Ἀβδούσιρος has been found on the Phoen. coast, Renan *Miss. de Phén.* 241; hence the conjecture that the Phoen. pronunciation of the Egyptian Osir was Usir. אבי It is not certain whether the form was pronounced אֲבִי=Hebr. אָבִי or אֲבִי=Aram. ܐܒܝ, Schröder 150 n. Nöldeke, *ZA* (1894) iv 402, thinks that the pronunciation was originally אֲבִי, אֲבִי, 21 1. 3.

L. 4. לארכתא Possibly a Gk. name; Archytas has been suggested.

19. Kition. CIS i 60.

- 1 [מצב]ת ז אש ימנ
2 א אשמנצלח ו
3 מריחי לאבנ
4 ם למלגסנם
5 מהם ...

This is the pillar which Eshmun-šillah and Mar-yehai set up to their father Melexenos . . .

L. 1. 1 Fem., see 3 add. note ii. אש ימנא Hif. pf. 3 plur.

L. 2. אשמנצלח Cf. בעלצלח 7 2 דעמנצלח 32 2.

L. 3. מריחי i. e. prob. מריחי *Mar gives life* (Piel), 27 3 ff. The name *Mar* has been explained by the Aram. מר, מרא=בעל; it is conjectured that, like these names, מר was originally used in an appellative sense *lord*, and afterwards as the title of a deity. A better explanation is proposed by Hoffmann, *ZA* xi 240. He regards מר in מריחי מר ברך CIS ii 85 (? Aram.), מר מסך Cl.-Gan. *JA* viii t. i 143, as a diminutive of מלכות; and similarly *Mar* in θεῶν Βελμάρι *Rev. Arch.* xxix (1875) 267 inscribed on a lamp from Tyre, and in Μάρνας the Philistine god of Gaza, who appears also in Ḥauran, Δὲ Μάρνα τῷ κυρίῳ Wadd. 2412 g; see also 40 1 n. אשמן מארח. אבנם Cf. 27 5, and see 5 add. note.

L. 4. מלנסנס ?=Μενέξενος.

20 A and B. Kition. CIS i 86 A and B. iv cent. B.C.
Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

A.

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | חכלת ירח אתנם |
| 2 | בחדש ירח אתנם |
| 3 | לאן חרש קפא II |
| | I III |
| 4 | לבנם אש בן אית בת עשתרת כת קפא.. |
| 5 | לפרכם ולארמם אש על דל וקר 3 |
| 6 | לאדם בער אש שכנם למלכת קרשת בים זק... |
| 7 | לנערם II קפא II |
| 8 | לזבחם II קר / |
| 9 | לאשם II אש אם אית נער חלת למלכת... |
| 10 | את פרכם קפא I... |
| 11 | לנערם III קפא III |
| 12 | לגלבם פעלם על מלאכת קפא II |
| 13 | לחרשם . אש פעל אשתת אבן בבת מב... |
| 14 | לעבדאשמן רב ספרם ולח בים ז קר III ו. ק.. |

15 [לכלבם] ולגרים קר ו / ופא וו
 16 אש לח בים ז קר וו . ב .
 17

Total (?) for the month Ethanim. ³ On the new-moon of the month Ethanim:—³ To the gods of the new-moon QP' 2. ⁴ To the builders who built the house of 'Ashtart? QP' . . . ⁵ To the *velarii*, and to the men who have charge of the door? QR 20. ⁶ To ?? who reside for the sacred service, on this day, Q . . . ⁷ To servants 2 QP' 2. ⁸ To sacrificers 2 QR 1. ⁹ To men 2 who ???? for the service . . . ¹⁰ The *velarii*, QP' 1 . . . ¹¹ To servants 3 QP' 3. ¹² To the barbers officiating at the service QP' 2. ¹³ To the masons who made pillars (?) of stone in the house of MK . . . ¹⁴ To 'Abd-Eshmun, chief of the scribes, ?, on this day, QR 3 ? . . ¹⁵ [To 'dogs'] and temple-clients QR 3 and P' 3. ¹⁶ . . . who?, on this day, QR 2 ? . . .

The two inscrr. A and B are *written* in black pigment on both sides of a stone tablet. The writing of A is in a small, close hand; that of B is in a bolder and clearer character. Many of the letters are difficult to decipher.

L. 1. חכלת *sum, total*; from כלח *be complete*. The first two letters, however, are uncertain. אחנם The month of *steady flowings*, the 7th month, Oct.–Nov.; cf. 30 4, 1 K. 8 2 ירח האתנים. Like the name of the month *bul* (5 1 n.), the name *ethanim* was prob. of Canaanite origin, and adopted by the Israelites from the Canaanite calendar: Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 201.

L. 2. בחרש *on the new-moon* i. e. the first day of the lunar month, cf. B 2. 29 4. Ps. 81 4.

L. 3. אלן Cf. B 3, plur. constr. as in 5 18. 10 7. Who 'the gods of the new-moon' were is not known. The religious celebration of the new-moon was an ancient custom; see 1 S. 20 5 f. Is. 1 13. Hos. 2 13. Am. 8 5. 2 K. 4 23. קפא A coin of some kind. The four strokes, grouped like numerals, between ll. 3 and 4 may possibly indicate the 4th day of the month; or they may merely separate the previous lines from what follows.

L. 4. לבנם אש בן i. e. לבנם אש בן. לבנם אש בן may mean *Xition*, as on coins from Sidon, 149 B 15, although כחי is the usual form.

L. 5. למרכם Cf. l. 10; perhaps, 'those who have charge of the temple-curtains' (מרכח Ex. 26 31 ff. &c.), cf. Talm. *Sheqalim* 11 ב על מרכח, and the *velarii*, i. e. slaves who drew the curtains, in the Lat. inscr. This explanation agrees well with what follows: 'the men in charge of the door.' For רל cf. 9 3 n. קר Cf. ll. 8. 14. 16. B 8. 10; a coin, here followed by the symbol for 20.

L. 6. לאדם בער Meaning and text obscure. It has been proposed to render *who kindles the fire*. In Hebr. the Piel is used in this sense, e. g. 2 Ch. 4 20 מִשְׁפָּט לְבָעֵרם וְנִיחִיהֶם בְּמִשְׁפָּט, cf. 13 11. למלכת = למלכת *who reside for the work*. The construction is curious, but there is no doubt about the reading; for the expression למלכת = למלכת Adj., fem. sing. For the expression קרשת cf. 12. 3 11. 13. 45 2. מלכת קרשת Ex. 36 3 and 1 Ch. 9 13. 28 13 &c.

L. 9. לאדם i. e. לאדם cf. B 7. 46 1. In Phoen. אדם (אדם) is not used so frequently as אדם. אדם אית נער חלת The words are unintelligible.

L. 12. לגלכם i. e. לגלכם (Eze. 5 1), cf. גלב אלם CIS i 257 ff. and the pr. n. גלב 27 5. The barbers attached to the temple assisted at the hair-offerings, a customary form of devotion in heathen Semitic religion. Lucian, *de Dea Syr.* vi. lv, alludes to the practice of offering hair to Adonis at Byblus and ^pce; it was a sacrificial act offered with the idea of attaching the nipper to the deity and his shrine; see Robertson Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 313. The ceremonial shaving of the head was forbidden to the Israelites as a heathen practice; and the prohibition was extended to making incisions in the flesh, which also was prob. performed by these temple-barbers. See Lev. 19 27 f. 21 5. Eze. 44 20.

L. 13. חרש For חרש cf. 22 2. 45 9. 52 6, CIS i 64 חרש רב חרש. The word is generally used of workers in metal, but also of workers in stone, e. g. 2 S 5 11 חרש קיר ח. 1 Ch. 22 14; see also 2 Ch. 24 12. חרש Cf. B 5. The meaning of the word is uncertain. It has been taken as = שחת = prosth. pillars, Ps. 11 3. מכ. In B 5 מכל. Elsewhere מכל occurs with the prefix רשף as the name of the god Reshef-mukl, 24 2 &c.; מכל is prob. the name of a city (Lidzb.).

L. 14. ספר Cf. ספר frequently in Carth. inscr., e. g. CIS i 154 4. 240 ff. לח Again l. 16. It is not unlikely that לח is an abbreviation for לח [ברם] to the associates, 42 2 n.

L. 15. ולגרים [לכלבם] Restored from B 10. Is the reference to persons or to animals? The words may be rendered *for the dogs and the whelps* (ולגרים), supposing that the item of expenditure is food for the temple-hounds, which in some cases were considered sacred,

e.g. the hound of Isis, Adonis, &c.; so Hoffmann *Über die Phön. Inschr.* 17. In a Gk. inscr. from Epidaurus sacred hounds are mentioned as connected with the temple of Aesculapius (= Eschmum), Michel 1069 126 f.¹ On the other hand, כלב and טרם may be persons: *to the 'dogs' and temple-clients*. In this case כלב is explained by Dt. 23 19, cf. *Noves* Apoc. 22 15; they were temple-prostitutes, otherwise called טרם in the O.T., e.g. Dt. 23 18. 1 K. 14 24 &c.; in Assy. *harintu, hadiltu* (of Ishtar), Zimmermann *KAT*² 423. The pr. n. כלב טרם CIS i 49, and such names as Kalbi-Ban, Kalbi-Mardak &c. in Neo-Babyl. contracts, may be quoted in illustration, though in these cases it is likely that כלב was used as a term not of contempt but of self-abasement, *the humble slave of the gods*. The word is found in the Tell-el-Am. letters in this sense, e.g. *kallu-larri* 'servant, lit. dog, of the king' 75 36. 86 19. 161 15 &c.; cf. 2 K. 8 13 וכלב וכלב². It is possible that כלבים=טרם originally had a similar meaning, *devoted followers*; we cannot tell. If כלב='dogs' metaphorically, the טרם must be *the temple-clients*, lit. *guests*, here apparently a regular class attached to the temple and supported out of its funds; see 17 2 n. Or, again, טרם may be pointed טרם and mean *youths*, cf. 1 16 n.; but this is very uncertain.

B.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| → עקב | 1 |
| → בחדש ירח פעלת | 2 |
| → לאין חדש קפא | 3 |
| → לבעל ימם ברב שלם | 4 |
| → לנפש בת אש לאשתת מכל וש... | 5 |
| → לעבראבסת הקרתחדשתי... | 6 |
| → לאשם אש לקח מכנבם קפא... | 7 |
| → לדעם אש ב??ף לכר קר אש ב... | 8 |
| → לעלמת ולעלמת = בזבח... | 9 |
| → לכלבם ולגרם קר / ופא | 10 |
| → לנערם קפא | 11 |
| → א | 12 |

¹ See CL-Ganneau *Rec.* i 235 ff.

² Further illustrations from Assy. are given by Thureau-Dangin in *PSBA* xxi 133.

Continuation (?). ² On the new-moon of the month Pa-'aloth:—³ To the gods of the new-moon QP' 2. ⁴ To the ba'als of the days for the ? peace-offering. ⁵ To the persons of the house which is by the pillars (?) of Mikal and . . . ⁶ To 'Abd-ubast the Carthaginian . . . ⁷ To the men who were taken (?) from the 'dogs' (?), QP' . . . ⁸ To the friends (?) who . . . were taken (?), QR 2 which . . . ⁹ To the virgins and virgins 22 in the sacrifice . . . ¹⁰ To the 'dogs' and to the temple-clients QR 3 and P' 2. ¹¹ To servants 3 QP' 3.

L. 1. עקב Arabic usage shows that the root had the two meanings of *follow, be behind* (conj. i) and *to pay back, recompense* (conj. iv). The name עקב, probably in full יעקב-אל, may have had either of these two meanings originally; see Baethgen *Beiträge* 158, who compares the Palmyrene name עקעקב *Ale follows, rewards*. Hence the noun here may be rendered either *reward*, cf. עקב רב Ps. 19 12 and Pr. 22 4, or *continuation*, i. e. from the foregoing account.

L. 2. מעלת Name of a month, perhaps the 6th. It is found again in 23 1 (rest.). 29 8. Tam. 2 1.

L. 3. See A 3 n.

L. 4. ימים לבעל ימים i. e. לבעל ימים is taken to mean 'the gods who preside over the different days of the month.' ברב שלם in *magno sacrificio pacifico* (Corp.); but ברב is very doubtful. For שלם cf. שלם כלל 42 3 ff.

L. 5. The sense is obscure; נמש may be sing. collective (not plur., which would be נמשות) in the sense of *persons*, men- and women-slaves, as in Gen. 12 5. Lev. 22 11. Eze. 27 13 (with אדם). אשתו מכל See A 13 n.

L. 6. לעבראבסת Cf. *Carth.* 161 6 (rest.). The name occurs in an inscr. from the temple of Osiris at Abydos, 31 d, and in the form Ἀβδουβάστριος in a Gk. inscr. from Sidon, Waddington 1866 c. There can be no doubt that אבסת is the Egyptian goddess Bast, with א prosth.; see Herodotus ii 60. 137 (temple of Bubastis). 156, and cf. the name מעל אבסת 31 a. הקרתחדשתי the *Carthaginian*; the Carthage in Cyprus (11 n.) or in Africa.

L. 7. לקח Either Qal *took* or Pual *were taken*, pf. 3 plur. מכנבם is unintelligible, unless it be a mistake for מכלבם l. 10.

L. 8. לרעם Possibly *to the friends* i. e. לרעם. The Corp. renders לכו *were taken* i. e. by lot, cf. 1 S. 10 20 f.; but this is uncertain.

L. 9. *virgins* who sang and danced in the temple rites; cf. *עלמות הוקמות* Ps. 68 26. *על עלמות* Ps. 46 (title). 1 Ch. 15 20.

L. 10. See A 15 n.

21. *Kition*. iv cent. B. C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 31. Plate II.

1 מצבת אז אש ימנא ארש רב סרסרם לאבי לפרסי
2 רב סרסרם בן ארש רב סרסרם בן מנחם רב סרסרם
3 בן משל רב סרסרם בן פרסי רב סרסרם ולאמי
4 לשמובל בת בעלרם בן מלכיתן בן עזר רב חז
5 ענם על משכב נחתנם לעלם

This pillar (is that) which Arish, chief of the brokers, erected to his father, Parsi, ²chief of the brokers, son of Arish, chief of the brokers, son of Menahem, chief of the brokers, ³son of Mashal, chief of the brokers, son of Parsi, chief of the brokers; and to his mother, ⁴Shem-zabul, daughter of Ba'al-ram, son of Milk-yathon, son of 'Azar, chief of the prefects (?), over their resting-place, for ever.

This inscr. is written on a fine monolith of white marble with a gabled top; it belongs to the type of memorial inscr. represented by 15. 16. 18. 19. The stone was found in the necropolis of Kition outside Old Larnaka in 1894.

L. 1. *ארש* is found again in 38 4 and often in Carth. inscr.; on a v cent. gold ring from Syria, *Levy Siegel u. Gemmen* 53; in the form *Arisus* CIL viii 3335, *Arsus* ib. 9054; cf. *עברארש* 45 7. The *✓ארש* Assy. *ērešu* = *desire, request*, Hebr. *אֲרֵשׁ*; possibly this is the meaning of the name here. *רב סרסרם* Not found elsewhere. The usage of *סָרְסוֹר* in Rabbinic literature gives a clue to the meaning here. Thus in *Pesikta* ed. Buber 45 a *סָרְסוֹר* = *mediator* and is applied to Moses, *אף הסרסור הרגיש בעבודה*, 'even the mediator trembled on account of it'; in the Mishnah it is used of a *negotiator* in a business transaction, e. g. *Baba Bathra* 87 a, cf. the Midrash on this passage, *Midr. R. Deuteron*. § 3 fol. 91 b ('ס applied to Moses); *Talm. Jerus. Megila* 74 d &c. In Arab. *سُرْسُور* denotes *intelligent, skilful*,

one who manages a business well. Thus the earliest authority for the word is this inscr.; and there is no reason to doubt that it is a genuine Phoen. word, a technical term of Phoen. commercial life. It was probably adopted from Phoenicia by the cognate languages. Fränkel, *Aram. Fremdw. in Arab.* (1886) 186, conjectured that the Arab. *سُرُور* was a loan-word from Aram., but since the discovery of this inscr. he has abandoned the conjecture, *ZA* (1896) x 99. So we may render *רב סרסרם* *chief of the brokers*, who probably formed a merchant guild or corporation, *ἀρχιπραγματευτής*. In the family of Arish the office was hereditary, having been held, on the father's side, for six generations. *נַפְרָסִי* Cf. 18 3 f. n. *פרסי* Perhaps *Πέρσις*, Neh. 12 22. The name has been found on the foot of a vase from Sidon, Cl.-Ganneau *Ét.* ii 155.

L. 2. *מנחם* Cf. 80 2. CIS i 87 3 (Cyprus). 102 δ (Egypt).

L. 3. *משל* Cf. Euting *Carth. Inscr.* 130 4 f. *מלכרמשל*.

L. 4. *שמוכל* Perhaps the *Name* *has*, or *is*, *carried* cf. the fem. pr. n. *בעלאוכל* CIS i 158 2 f. In Assy. *sabdlu* = 'carry,' 'bring' (e.g. *KB* ii p. 235 l. 88; iii 2 p. 92 l. 53 &c.), ? = 'honour,' 'exalt,' as given in *COT* 550; cf. Arab. *نَظَّلَ* *take up and carry*. The pronunciation was prob. *sabul*; cf. the pr. n. *Zabullus* CIL viii 5987. 9947. The explanation suggested by Derenbourg, *Rev. Études Juiv.* xxx 118 ff., that *שמוכל* is a variation of such a name as *שכניה* (similarly Halévy *Rev. Sémi.* iii 183 ff. 'heavenly name,' cf. Hab. 3 11) has little probability. The 'Name' may denote 'Ashtart, called *שם בעל* in 5 18. *בעלרם* Cf. 23 2 n., a name belonging to the royal family of Kition. *מלכיתן*, also a royal name, is given to other persons, e.g. 41 6 f. (Carth.) &c. *עור* Prob. shortened from *עורבעל* or the like; it is found in Carth. inscr., e.g. CIS i 453 5 f. *Carth.* 27 5 f. &c. *רב חזענם* Like *רב סרסרם* only met with here.

A careful examination of the stone makes it almost certain that *חזענם* is the right reading, and that the indentation in the stone after *ח* is not a letter, but a recent mark due to an accidental blow. The reading *חזענם*, given by Nöldeke, *ZA* iv 402 ff., cannot, therefore, be accepted. The meaning is doubtful. (1) The word may be connected with the Assy. *ḫaznu* 'governor,' 'prefect,' of which the plur. is *ḫasianuti*, pointing to *חזה* as the root (Zimmern *ZA* vi 248); Tell-el-Am. 179 19. 147 5 *Zimridi ḫazanu ša Ziduna*, and often. This gives a suitable sense. The title may have passed from the Canaanite coast to Cyprus; Assyrian influence was predominant in both regions at various times. The *ע*, not used in Assy., may be due to an attempt to express the long vowel. (2) It is natural to think of the Arab. *حزن* *lay up, store*,

guard; حَارِث guardian of treasures, of Paradise Qur. 39 73. Chief of the treasurers would give a good sense here; but it is not likely that a pure Arab. title would be used of a local official in Cyprus. (3) Nöld., l. c., suggests חוֹי עֵינַיִם eye-gazers, i. e. seers, diviners, cf. μαυτιάρχης Waddington 2795; but the construction seers of, i. e. with, eyes is not very natural, even if the reading חוֹי עֵינַיִם is to be accepted. (4) Halévy, *Rev. Sémi.* iii (1895) 183 ff., proposes chief of the inspectors of wells חוֹי עֵינַיִם; so Lidzb.(?). The plur. of עֵינַיִם in Hebr. is עֵינַיִם, but the mas. form may have been used in Phoen.; Halévy compares חוֹי עֵינַיִם Josh. 15 34, which is perhaps a dual. The office may be illustrated from a Gk. inscr., B.C. 333, where an official is rewarded for his services *περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν κρητῶν*, Michel 105 = CIA iv 2. 169 b; cf. also *ἐπιμελητῆς ἀραθῆς Ἐφκας πηγῆς* (from Palmyra), Waddington 2571 c.; procurator aquarum, Rushforth *Lat. Hist. Inscr.* 89. It may be questioned whether חוֹי seer could be used for inspector; שומר keeper 38 7 would be a more natural term. On the whole (1) is to be preferred.

L. 5. על משכב נוחתם לעלם Cf. 16 2.

22. Kitlon. iv-iii cent. Larnaka.

1 לעברעשתר בן אשמן
2 חרש עגלת פעל וי...

To 'Abd-'ashtar, son of Eshmun-..., the chariot-smith;
zi... made (it).

This inscr. was found at Larnaka in 1894; see Myres and Richter *Catal. of Cypr. Mus.* 172 and Plate viii. Below the inscr. is the incised outline of a figure resembling the steering-oar (?) carved on CIS i 265, Tab. xlvii. But the figure here can hardly be meant for an oar, nor does it look like any part of a chariot. Michon, *Rev. Arch.* (1900) 458, suggests that it represents some tool, such as a plane, and compares the monument of Boitēnos Hermes, a maker of beds, *κλεινοπηγός*, on which his tools are carved (CIG 2135).

L. 1. לעברעשתר For the usual עברעשתרת 29 2. 5 &c.; see for the form 1 17 n. ... אשמן The full name was prob. compounded with עזר, אדון, or יתן.

L. 2. חרש עגלת i. e. תרש עגלת. For חרש a worker in metal or

Milk-yathon, king of Kition and [Id]alion, because Melqarth heard their voice. May he bless them!

This inscr. belongs to the type illustrated by nos. 12-14.

L. 1. ביסם See 12 1 n. מעלת See 20 B 2 n. מלכיתן Cf. 24. 25. 30. According to the chronology given by Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxvi, Milk-yathon reigned first from B.C. 392 to 388 and then from 387 to 361 (see 149 B 5). His third year will thus be 390.

L. 2. בעלרם 24 1¹. ססל Cf. 13 2 n. חרש i.e. חרש, cf. 38 1. 46 1. 102 1; 2 Ch. 24 4. 12 (of the temple). 15 8 (of the altar). But this and the word following are uncertain.

L. 3. מלך הכרסים See 15 2 n. עורתבעל perhaps *my help is Ba'al*; the usual form of the name is בעל. מלקרת = עור בעל *king of the city*, cf. 29 3 &c. 38 1 and 3 2 n. This title belonged to Ba'al of Tyre, and came to be used as a pr. name; thus 38 1 בעל צר לארין למלקרת בעל. In the Gk. form of the latter inscr. the equivalent of למלקרת is ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ ΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ. By the Greeks Melqarth was identified with Herakles, as we learn also from Philo of Byblus, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568, Μεγάθρος ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. From Tyre the cult of Melqarth spread to Cyprus (as this inscr. and 29 and the Cyprian names 'עברם', 'ג'רם' testify), and to Egypt, Carthage, and other places; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 20 f. Melqarth is not mentioned in the O. T., but the worship of the Tyrian Ba'al introduced into N. Israel by Jezebel was most likely offered to him. שמע i.e. prob. שמע.

L. 4. Further objects dedicated to the deity. פקר המפקר has been rendered 'curavit hanc curam'; but this rendering of המפקר, while it agrees with that of פקר (cf. Ezr. 1 2), does not suit המסלמח and the stairs (?). Accordingly Cl.-Ganneau explains the word from Eze. 43 21, where it is ordered to burn the sin-offering הַבִּית לְמִפְקָדָהּ. The *mifqad*, then, was some place adjoining the temple,

¹ (1) Although this Ba'al-ram was the father of king Milk-yathon, he is not given the title of king either here or in 24 1; we may conclude, therefore, that he never was king. (2) In the bilingual inscr. CIS i 89 *our prince* (ארן) Ba'al-ram, son of 'Abd-milk, dedicates a statue in the reign of Milk-yathon. This Ba'al-ram is prob. to be distinguished from (1). The Cypriote version gives δ φάναξ as the equivalent of ארן, a title which belonged to princes of the Cyprian royal house, cf. Aristotle ap. Harpocration ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ καλοῦνται ἀνακτες, αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναῖκες ἀνασσαί *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 166; also Clearchus ap. Athen. Deipnos. ib. ii 311. (3) Another Ba'al-ram was king of Kition and Idalion, as his coins testify, about B. C. 396, just before Milk-yathon; but his name has not so far been read with certainty on any inscr.; in Idal. 7 1 בעל[מלך] not בעל[רם] is prob. the right reading. See Babelon *Pers. Achém.* cxxvi-cxxx.

but outside the sanctuary; one of the gates of the city was near it, Neh. 3 31. There is nothing, however, in this inscr. to determine exactly what is meant by המפקד; but it prob. had something to do with the statue referred to in l. 2, perhaps *the pedestal* (so Lidzb. 158 n. 1). חסלמח The meaning of this word is also doubtful.

It may be *steps*, from סלל to lift up, cast up; hence סלם ladder Gen. 28 12. יפקר The word is uncertain; it may be Hofal pf.

plur. as in l. 5. ארנשמש l. 6, only here; cf. עברשמש CIS i 116

2 (=HALIOΔΩPOC). 117 2. מקמשמש (name of a city) Lidzb. 316.

Shamash was the sun-god; cf. in Old Aram. שמש 61 2 &c. 62 22.

64 9; in Ethiop. סመ.

L. 5. ופקר 3 plur.; the subject is 'Abd-pumi and 'Abd-Melqarth l. 6. A fresh dedication is mentioned here.

L. 6. עברשמי Only found here; for שמי see 12 1 n. אשן בן i. e. שן בן. The constr. st. occurs again in 36 2 אשן בן, and the abs. in 12 3 אשנם (see n.). The sixth year of Milk-yathon was prob.

b. c. 386, unless the reckoning started from 387 when he became king a second time according to Babelon's chronology (above).

L. 7. The formula of blessing resembles that in 36 3 f. For suff. in קלם see 5 add. note.

24. Idalion. CIS i 90. Date 391 B.C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus
Room no. 289.

1 מרקע חרץ אז אש יתן מלך מלכיתן מלך כתי ואדיל בן בעלרם לאלי
2 לרשף מכל באדיל בירח בל בשנת 11 למלכי על כתי ואדיל כ שמע
קל יברך

This plating of gold (is that) which king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram, gave to his god Reshef of Mukl in Idalion, in the month Bul, in the 2nd year of his reign over Kition and Idalion, because he heard (his) voice: may he bless!

This inscr. belongs to the same type as 25 and 26.

L. 1. מרקע i. e. מרקע, again in Idal. 7 3 מרקע נחש (Euting *Sitzber. Pr. Akad.* (1887) 422). The מרקע = *beat out thin*, of metals, e. g. Jer. 10 9 מרקע מרקע. Ex. 39 3. Num. 17 3. Talm B. *Sheqalim* 9 b

רקעי זהב. The word here prob. denotes the gold-plating of the image (סמל) of the god, cf. *ἀγάλμα ἐπὶ χρυσόν*, Herod. ii 182, and Is. 40 19. If מרסע meant *bowl* or *vessel of beaten gold* (Corp.), the inscr. would have been written on the bowl itself, as 11, not on a stone tablet. חרץ See 3 4 n. בעלרם . . מלכיתן See 23 1. 2 n.

L. 2. רשף סכל באריל Cf. 25 1 f. 27 5. CIS i. 94 4 f. סכל is prob. the name of a city, see 20 A 13 n.; and רשף סכל = τῷ Ἀπολλῶνι τῷ Ἀμυκλαῖ CIS i 89 (Cypriote), Ἀμυκλός being a dialectical form of the classical Ἀμυκλαῖος. The Phoenicians usually tried to give the names of foreign deities a form familiar to themselves; thus 'Reshef of Mukl' was their way of representing Apollo of Amyclae in Lacedaemon. For רשף see 12 3 n.; this and the following inscr. show that he was specially honoured at Idalion. The prep. in באריל implies that the cult of the deity was transplanted from its native home; similarly באינצם בעשםם 39 1. שחר בנרב 64 2. 92 3. 99 2. In 45 1. 55 1, however, this appears not to be the case. בל See 5 1 n. לְמַלְכֵי i.e. למלכי Inf. with suff. 3 m. sing., as in 26 2.

25. Idalion. CIS i 91. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 225.

1 סמל . אז . אש יתן . מלך . מלכיתן . מלך . כתי . ונאריל בן בעלרם
לאלי ל'
2 רשף . מכל . נצחת . את . סבי . היצאם . ועזרנם

This statue (is that) which king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and [Idalion, son of Ba'al-ram], gave [to his god] Reshef of Mukl. With his ? I conquered those who came out and their allies

The general type of this inscr. resembles that of 24 and 26.

L. 1. סמל Cf. 13 2 n.

L. 2. רשף סכל Cf. 24 2 n. נצחת i.e. נִצְחָתָהּ or נִצְחָתָהּ. The primary meaning of נצח is *shine*, as appears from Aram. usage, e.g. Apoc. 15 6 נִצְחָתָהּ רַיְמֵנְתָּהּ *raiment fine, shining*. From this comes the derived meaning *be illustrious, triumph, conquer*, e.g. Midr. Rab. *Ekaḥ* 1 § 11 ונצח חבריה (Qal), Targ. Jon. Num. 16 14 וְנִצְחָהּ (Ethp.); נִצְחָהּ *victory* Jud. 15 18, נִצְחָהּ Targ. Jer. Ex. 14 14. 25; in the O.T. cf. the late passages

Lam. 3 18. 1 Ch. 29 11: Driver *Samuel* 98 f. את Prep. as in 4 8. 5 4 &c., here prob. *with the aid of*. כְּבִי The reading is uncertain and the meaning unknown. The first letter looks like a ב, possibly a ז, the second appears to be a ג. The Corp. reads כְּבִי *his counsel* (i. e. Reshef-yathon's), and quotes in illustration Ps. 25 14 &c.; this is very doubtful. הִיצְאֻם *those who came forth* i. e. to battle; for יִצָּא in this sense cf. 1 S. 8 20. 2 S. 11 1. תְּזַרְנֶם Cf. 5 add. note. The reference appears to be to some historical occasion, perhaps a rebellion or political revolution.

26. Idalion. CIS i 92. Date 354 B.C.

- 1 [סמל או אש יתן מלך פמייתן מלך] כתי. ואדיל. בן מלך. מלכיתן
 2 [מלך כתי ואדיל לאלי לרשף מכל ב]רח כרר בשנת שמן וו וו וו וו
 למלכי על
 3 [כתי ואדיל כ שמע קל יברך]

The son of king Milk-yathon was Pumi-yathon (B.C. 361-312), see 12. 13. 149 B 6. The missing portions of the inscr. are restored after 24 and 25.

L. 2. רר The name of this month occurs again in the NPun. inscr. 55 5. בשנת שמן למלכי Cf. 2 K. 24 12 בִּשְׁנַת שְׁמֹנֶה לְקִלְכֹּ.

27. Idalion. CIS i 93. B.C. 254. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 239.

- 1 בימם וו וו וו לירח חיר בשנת מ ל לארן מלכם פתלמים בן
 פתלמי[ם...]
 2 אש הא שת מ מ ל וו וו וו לאש כתי כנפרס ארסנאם פלדלף
 אמתאמר בת מל..
 3 בן עברססם בן גרעת הסמלם האל אש יטנא בתשלם בת מריחי
 בן אשמנא[רן]

4 על בן בני על אשמנארן ושלם ועברדרשף שלשת בן מריחי בן
 אשמנארן בן נחמי
 5 בן גלב הנדר אש בן נדר אבנם מריחי בחיי לאדננם לדרשף מבל
 יברכם

On the 7th day of the month Hiyar in the 31st year of the lord of kings Ptolemy son of Ptolemy . . . , ² which is the 57th year of the men of Kition, the Kanephoros of Arsinoë Philadelphos (being) Amath-osir, daughter of Mk . . . , ³ son of 'Abd-sasom, son of Gad-ath:—These statues (are those) which Bath-shalom, daughter of Mar-yehai, son of Eshmun-adon, set up ⁴ for her grandsons Eshmun-adon and Shallum and 'Abd-reshef, the three sons of Mar-yehai, son of Eshmun-adon, son of Nahmai, ⁵ son of Gallab, (being) the vow which their father Mar-yehai had vowed during his life-time to their lord Reshef of Mukl: may he bless them!

L. 1. ביסם See 12 1 n. חזי again in 31 d. 45 5, perhaps identical with the Aram. אִייר, Targ. Jon. Ex. 12 39, Hebr. וי, the second month, April-May. מלכם See 5 18 n. פתלמים i. e. Ptolemy ii Philadelphus, 285-247 B. C. The missing word at the end of the line is prob. מלדלף. Cf. 10 6 f. and 20 4 ff.

L. 2. אשר היא שנת i. e. אשר היא שנת. Note the pron. after the relat., a construction which occurs several times in Hebr., chiefly before an adj. or ptcip., e. g. Gen. 9 3 אשר היא חי Dt. 20 20. Hag. 1 9 &c.; in Aram., e. g. Dan. 7 17 אִנּוֹן אֶרְבַּע . . . חִיּוֹתָא. Targ. 2 S. 20 19 חִיּוֹתָא מִרְמִינָא; in Arab., e. g. Quran 43 51 هَذَا الَّذِي مَرَّمِينَ *this who is a contemptible person*; the same is found in Ethiopic. See Driver *Tenses* § 199 obs., *Samuel* 64. For שנת = שנת sing. cf. 6 1 n. לאש בתי The era of the people of Kition began in 311 B. C. In the previous year Pumi-yathon (12 1 n.) was put to death by Ptolemy i Soter, king of Egypt, and this brought the native dynasty to an end. For the threefold indication of date cf. 20 4 f. כנפריס = κανηφόρος *Basket-bearer*, a title given to the virgins who carried the sacred baskets in the processions of Athene, Demeter, and Dionysos at Athens. In the cult of the Ptolemies, who were treated with divine honours (cf. 28 2-4, 20 5 ff.), the office of the Kanephoros was one of such dignity that in Egypt (and in Cyprus too) the year was indicated by

her name; for this there is evidence from papyri, from the bilingual inscr. of Canopus (238 B.C.) l. 2 *κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Μενεκρατείας τῆς Φιλάμμονος* (Michel no. 551) exactly as here, and from the Rosetta Stone l. 5 *κανηφόρου Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἀρείας τῆς Διογένους* (CIG 4697), &c., in all cases, be it noted, in connexion with Arsinoë and not with other Ptolemaic queens. From this inscr. it appears that the cult of the Ptolemies, with the *κανηφορία* of Arsinoë, was established in Cyprus. The name of the Kanephoros, Amath-Osir, is Egyptian (cf. עבראסר 14 2), but she was certainly a Phoenician by race. ארסινוס פלדלפוס (genitive) *Arsinoë Philadelphus*, the sister-consort of Ptolemy II; the pair were worshipped as gods, cf. *θεοὶ ἀδελφοί* 10 7.

L. 3. עברססס See 16 1 n. נדעת Baethgen explains as *Fortune of Aith(e)*; cf. נד השסס 59 C 2 and the Pun. name *Giddeneme* in Plaut. *Poen.* = נד CIS i 383 1, the Palm. נדרצ Vog. 84 3, and the Hebr. נד Num. 13 10; for the deity עת, עתח, עתא see 112 4 n. Nöldeke, however, considers that the form prob. = נדען, جَدْعَان, جَدْع, جَدْعَة, &c., ZDMG xlii 471. האל Cf. 5 22. יסנא Ifl. 3 sing. fem.; for the omission of the fem. ending cf. 3 add. note i, and 56 1 מנא.

L. 4. על on behalf of, cf. CIS i 178 בנמ . . . על בעלשלך. 171 6 נדר בעלשלך . . . על בנמ. [ככרם] מאת על בני על עברמלקרת. בנ See 3 1 n. בנ is plur. constr.; בני sing. with suff. 3 sing. fem. Elsewhere this suff. is ה', e. g. מספנתח 3 6; in Pun. מ', e. g. קלא CIS i 371 6, or ע', e. g. קלע Carth. 142 5 &c. שלם Cf. 28 3 n. חמי Cf. CIS i 94 4 אשמנאון בנ נחמי.

L. 5. גלב See 20 A 12 n. נדר As in Arab., the copulative verb בנ is used with the perf. to express a pluperfect, e. g. كَانْ خَرَجَ he had set out: Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 3 (c), König *Syntax* § 122, Nöldeke *Sem. Spr.* 26. This is the only instance of the idiom so far known in Phoen. The father had registered his vow for the benefit of his three sons, but he did not live to carry it out; so this was done by their grandmother. The inscr. CIS i 381-383 are perhaps to be understood in a somewhat similar way; thus 381 2 b [תן] [אש נדר] [אש נדר] i. e. the son gave this gift which his father had vowed; so apparently 382 [נדר] [נדר בעלשלך] and 383 [אש נדר] [אש נדר] [נדר] [נדר], the first-named carries out the vow which the second had made. אדנמ See 5 add. note. בחיי during his life-time, cf. 18 2 למבחי during my life-time. רשף מכל See 24 2 n.

28. Larnax Lapēthos. CIS i 95. Date circ. end of iv cent. B. C.

Ἀθηνᾶ Σωτείρα Νίκη
καὶ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου
Πραξίδημος Σέσματος τὸν
βα[μὸ]ν ἀνέθ[ηκ]εν
Ἀγα[θ]ῇ τύχῃ

לענת עז חים 1
ולאד מלכם פתלמיש 2
בעלשלם בן [ם]סמי 3
יקרש [א]ת מ[ז]בח 4
למ[ז]ול נעם 5

To 'Anath, the strength of life, and to the lord of kings Ptolemy, Ba'al-shillel, son of Sesmai, consecrated this altar. To good luck!

This bilingual inscr. is written on a rock outside the village of Larnax Lapēthos, near the ancient city of Lapēthos on the N. coast of the island.

L. 1. לענת The goddess 'Anath is met with again in Idal. 7 3 (Euting *Sitz.-ber. Berl. Ak.* (1887) 420 ff.). Her cult goes back to very early times in Syria and Palestine, and has left traces in the names of the old Canaanite towns 'Anathoth (Josh. 21 18 &c.), Beth-'anath (Josh. 19 38 &c.), Beth-'anoth (Josh. 15 59), which were the seats of her worship. The father of Shamgar was called 'Anath (Jud. 5 6)¹. Most likely the goddess came originally from Babylonia, where Anatum was the consort of Anu (cf. 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎺 2 K. 17 31): Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 153, Cheyne *Ency. Bibl.* s. v. Anath. At the same time it is curious that the Canaanites should have adopted Anatum and not the far more prominent Anu; possibly the resemblance between Anatum and ענת may be only

¹ Perhaps shortened from ענרענ; in any case an unbecoming name for an Israelite. But it is possible that Shamgar was not a 'minor judge,' but a foreign oppressor of Israel ענר ענ is read by Cheyne l. c. in Jud. 5 6; the name 'Anath, like Shamgar and Sisera, will then be purely foreign. See Moore *Judges* 143.

accidental; E. Meyer, *ZDMG* (1877) xxxi 717 ff., and Zimmern, *KAT* 353, doubt the identification. From Syria the worship of 'Anath was introduced into Egypt, prob. by the Chetas (חֲתַיִם), and her name appears on the monuments from the 18th dynasty downwards. She was a war-goddess, and was represented helmeted and fully armed; see the monument in the Brit. Mus., Egypt. Saloon no. 191, illustrated in W. Max Müller *Asien u. Eur.* 313. Perhaps it was as a war-goddess that 'Anath becomes Athene in the Gk. version of this inscr.; and the similarity of the two names in sound no doubt assisted the identification (cf. 24 2 n.). Thus לענת עז חים = Ἀθηνᾶ Σωτῆρα; for חים עז cf. Ps. 27 1. 28 8, and 57 1 חים.

L. 2. ארץ מלכם For ארץ מלכם 5 18 n. מחלמיש A local variety (cf. 29 4 ff.) of the usual form מחלמים 27 1 &c.; here Ptolemy i Soter (B.C. 323-285). According to Diodorus Sic. xix 79, Praxippos king of Lapēthos, along with other Cyprian princes, declared for Antigonos in the struggles of the Diadochoi. Seleucus as the ally of Ptolemy i laid siege to Kerynia and Lapēthos; later on, in 312, Ptolemy himself landed in Cyprus, put Pumi-yathon king of Kition to death (12 1 n.), and then seized the person of Praxippos, thus bringing to an end the dynasty of Lapēthos. The inscr. must have been written not long after Ptolemy's victory. The Gk. here is difficult to translate. The Corp. suggests an ellipse of νίκη in l. 2, thus: 'Athenae-victoriae et (victoriae) regis Ptolemaei.' Schröder, 156 n., takes the καί of l. 2 as belonging to the preceding word, 'and to the Victory of king Ptolemy.' The second explanation is, perhaps, preferable. For the cult of the Ptolemies, who in Egypt were associated with the ancient gods of the country, cf. 27 2 n.

L. 3. בעלשלם i.e. *Ba'al requies* (Piel), CIS i 338 3; cf. אשמשלם 35 1. 55 1, and שלם 27 4. The Gk. has Πραξίδημος. On a Gk. inscr. from the same place one Πραξίδημος is ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ ναοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Λαπρκαίου (Waddington 2779). ססמי This name is found in 1 Ch. 2 40 ססמי (LXX Σισομαί, Luc. Σισαμαί, Vulg. Sisamoi) borne by a man of Judah descended from an Egyptian ancestor; it evidently has some connexion with the god ססם, see 16 1 n. Cl.-Gan. thinks that the name in full was ססמי[ח] Sasom-yehai, thus accounting for the final י. The Gk. Πραξίδημος Σίσμαος admits of no clear explanation; perhaps Σίσμαος = Σισμαῖος (adj.), the י in ססמי being treated as the gentile ending. It is difficult to believe that Σίσμαος could have been written for Σισμάου.

L. 4. יקרש Ifil perf., cf. יקרשה 29 9. 14 and ימנא 13 2 n. For the dedication of an altar cf. 3 4 and 40 1 נחשת ב. 12 2. 29 10 (plur.).

84. אית Usually אית as sign of accus., but cf. 8 3. 7; Cl.-Gan., however, reads קרשת 1 sing.

L. 5. למול נעם *to good luck!*, a formula invoking a blessing; here at the end of the inscr., as in CIS i 89, where the Cypriote version has *τύχαι ἀγεθαί*. The formula occurs more often at the beginning, e.g. 29 1 נעם 1, and the frequent *ἀγαθὴν τύχην* in Gk. inscr.; cf. the Rabbinic למול טוב i. e. למז' ט. סָלָל Aram. סָלָל is a *star of fortune or fate*; the plur. סָלָלוֹת = *signs of the Zodiac* 2 K 23 5, סָלָלוֹת Job 38 32. In Arab. مَنَازِل plur. of مَنَزِل is used of the *stations* of the moon, e.g. Quran 10 5 'it is He who ordained . . . the moon for a light مَنَازِل and appointed her stations.' Prob. סָל is a loan-word from Assy. *mansaltu* = 'station,' 'abode (of God).'

29. Larnax Lapēthos 2 or Narnaka. iii-ii cent. B.C.

Discovered 1893.

- 1 מ ש ל נ ע ם
 2 הסמל 1 משאנך יתנבעל רב ארץ בן גרעשתרת רב ארץ בן
 עברע[שתרת] סר
 3 בן גרעשתרת בן שלם . . . רמל אש יטנאת לי אבמקדש מלקרת
 ס ם לשמי
 4 בחדש זבחששם אש בשנת 1 לארן מלכם פתלמיש בן ארן
 מלכם פתלמיש
 5 אש המת לעם לפט שנת 3 ו 111 וכהן לארן מלכם עברעשתרת
 בן גרעשתרת
 6 רב ארץ . . . רמל ובירח מפע אש בשנת 111 לארן מלכם פתלמיש
 בן ארן מלכם
 7 פתלמיש אבחי אבי ישת במקדש מלקרת אית משפן אבי בנחשת
 ובירח
 8 פעלת אש בשנת 111 111 לארן מלכם פתלמיש בן ארן מלכם
 פתלמיש בחי

- 9 אבי יתת ויקדשת חית שזית בגבל שר נרנך לארן אש לי למלקרת
 10 . שבתבאת החית . מנעלת קמת עם ומזבח לארן אש לי למלקרת
 11 על חיי ועל חי זרעי ים מר ים ולצמח צדק ולאשתו ולאדמי
 12 [בחדר] שם ונכסאם ירח מר ירח ער עלם כקדם ומהדלת הנחשת
 13 . . . תבת וסמדת בקר אש בן מנחת חני ופעלת אנך עלת
 14 הימזאפבת בכסף משקל כ[כ]ר 11 / 11 ו ויקדשת לארן
 15 [אש לי למלקרת] פקת ונעם יכן לי ולזרעי ויסכרן מלקרת
 16 נעם שרש

Good fortune! ² This statue?? Yathan-ba'al governor of the district, son of Ger-'ashtart governor of the district, son of 'Abd-'a[shtart] SR, ³ son of Ger-'ashtart, son of Shallum ? RML, (is that) which I set up for myself in the sanctuary of Melqarth, S M, for my name, ⁴ on the new-moon of Zebaḥ-šissim, which is in the 11th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings Ptolemy, ⁵ which is the 33rd year of the people of Lapēthos, and the priest to the lord of kings (being) 'Abd-'ashtart, son of Ger-'ashtart ⁶ governor of the district . . . RML.—And in the month MP', which is in the 4th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings ⁷ Ptolemy, in the life-time of my father, I placed in the sanctuary of Melqarth the MSPN of my father in bronze.—And in the month ⁸ Pa'aloth, which is in the 5th year of the lord of kings Ptolemy, son of the lord of kings Ptolemy, in the life-time ⁹ of my father, I gave and consecrated many (?) animals in the border of the country of Narnaka to the lord who is mine, Melqarth; ¹⁰ ? ? the animals ? ? ? and altars to the lord who is mine, Melqarth, ¹¹ for my life and for the life of my seed, day by day, and to the legitimate offspring ? and to my lord (?) ¹² on the new-moons and on the full-moons, month by month, for ever as aforetime (?), and ? of bronze ¹³ . . . ? and a yoke of oxen (?) which is part of the offering of my grace.—And I have made upon ¹⁴ ? ?

in silver, (by) weight 100 and 2 (talents?), and I consecrated (it) to the lord ¹⁶[who is mine, Melqa]rth; ? and good be to me and to my seed, and may Melqarth remember me ? ?

L. 1. מל נעם For מל נעם (28 5 n.), a local peculiarity of pronunciation, of which other instances occur in this inscr., e.g. מלמיש for מלמיש, possibly סמרת for צמרת l. 13, אבמקדש for ב' l. 3 &c. As a rule this expression is in the dat., but the nom. is found in a Gk. inscr. from the neighbourhood of Pergamum, *τύχη ἀγαθή* (Michel 1360).

L. 2. מלמנך Possibly the last three letters may be the 1st pers. pron.; Cl.-Gan., *Ét.* ii § 21, reads מלמנך *this statue is mine, (yea) mine, Yathan-ba'al*. He assumes מל to be a unique form of the demonstr. pron., and finds it twice again in l. 10; מ he takes as the rel. with suff. of 1st pron. = אשר לי, and מנך as added for emphasis after the suff. in מ (cf. in Hebr. *אני ה' מ' S. 25 24 &c.*). These are serious assumptions, especially the forms מל and מ. The suff. ' is nearly always written in this inscr., and the rel. here is inconvenient before מל in l. 3. רב מרן Cf. *ῥαβμάχης*. The office prob. dated from the establishment of the autonomy of Lapēthos. גרעשתרת See 17 2 n. 46 2. The line prob. should be completed with [רב מרן בן עברא]סר.

L. 3. שלם Cf. 27 4. רמל . . . Here and in l. 6 Berger, *Rev. d'assy.* (1895) iii 76, reads קורמל taking it as the name of a place, Cape Krommyon, the NW. point of Cyprus. Cl.-Gan. reads מרכרמל, as a title of the מרן. In the latter case, the first three letters recall the *Πραξ-* in the names *Πραξιθέμιος* 28, *Πράξιππος* 28 2 n., *Πράξαδρος* Strabo 582 3 ed. Müll., the founder of Lapēthos—all names connected with this part of the island. ימנא Cf. 16 2. אבמקדש Apparently מכ for ב, but in l. 7 we find במקדש; cf. מבחי l. 7 for בחי l. 8. For מלקרת see 28 3 n. A Gk. inscr. which mentions Poseidon Larnakios has been found on the same spot (p. 81 *supr.*); hence it is prob. that the Gks. regarded Melqarth as a marine deity and identified him with Poseidon. The missing letters may be restored מל[בר נעם עד על]ם *a good memorial for ever*.

L. 4. For the date reckoned by the universal, local, and ecclesiastical systems cf. Luke 3 1 f. בחדש i.e. on the first day of the month; see 20 A 2 n. For the name of the month see 14 1 n. מלמיש See 28 2 n. There is nothing to determine with certainty which Ptolemy is referred to here; see note on l. 12 below.

L. 5. **המ** is the plur. of **ה** 5 11. 22. 42 17, the plur. being used because the number of the years is given, contrast 27 א **ש** lvii **ש** **ה**; **שנת** must be plur. too, like **ימ** before dates 12 י **נ**. As **המ** agrees with **שנת**, the form was evidently used for both genders. **למ** Cl.-Gan. **ש** **למ**. On coins of Šidqi-milk, king of Lapēthos (circ. 449–420 B.C.), the name of the city is **למ**, 149 B 7; in Gk. it is written **Λάπηθος**, **Λάπαθος**, **Λάπιθος**, **Λήπηθις**. When the era of Lapēthos began is uncertain; see below on l. 12. **כח** *priest* i.e. of the deified Ptolemy; cf. the reckoning of the year by the name of the Kanephoros of Arsinoë at Idalion, 27 2. The latter inscr. also illustrates the threefold synchronism here.

L. 6. vdm Cf. 6 1.

L. 7. אבתי אבי i. e. בתי אבי, but l. 8. i. 3 n. אבמקיש. ישת i. e. ישת Ifl perf. 1 sing. of שית, *I set*. משמן Meaning unknown. If ש=ש=ס, we may compare מסמנת *ceiling, covering* 8 6; but this does not suggest any suitable sense. The context requires not the *overlaying* of an image but an *image* itself. וכירח The third section of inscr. begins here.

L. 8. מעלת Sec 20 B 2 n.

L. 9. יתח i. e. יתח. Perhaps *many animals* (Lidzb.); שנית then will=שנית, the common Aram. word for *many* (שנית), e. g. Palm. 121 5. 147 i 4. 6, used poetically in later Hebr., e. g. Job 8 7. Ps. 73 12 (שנה). Job 8 11 &c. (שנה). Cl.-Gan. renders *stray animals*, i. e. שנית (in form like פרה Ps. 128 3 &c.) from שנה, used to supply the daily and monthly sacrifices. גבל שד i. e. גבל שד cf. 5 19. 20. נרנך *Narnaka* = Λάρναξ near Lapēthos, cf. Nicosia = Leucosia. לארן אש לי A more solemn and emphatic expression than לארני; contrast לארני (?) l. 11.

L. 10. Owing to the condition of the stone, the text and meaning of the first half of the line are quite uncertain. None of the restorations are satisfactory. Cl.-Gan. reads וְשָׁבַת בְּאֵת הַחַיִּית זֶם מַעֲלָת קֶמֶת זֶם וּמִזְבֹּחַת and takes the general sense to be *and I made over the produce of these animals to the service of* (lit. *as serving*, ptc. fem.) *this QMT, and sacrificed* (Pual ptc.) *to Melgarth*. But the Qal of שָׁבַת, though occasionally used in Hebr. with a trans. sense (e.g. שָׁבַת שְׁבוֹת and Ps. 85 5. Is. 52 8 &c.), could hardly be used of *rendering* or *applying* a gift; if בְּאֵת = תְּבוּאָת it must mean *produce* of the earth, not *offspring* of cattle. Landau improves on this by reading וְעֵלָת for מַעֲלָת, *and the offerings of this foundation* (??) *and the altars to Melgarth* (Beitr. z. Allertumsk. d. Or. ii 47). Berger's reading עַם תִּקְמַת *a rising of the people* has little probability.

L. 11. על חי ועל חי זרעי The formula which occurs frequently in the Palm. inscr. is very similar, e.g. על חיזי חזי בנחי 185 4. 187 2. &c.; cf. 70 4. 95 2. ים מדי ים day by day as ירח מדי ירח month by month in the next line. מדי is prob. the same as the Hebr. מדי lit. *out of the abundance of*, hence *as often as*, e.g. 1 S. 7 16 מדי שנה בשנה. Is. 66 23 מדי חרש בחרשו ומדי שבת בשבתו. מדי חרש ולצמח צדק Apparently *and to the legitimate offspring*; for this fig. sense of צמח shoot cf. Jer. 23 5 צדק צמח לדור and 33 15. צדק here may be either an adj. צדק or more likely a noun צדק. ולאשתו ולאדמי As they stand these words are untranslatable. See note below.

L. 12. [בחדר] שם ולבסאם The words thus restored and read prob. mean *on the new-moons and on the full-moons* i.e. at the beginning and the middle of the month; cf. Ps. 81 4 חקעו בחדש שופר בכנס ליום חנו. Perhaps *as formerly*, cf. Jer. 30 20. Lam. 5 21.

M. Clermont-Ganneau (l.c.) makes a brilliant suggestion as to the meaning of the obscure expression in l. 11 ולאשתו ולאדמי. His argument is as follows: (1) The ל in these words must have a different meaning from על in the same line, i.e. these words must denote not those for whose benefit (על) Yathan-ba'al made his offering, but those to whom religious service is due, like למלקרת in ll. 9. 10. (2) In the case of the great god Melqarth the sacrifice is to be offered daily (ים מדי ים), but in the second case fortnightly, every month (בחדש ונו'). There is, therefore, a difference of dignity between the objects of religious service. (3) The words ולאשתו ולאדמי do not suggest any names of gods; but they may represent the names of some members of the Ptolemaic dynasty to whom divine honours were paid (27 2 n.), and the provision of the fortnightly sacrifice to them is in accordance with the Egyptian custom of celebrating a solemnity in honour of the reigning monarch on a fixed day over a month, called in Gk. and Rom. times 'the king's day.' The similarity of the letters in Phoen. makes it possible to read ולאשתו for ולאשתו, supposing a mason's error of ו for ר (though this is perhaps hardly necessary); and if a similar error of ט for נ may be admitted in the foll. word, we have the reading ולאדמי. Thus the whole phrase will mean *And to the legitimate offspring* (lit. *shoot of righteousness*) *of Cleopatra and to my lord*. Two sets of historical conditions may be found to account for this remarkable and significant expression. (a) The inscr. may belong to the period when Ptolemy vii (vi) Philometor was engaged in a bitter struggle for power with his brother, afterwards Ptolemy ix (vii) Euergetes ii or Physkon, a struggle

which considerably affected Cyprus¹. Their mother Cleopatra, the wife of Ptolemy v Epiphanes, was regent for her eldest son from 181 to her death in 174. Yathan-ba'al thus protests his loyalty to the claims of the eldest son, *the legitimate offspring of Cleopatra* and his lawful sovereign (לְאִנִּי), Ptolemy vii (vi). The 11th year of this king will give 171–170 as the date of the inscr., and 203 B.C. as the era of Lapēthos. (δ) A later period offers an even more suitable occasion. After the death of Ptolemy ix (vii) Euergetes ii or Physkon, his wife and niece Cleopatra iii attempted to secure the succession for her younger son Alexander, but the people refused to acknowledge him. Thereupon she sent him for safety to Cyprus, and had him appointed independent king of the island (A.C. 114). Later on, his elder brother Ptolemy x (viii) Soter ii or Lathyros was expelled by an insurrection at Alexandria instigated by his mother, and took refuge in Cyprus (B.C. 107). The situation in Cyprus at this period must have been embarrassing enough, especially for public officials like the רַב אֶרֶץ at Lapēthos; and it may well be that political prudence suggested to Yathan-ba'al the equivocal expression *to the legitimate offspring of Cleopatra and to my lord*. In this case the 11th year of Ptolemy will be 107–106, and the era of Lapēthos will begin with 139 B.C. Cl.-Gan.'s correction and historical elucidation of the text are, of course, only conjectural; but the conjecture is a most suggestive one, and it is sufficiently supported to make it plausible.

L. 12. וּמִדֹּרֶת הַנְּחֹשֶׁת might mean *and from the bronze doors*; for the construction see 3 4 n. The first word, however, is uncertain. Cl.-Gan. reads הֶרְלֵת = *δέλτος tablet*, and takes כָּדִים with this sentence; but his attempt to make sense of the passage is unsuccessful.

L. 13. At the beginning of the line Cl.-Ganneau restores אֲשֶׁר כָּתַבְתִּי *which I have written*. The next words he takes to be וְסִמְרָת בָּקָר *and I have nailed on the wall*, comparing the Hebr. מִסְמָר *nailed*, Arab. مِسْمَارٌ (prob. a loan-word from Aram., Fränkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 89). Lidzb. reads 'וְסִמְרָת בָּקָר = *and a yoke of oxen*, which agrees better with the donation of sacrificial animals in l. 9 f. בְּנֵי מִנְחַת חַיִּי. Perhaps *part of the offerings of my grace*, the prep. בְּנֵי being written בְּנֵי before another בְּנֵי, see 5 3 n. Cl.-Ganneau takes אֲשֶׁר as =

¹ Thus Polybius, enlarging on Ptolemy's clemency towards his brother and rival, says *ἐπειτα, δόξας ἐκπεσεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λαβὼν κατ' αὐτοῦ πατρὸν ὁμολογούμενον, ἀμνησιμάκην ἐποίησας τὴν ἀμαρτίαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, πάλιν ἐπιβουλευσάντος τῇ Κύπρῳ, κύριος γενόμενος ἐν Λαπήθῳ τοῦ σώματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κολάζειν ὡς ἐχθρόν, ὥστε καὶ θωρακὶς προσέθηκε κ.τ.λ. xl 12.*

וּמַעֲלָה *on which (is) the offering.* For מנחת see 7 ו n. Pf. 1 sing. The fourth section of the inscr. begins here—the dedication of some metal object.

L. 14. The first part of the line cannot be understood. בכסף *of silver* like בנחשת *of bronze* in l. 7. משקל will then be in apposition to the following word denoting weight, Driver *Tenses* § 192 (1); cf. 40 מזבח נחשת משקל למרם מאת 1. The text has כר, but this is a corn or fluid measure. It is possible that כר is an abbreviation for כתר *talent*, CIS i 171 2. 4; but the value of 102 talents of silver by the Attic standard would amount to over £2480 of our money, too large a sum to be likely. However, we do not know the value of Phoen. weights and money sufficiently well to make us reject this explanation altogether.

L. 15. נפק Meaning unknown; *profit* has been suggested, from Aram. נפק *go forth*, but this is very doubtful. וְיִצְרִי=ויסכרן For the suff. cf. 4 7 תרנון.

L. 16. The last words give no suitable sense.

80. Tamassos. Date 363 B.C. Brit. Mus., Cyprus Room no. 252.

- 1 סמל אז אש יתן ויטנ
- 2 א · מנחם · בן בנחדש בן מנ
- 3 חם בן ערק לאדני ל[רש]ף
- 4 אליית בירח אתנם בשנת
- 5 שלשם א → למלך מלכיתן · מלך
- 6 כתי ואדיל · כ שמע קל · יברך

Cypriote:

to na ti ri a ta ne to nu · e to ke ne
ka se · o ne te ke ne · ma na se se
o no me ni o ne · to i ti o i
to i a pe i lo ni · to i e le i
ta i · i tu ka i

i. e. in Greek :

Τὸν ἀ[ν]δριά[ν]ταν τό[ν] νυ ἔδωκεν
 καὶς ὀνέθηκεν Μανασῆς
 ὁ Νωμηνίων τῶι θιῶι
 τῶι Ἀπείλωνι τῶι Ἐλεί
 ται ἔ[ν] τύχαι

This statue (is that) which Menaḥem, son of Ben-ḥodesh, son of Menaḥem, son of 'Araq, gave and set up to his lord Reshef of Eliyath, in the month Ethanim in the thirtieth year, 30, of king Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion, because he heard (his) voice : may he bless !

This inscr. was found in 1885 on the site of the ancient Tamassos, between Lapēthos and Idalion. A sanctuary of Apollo has been discovered (1889) outside the town, and recent excavations at Frángissa, some 3 miles to the west, have revealed another sanctuary of the same god; Myres *Cypr. Mus. Catal.* 12. The inscr. may be compared with 12 and 13 from Kition, and with 23-26 from Idalion.

L. 2. מנחם Cf. 21 2; Cypr. *ma-na-se-se*, perhaps for *ma-na-he-se* (Menaḥem) or *m'-na-se-se*=*Μνασέας*, the nearest Gk. equivalent for the Phoen. Menaḥem; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 186 f. מנחם See 17 3 n.

L. 3. רשע Perhaps רשע like רשע &c. This pr. n. possibly may be connected with the ancient Phoen. clan 'רשע Gen. 10 17. 1 Ch. 1 15, i. e. the men of 'Arqa (Jos. *Ant.* i 6 2), at the foot of Lebanon, still called Tell 'Arqa, 12 m. N. of Tripoli. See further Schrader *COT* 104; Tell-el-Amarna letters 78 12.

L. 4. מלך השל Cypr. τῶι Ἀπείλωνι τῶι Ἐλείται *Apollo of Helos*, either Helos in Lacedaemon or a Cyprian city of the same name. Hesychius, *Lexicon* s. v. Zeus in Cyprus, quotes several forms which resemble Ἐλείται here, thus Εἰλητι: Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ. Ἐλαθς: Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ &c. In Tam. 2 4 f. מלך השל = Cypr. Ἀπό[λ]ωνι τῶι Ἀλασιώται, a Phoen. transcription of what is prob. the name of another Gk. town. In the bilingual inscr. CIS i 89 a third designation of the god occurs, מלך השל Cypr. τῶ Ἀπολῶνι τῶ Ἀμυκλοῖ *Apollo of Amyclae*; see 12 3 n. 24 2 n. מלך See 20 A 1 n.

L. 5. מלך See 23 1 n.

EGYPT

81. Abydos. CIS i 102. Circ. iv cent. In situ.

a

- 1 אנך פעלאבסט בן צדיתן בן גרצד הצרי ישב רכי
2 באן מצרם בפמרת בדמנקצת ה . נ .

b

אנך בעל[י]ח[ן] בן מנקצת . יח . . .

c

אנך מגן בן בדא . חפצבעל מגפ .

d

- 1 אנך עבדאבסט בן צדיתן
2 באנהנברצ ון לירח חיר

a

I am Pa'ala-ubast, son of Şed-yathon, son of Ger-şed, the Tyrian, dwelling here (?), in On of Egypt, after the departure (?) of Bod-MNQŞTH, the man of On (?).

b

I am Ba'al-[yahon], son of MNQŞTH . . .

c

I am Magon, son of Bodo, . Hefes-ba'al . . .

d

I am 'Abd-ubast, son of Şed-yathon 2, in the month Hiyyar.

These inscrr. are a selection from those found on the walls of the temple of Osiris at Abydos (Egypt). Like the inscrr. on the colossus at Ipsambul (CIS i 111-113), and on the rocks beside the caravan-routes in the Sinaitic peninsula (103-109), they give the names, and occasionally the designations, of travellers.

a. L. 1. מעלאבסת *Bast has made*; for Bast see *d* and 20 B 6 n., and for the compound name with מעל cf. מעלעשתרת in the inscr. discovered at Memphis in 1900, given below¹, בעלמעל NPun. 94 2, אלמעל on coins from Byblus (149 B 9) and in 1 Ch. 8 11 ff.; cf. עשהאל 2 S. 2 18 &c. צדיתון בן נרצד Cf. *d* and יתנצד CIS i 184 4 f. עברצד 236 5 &c. צד (cf. Hebr. צִיד *hunting*, צִיד *hunter*) is clearly the name of a deity, perhaps the god of the chase; but it is found only in compound pr. nn.² The deity was associated with Melqarth and Tanith at Carthage, e. g. צדמלקרת CIS i 256, צרתנח 249. It is possible that the originals of the Phoen. gods 'Αγρεύς and 'Αλιεύς mentioned by Philo of Bybl., *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566, were צד וצדן i. e. *Hunter and Fisher*. The name of the city צדן is perhaps related to that of the god צד, who is supposed by some to be the Phoen. Poseidon; see Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 154. For נרצד cf. נרמלקרת 17 2 n.; Lidzb., however, reads ברצד. ישוב רכי Derenbourg's rendering (*Rev. d'Assyr.* i 93), *I dwell, crushed (with grief)*, is most improbable. רכי has been taken as a demonstrative adv., *here*, cf. Aram. ܕܝܝܝ *ille*; but in Phoen. the demonstr. is ܝ, not ܕ. The reading רכי is possible; this may be an adv. of place, cf. ܠܝܠܝ, and see 4 4 n., where according to Hoffmann אר is a demonstr. particle.

L. 2. באן מצרים On, Egyp. *An*, = Heliopolis in Lower Egypt; cf. Gen. 41 45 (LXX 'Ηλιού πόλεως). Eze. 30 17; it was celebrated for the worship of the sun-god, Ra. במטרת Possibly *after the departure*, i. e. *the decease, of B*. פטר has the sense *depart, escape*, e. g. 1 S. 19 10, and in post-bibl. Hebr. frequently occurs, in the Nifal, with the meaning *depart out of this life*, e. g. Talm. *Berakoth* 17 a נפטר

¹ 1 הסנא [ו] יסנ[אח] אך מעלעשתרת בן ענדילסו בן ננבעל בן ענדילסו בן ננבעל
2 בן ענדילסו[ח] . . . על א[ח]חשמיטלני ליהי לאם אדורח אם אים עשחור ולאם אש
3 א[ח]. [יב]ך א[ח]י וחיח ב[ח] ענדילסו וננבעל וענדילסו מעלעשתרת וחיח אסנח וננעשתרת
4 [ח]ן לם חן וחיס לען אלם יבן אדם

i. e. 'This erection I erected, I Pa'ala-'ashtart &c., 'son of 'Abd-malkath, . . . to my mistress, the mighty god Isis, the god 'Ashtart, and to the (other) gods who 'are (here?). May they bless [him and his] sons, 'Abd-osir &c., and their mother Hanni-'ashtart, 'and give them favour and life in the eyes of the gods and the sons of men.' In l. 2 Lidzb. suggests על אדורח שמיח סאכי *on account of the protection of my journey*, supposing that סאכי = סאחך; see 33 6 n.; l. 3 א perhaps the fragment of an adv., like the Hebr. והאח, דאח; the restoration [ח]י וחיח ב[ח] is uncertain; l. 4 cf. 8 10 n. *Rép.* i nos. 1. 58; Lidzb. *Éph.* i 152.

² The names Θήραν (a Tyrian, Michel 424) and 'Αψήρος (gen.) in Gr. inscr. may be the one a translation of צד, the other a transcription of עברצד; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 187-192.

בשם טוב מן העולם. The commemoration of the dead was customary at the temple of Osiris; but this explanation of **במטרת** cannot be regarded as certain. The reading of the word following is doubtful; the Corp. gives **עברמנקרת**; Derenbourg l.c., Lidzb. **ברמנקצת**, cf. **מנקצת** in *δ*. For **נ.ח.** the Corp. restores **האני** *the man of On*; Renan in *δ*, a gentilic noun, taking **דכי** from the end of l. 1.

מנקצת. יח. ... **חנבעל** and **46 ז יחנבעל**, cf. **בעליחן**, i.e. prob. **בעל. ח.** *δ*. So Lidzb. The first word is uncertain and its etymology unknown; Derenbourg regards it as = **ברמנקצת** in *a*, and reads the next word as a gentilic form **החני** or **החמי**. Corp. **מנקרתח[מ]** *Menqarth* (i.e. *Melqarth*) *protects*; cf. **יחמי** perhaps = **יחמי** *may Yah protect* 1 Ch. 7 2; Arab. **حَمَى**.

כרא See 12 *c*. Cf. 38 ז & c., a common Phoen. name. **מנ** 3 *n*. **חמבעל** *pleasure of Ba'al*; the name of another person. **מנפ** may contain the name **נפ** *Memphis*, Eze. 30 13, *of Nof*. It is doubtful whether the full form was **מנפי**, for this would require the art., as **חצרי** in *a*.

d. L. 1. For the two pr. nn. cf. *a*. The text followed is that of Derenbourg l.c.

L. 2. The meaning of the first group of letters is unknown. For **ירח** cf. 27 1 *n*.

ATTICA

32. Athens. CIS i 115. Perhaps iv cent. B. C. Athens.

Ἀντίπατρος Ἀφροδισίου Ἀσκαλ[ωνίτης]

Δομσάλως Δομανῶ Σιδώνιος ἀνέθηκε

אָנפֿאטער פֿון אַשקלון'ס אַפֿרודיסיאָס'ס זון'ס 1

אָנפֿאטער פֿון אַשקלון'ס אַפֿרודיסיאָס'ס זון'ס 2

Μηθεῖς ἀνθρώπων θαυμάζετω εἰκόνα τήνδε,
ὡς περὶ μὲν μελέων, περὶ δὲγ πρῶρ' (ἐ)γκτετάνυσται.
ἦλθε γὰρ εἰχθρολέων τὰμὰ θέλων σποράσαι·
ἀλλὰ φίλοι τ' ἤμυναν καὶ μοι κτέρισαν τάφον οὐτ[η],
οὗς ἔθελον φιλέων, ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ νηὸς ἰόντες.
φοινίκην δὲ λιπ(ῶ)ν τεῖδε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυνμαι.

I am ŠM., son of 'Abd-'ashtart, an Ashqelonite. (This is that) which I D'om-šillah, son of D'om-ḥanno, a Sidonian, set up.

This bilingual inscr. is written on a gravestone now preserved in the Κεντρικὸν Μουσεῖον in Athens. Underneath the Phoen. lines is carved a representation of the incident alluded to in the Gk. verses below. A corpse lies upon a bier; on the left a lion is leaping up to devour the body, on the right is a human figure with the prow of a ship in the place of the head and shoulders; it seems to be defending the corpse from the lion. The scene is perhaps intended for an allegory; the lion representing the god of the underworld eager to snatch the body, the prow or 'holy ship' (apparently personified) being possibly connected with funeral rites, which protect the dead from violation. See Wolters in *Mon. Arch. Instituts*, Athenische Abth. xiii (1888) 310 ff. On account of the form of the Gk. letters the Corp. dates the inscr. in the second cent. B. C., Lidzb. in the fourth (?).

L. 1. אָנפֿאטער In this inscr. both the person commemorated and the donor of the memorial speak in the first person; see 16 i n. .אָנפֿאטער There appears to be the fragment of a letter after אָנפֿאטער; but the full name cannot now be read. The Gk. equivalent is Ἀντίπατρος, a name specially common in the family of Herod.

L. 2. דעמחנא בן דעמחנא Δομσάλης Δομανῶ; for the deity דעם see 8 4 n. דעמחנא cf. בעלחנא 39 1 f. In the latter name, חנא seems to be the Perf. of חנן with the suff. of 3rd m. sing. This form of the verbal suff. is usual in NPun., e.g. פעלא 57 11, ברנא (= שבעא) &c.; it occurs also earlier, in Pun., e.g. רפא 40 2. Cf. the nominal suff. in א in the frequent קלא.

33. Piræus. Date 96 B.C. Louvre.

1 ביסווללמרח בשת—וולל לעם צדן תם בר צדנים בנאספת לעשר
 2 אית שמעבעל בן מנן אש נשא הגו על בת אלם ועל מבנת חצר
 בת אלם
 3 עשרת חרץ בדרכנמם למחת כ בן אית חצר בת אלם ופעל אית כל
 4 אש עלתי משרת אית רעת ו לכתב הארמם אש נשאם לן על בת
 5 אלם עלת מצבת חרץ ויטנאי בערפת בת אלם ען אש לכנת גו
 6 ערב עלת מצבת ו ישאן בכסף אלם בעלצדן דרכמנמם למחת
 7 לכן ידע הצדנים כ ידע הגו לשלם חלפת אית ארמם א. ש פעל
 8 משרת את פן גו

Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σιδωνίων Διοσιθεῖ(η)ν Σιδώνιον

On the 4th day of the Marzeah (?), in the 15th year of the people of Sidon, the community of the Sidonians resolved in assembly:—to crown ² Shama'-ba'al, son of Magon, who (has been) president of the corporation in charge of the temple and the building of the temple court, ³ with a golden crown of 20 drachmae sterling, because he built the court of the temple and did all ⁴ the service (?) he was charged with:—that the men who are our presidents in charge of the temple write this (our) intention upon a golden stele, and set it up in the portico of the temple before men's eyes:—that the corporation be designated as surety (for it). For this stele let them bring 20 drachmae sterling of the money of the god the Ba'al of Sidon: ⁷ thereby the Sidonians shall know that the

corporation knows how to requite the men who have done
 *service before the corporation.

The Sidonian colony, settled at the port of Athens, is referred to or implied in 34. 35. CIS i 116 הערני . . . לעברתנת, prob. also in 32. It was no doubt a community of merchants and ship-masters, maintaining in the land of their adoption the religion and organization of their native city (see 34. 35). This inscr. shows, however, that they had adapted themselves to the Greek civilization in the midst of which they lived; in characteristic Greek fashion they vote a crown and monument to a deserving officer, and they record their resolution in the recognized forms used in Greek inscr. from the fifth cent. downwards. In fact, this inscr. almost seems to be a translation from a Greek original; see CIA ii 1 b = Michel 80; CIA ii 589 = M 145; CIA ii 603 = M 968; CIA ii 621 = M 984.

L. 1. מרנח Generally taken to be the name of a month, but the unparalleled omission of ירח before it is noticeable. Cl.-Gan. suggests that it was the name of the annual מרנח = *a solemn festival*, perhaps lasting five days (*Rec.* ii 390 n. iv 344); see 42 16 n. בשח See 6 1 n. לעם
 צרן The era of Sidon began when the city became autonomous in 111 B.C. This will give 96 B.C. as the date of the inscr., 9 years before Athens was taken by Sulla¹. תם Pf. 3 m. sing., lit. *be complete*, here *has decided, resolved*. The verb governs the infins. לעטר l. 1 and לכתב l. 4, prob. also לכנת l. 5. צדנים בר must have some such meaning as *the community of the Sidonians*. In Hebr. צדים denotes *parts* of the body i. e. members (Job 18 13), or *parts* of a vine i. e. branches (Eze. 17 6). In Phoen. the sing. בר is used to describe a worshipper as a *member* of his deity, as in the pr. nn. ברעשתרת, ברמלקרת, or a stranger as a *member* of a household; see 6 2 n. It is but an extension of this usage when בר is applied not to an individual but to a community; the Sidonian μέτριοι at the Piraeus could describe themselves as בר צדנים *the Sidonian protected aliens* (Lidzb. 134 n.). G. Hoffmann, *Über einige Phön. Inscr.* 5 f., takes בר as a prep. ברי lit. *for the satisfaction of, for*; but this does not admit of a satisfactory construction for תם, nor does it give a natural explanation of בר in pr. nn. A Gk. inscr. from Delos illustrates this part of the text; ἡ σύνδοτος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκληρῶν στεφανοὶ Πατρῶνα κ.τ.λ. CIG 2271 = M 998. כנאספת The Nif. ptc. of אסף used as a noun, *gathering*,

¹ Köhler, CIA ii Suppl. 1335 b, thinks that the Gk. form of this inscr. is much older, about the second half of the third cent. B.C.; in which case the inscr. must be dated from some Sidonian era now lost to us. If the dynasty of Eshmun-'azar ceased in 275 B. C. (p. 38), the era may have started then: Meyer *Ency. Bibl.* 3763.

assembly; it corresponds to the Gk. epigraphical formula $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\epsilon\iota\ \delta\epsilon\gamma\omicron\rho\alpha\iota$ $\tau\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\alpha\iota$ CIA ii 585=M 152. לעמר Followed by a double accus. as in Ps. 8 6. 103 4. The corresponding Gk. phrase is $\sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\omega\sigma\alpha\iota$ ($\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$) $\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma\omega\iota\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\phi\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\iota\ \alpha\pi\omicron\delta\ .\ .\ .\ \delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\omega\iota\nu\ \delta\rho\epsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$, e.g. CIA iv 2 169 b=M 105 and often.

L. 2. לשמעבאל i.e. *Ba'al hears*. The Gk. equivalent $\Delta\iota\omicron\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\eta\varsigma$ i.e. *obeying Zeus* is founded on a misunderstanding of the Phoen. נשא i.e. נשיא *chief*, cf. נשיאי העדה Ex. 16 22. Josh. 9 15 &c. His term of office had elapsed, and he now receives from his late colleagues this expression of their gratitude. ג is etymologically connected with the Hebr. גוי *nation*, Aram. ܓܝܐ Sabaeen ܓܝܐ *community*, cf. Job 30 5 ܓܝܐܝܗܘܢ *they are driven far from folk*, where ܓܝ should be pointed ܓܝ , unless ܓܝ be read; in Gk. inscr. $\tau\omicron\delta\ \kappa\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\nu$. אלם Cf. 5 15-18 באלם , and see l. 6 n. For אלם cf. אלם 46 1 n. מבנת A verbal noun, *building*; in Hebr. מבנה =*structure* Eze. 40 2.

L. 3. ברכננ The prep. is ב of material; cf. 2 Ch. 9 18 (בזהב). Ex. 38 8. ברכננ is prob. an error for דרכננ l. 6. In both places דרכננ must be taken to represent *drachmae*; for in Gk. inscr. of this class the sums voted are given in $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\iota$ (i.e. silver drachmae), a larger sum for the crown and a smaller one for the stele. In this inscr., however, the sum specified in both cases is the same; and as 20 silver drachmae would be too small an amount either for the עטרת or for the חרץ , we must take דרכננ to be *gold* drachmae. A gold drachma represented about 9 s. 1 d., a silver drachma about 9 d. Hoffmann l.c. renders חרץ l. 5 not *gold* but *decision*; he is therefore compelled to take דרכננ l. 3 as gold drachmae and דרכננ l. 6 as silver drachmae; but this is unnecessary and unnatural. On account of the form ברכננ , Meyer, *Entstehung d. Judenthums* 196 f., understands *darics* to be meant; *darics*, however, do not occur in Gk. inscr. in this connexion, and it is Gk. usage (above) which is closely followed here. The fact that דרכננ in this case is the Phoen. form of $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\iota$ throws a valuable light on the disputed meaning of דרכמאנים in Ezr. 2 69. Neh. 7 70-72 and of דרכמנים in 1 Ch. 29 7. Ezr. 8 27¹. Both words are generally translated *darics* (R.V.); but this inscr. shows that דרכמנים was the recognized Semitic transcription of $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\iota$, as Lucian knew, for in the passages quoted he invariably

¹ The form דרכמנים is open to suspicion. In 1 Ch. 29 7 דרכמנים is prob. a gloss, for the gold offering has been mentioned just before; in Ezr. (LXX 2 Esdr.) 8 27 דרכמנים is the better reading, testified by LXX A $\delta\delta\omicron\nu\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$, and prob. implied by the reading of B $\delta\delta\omicron\nu\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$. In the biblical passages דרכמנים refers not to money but to weight; a $\delta\rho\alpha\chi\mu\alpha$ among the Gks. was one-hundredth part of a $\mu\nu\alpha$.

renders *δραχμῶν*. Moreover, the form *דרכמים* corresponds with *δραχμαί* and not with *δρακμοί*. See Kennedy, art. Money in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible* iii 421. למח l. 6. The context requires the meaning of *full weight*, standard current coin. The most plausible etymology of the word is that given by Hoffmann. He connects it with *מחח* wipe off, and supposes that it was used in the first place of corn-measures, 'to wipe off into the measure' i.e. 'to fill up to the full weight.' In the Babyl. dialect of the Talmud the *Ethpaal* of מחח is used in the sense *approved*, e.g. *Shabbath* 61 ב ואיתמחי איתמחי נברא ומחחי (i.e. *the physician*) is *approved* and *the amulet* is *approved*; similarly מחחי מוחחי קמחי a *tested amulet* ib. 61 a. In Syr. *ܡܚܚܐ* is used of *testing* a weight or measure, e.g. Epiphanius *de Mensur. et Pond.* in *Vel. Test. ab Origene recens. fragm.* ed. Lagarde p. 48, l. 32; p. 58, l. 67; p. 51, l. 7 כר ביר חרמא דברחמא מתחמחא ומתחמלא (cited by Hoffmann). Hence למח will mean *by the tested weight, of full weight*; the prep. is ל of norm or standard.

L. 4. עלתי *אש* which was incumbent upon him; for על in this sense cf. Num. 7 9 עבדת וקדש עלתם. Ezr. 10 4. 12. 1 Ch. 9 27 &c. The construction of the words which follow is not very clear. In l. 8 משרת is certainly a noun, *service*, from שרת to minister, and possibly it may be a noun here, *all the service which was laid upon him*; so Lidzb. In such a sentence the natural order would be *אש משרת* (ה)משרת *אש* אית כל (ה)משרת *אש* עלתי; but as כל in Hebr. often stands before a relative clause containing a *verb*, which is strictly its genitive (e.g. *אשר עשה* Gen. 1 31), so here the relative clause *אש עלתי* מ, though it contains a *noun*, may be regarded as the genitive after כל. It must be admitted, however, that this is not easy grammar. Hoffmann takes משרת as an infin. with מן i.e. *מְשַׁרֵּת*, governing רעת אית *because (he) administered this . . .*; but the infin. would require a suffix in this case, e.g. *מְשַׁרֵּתִי* Is. 48 4. If משרת be a verb, it is better to take it as a ptc. i.e. *מְשַׁרֵּת* dependent on the suffix in עלתי, *while he administered this . . .*; an imitation of Gk. idiom, but cf. 1 K. 14 6 קול רגליה באה and Ps. 69 4 (?). רעת אית The word רעת may be explained in two ways. (1) It may come from the Aram. *רעא* to be favourably disposed towards a person (in Targ. *רענא*, Bibl. Aram. *רעית* Ezr. 5 17. 7 18) = Arab. *رعى* to be pleased, satisfied with = Hebr. *רצה*; and we may render *this (our) good pleasure*. It is not necessary, however, to assume such a strong Aramaism here; for (2) רעת may come from the same root as the Arab. *رعى* to watch, regard, be mindful of = Syr. *ܪܥܝܐ* to observe, concern oneself with (*ܪܥܝܐ*, *ܪܥܝܐ* meditation, thought; Targ. *רעי* desire, Ps. 107 30) = Hebr. *רעה*, cf. Ps. 37 3. Pr. 15 14. Hos. 12 2 (?)

and רעת in Qoh. 1 14 &c. Hence רעת may be rendered *intention*, *wish*, either governed by the preceding משרת, or placed for emphasis before its verb לכתב¹. To connect 'ר with לכתב is in accordance with the Gk. formula ἀναγράφαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα, e.g. CIA ii 311=M 124, CIA ii 176=M 109 and often, but it involves an unusual construction for משרת . . כל (supr.). לכתב האדמם The infin. is governed by חם l. 1 and האדמם is its subject. Its object must be understood, 'this decree,' if משרת רעת is taken with משרת. משרת לן על ב' א' i.e. the present curators of the temple. These officials may be compared with the νεωποῖται in Asiatic sanctuaries, e.g. CIG 2656=M 453 (Halicarnassus), M 835 (ib.), CIG 2671=M 462 (Iasus).

L. 5. מצבת חרץ a *pillar of gold*, i.e. prob. a gilded stele, cf. 24 1 n. On the Gk. inscr. it is always ἐν στήλει λιθίνει, e.g. CIA ii 613=M 977 and often; but here, contrary to Gk. practice, the same amount is voted both for the stele and the crown, and as the latter is specified as golden (l. 3), so the stele is to be golden (or prob. gilded) too. It is true that we do not hear of a gilded מצבת elsewhere, but such an object is not impossible in itself, and the language of the inscr. seems to demand it. Hoffmann takes חרץ as = *decision, decree* (cf. חרץ Joel 4 14. נחרצה Is. 10 23 &c.), and as the object of לכתב. If חרץ does not mean *gold* it is simpler to give it the primary meaning of *engraving*, and to take it as the genit. after מצבת, a *stele of engraving* i.e. an inscribed stele (cf. 3 4. 5?). ויטנאי Ifl impf. 3 plur. with suff. 3 fem. sing. i.e. ויטנאי. ערפח portico, see 3 6 n. It corresponds to the πρόστωιον (CIA ii 613=M 977) or open pillared hall at the entrance of the temple. The custom was to place these monuments ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ θεοῦ M 977, or πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ M 982, or ἐν τῷ προνάῳ M 546, ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ M 985, ἐν τῷ ἐπιστάντι προπύλῳ τῷ τοῦ ταμένους M 476 &c. לְעִינֵי אִישׁ = עֵן אִישׁ; for the accus. instead of the prep. ל cf. פנת אלם 42 13. 43 8. The corresponding Gk. phrase is ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοπῷ M 992, or ἐν ἱερῷ αἰ ἀντοῖς φαίνηται M 468. לכנח נ ערב to designate the corporation as surety (for it). לכנח Piel inf., governed prob. by חם l. 1, and followed by two accusatives. כנח lit. give a title or cognomen as in Aram. כנח, Arab. كنى, Hebr. Is. 45 4; so in a general sense to

¹ The above characterization of the root רע = רח = רעי is based upon Barth's study in *Wurzeluntersuchungen* (1902) 46 ff. He suggests that the primitive meaning was to keep (sheep). It must be noted, however, that the origin of the sense which רע has in Pa. 37 3 &c. is far from clear. Besides the two roots above, Barth distinguishes a third, viz. רע (ר') to bind together, attach, whence Hebr. רע friend.

designate. The infin. of כֵּן *to be* is לֵכֵן 10 10, not לִכְנֵת, for which there is no analogy in וְע' verbs.

L. 6. עֶרֶב A noun, prob. of participial form, *surety*. In Hebr. the vb. *be surety for* is followed by the accus. (Gen. 43 9. 44 32. Ps. 119 122), once by ל (Pr. 6 1); so it is better to take וְעַל מַצָּבָת as dependent, not on עֶרֶב, but on the verb which follows; and this is more in accordance with the Gk. formula $\text{Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι} \dots$ M 118 and often. יִשְׂאֵן i. e. יִשְׂאֵן, the subj. being the members of the corporation. For נָשָׂא in the sense of *bringing* (an offering) cf. in Pun. CIS i 411 3 נָשָׂא עֲבֵרָאשְׁן, and Ps. 96 8. 1 Ch. 16 29; hence נָשָׂא *payment, tax* 42 3. 43 1 &c. בְּכֶסֶף The prep. כֶּסֶף = Gk. $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\acute{o}$; it is not כֶּסֶף of material as in בְּרִכְנָם l. 3. אֱלֹם This is a clear instance of the plur. of אֱלֹם being used to denote *god*, like the Heb. אֱלֹהִים; we may conclude that אֱלֹם ll. 2. 5 is also sing. in meaning. Cf. 35 2 אֱלֹם נִגְלָה. 50 A 4 אֱלֹם הָיָה לְרַבִּי לֹאֵל אֲדִירַת אֱלֹם אֱלֹם, where אֱלֹם is connected with a female deity, and even with a fem. adj.; the plur. אֲדִירַת is used similarly, 40 3 n. In the following cases, אֱלֹם, 42 13. 43 8, 9 1 f., עֲבֵרָאֵל, CIS i 194 1 f. (cf. 406 3), אֱלֹם, 257 4 &c., אֱמַת אֱלֹם, 378 3, the sing. meaning is most probable. Contrast the use of אֱלֹמִים *gods*; see 3 10 n. The plur. אֱלֹם denotes a more abstract conception than the sing. אֱלֹם, *godhead* as distinct from *god*: it sums up the various characteristics of the particular אֱלֹם (Hoffm.); cf. the abstract plurals זְקִינִים, נְעֻרִים, חַיִּים (Ges. § 124 d). For the Ba'al of Sidon see 5 18. The order to defray the cost out of the temple treasury finds several parallels in the Gk. inscr., e. g. τὰν δὲ γενομένων δαπάνων εἰς τὰν ἀναγραφὰν τεισάντω τοὶ ναποῖαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς θεοῖς χρημάτων M 1003; εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δότω δ' ἄρχων Ἀδείμαντος Δ δραχμὰς ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων M 968.

L. 7. לְכֵן *accordingly*. יָדַע i. e. יָדַע. 'לֵשֶׁם חֲלֹפָה אֵית א' For the two accusatives after שֵׁם cf. 1 S. 24 20. Pr. 13 21. חֲלֹפָה *equivalent, return*, χάριτας ἀξίας, cf. Num. 18 21. 31 חֲלֹפָה עֲבֵרָתָם; in Aram. the verb has the meaning *substitute* (lit. *change*), e. g. *Julian Ap.* ed. Hoffm. 105 25 חֲלֹפָה, and the frequent חֲלֹפָה *instead of*.

L. 8. מִשְׁרָת Here a noun, *service*, cf. πᾶσαν λειτουργίαν καὶ ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκτελεκότα CIG 2786. אֵת אֵת i. e. אֵת אֵת lit. *with the presence, before*; אֵת is the prep. *with*, cf. Gen. 19 27. 1 S. 2 18 אֵת מִשְׁרָת אֵת בני יְהוָה &c. The last two lines correspond closely with the Gk. inscr., e. g. ὅπως ἀν εἰδῶσι πάντες, ὅτι ἐπίστανται Πειραιεὶς χάριτας ἀξίας ἀποδιδόναι τοῖς φιλοτιμουμένοις εἰς αὐτοὺς M 145 and often.

34. Piræus. CIS i 118. Date prob. ii-i cent. B. C. Piræus.

מזבח ז אש ינח בנחדש בן בעליתן השפט. בן עבראשמן
החתם. לאסכן אדר. יברך

This altar (is that) which Ben-ḥodesh, son of Ba'al-yathon the judge, son of 'Abd-eshmun the sealer, erected to Askunadar. May he bless!

מזבח Cf. 8 4. 12 2. 28 4. ינח Ifil pf. of נוח = Hebr. הניח
2 K. 17 29; in Gk. ἀναθεῖναι. שפט See 17 3 n. השפט
i. e. the head of the Phoenician colony at the Piræus, corresponding to
our 'consul,' not *suffete* in the Carthaginian sense, 42 1 n. החתם
Either a maker of seals, or an official who seals. אסכן No doubt
the same as סכן, the deity who appears in the pr. nn. Σαγχοῦνιδων =
Hadr. 8 (Euting *Carth.*, Anhang Taf. 6), עבראשמן CIS i 112 a.
סכנין 46. ורסכן 52 4 f. The name was pronounced *Sakun*, as the form
אסכן implies, or *Sakkun* (Secchun CIL viii 5099), and means 'one
who cares for' (cf. Assyr. *sakānu*, Tell-el-Am. 179 38. 180 13 &c.),
the 'friend' or 'helper' of men; cf. the sense of סכן in Hebr., *profit*,
benefit, e. g. Job 15 3. 22 2. 34 9 &c. and 1 K. 1 2. 4. *Sakun* was
the Phoen. counterpart to the Gk. *Hermes* (Schröder 197 n.); the
two Gk. inscr. found near to this, one containing a dedication to
Hermes, the other to Διὶ σωτήρι, apparently refer to this altar. אדר
is prob. an epithet, *glorious* 5 9 n.; cf. the pr. nn. אדרבעל CIS i 157
1 &c., אדרסלך on a coin of Byblus, Babelon *Pers. Ach.* 1354, רשאדר
the name of a town, Rusadir, also on coins (Lidzb. 370). There is
not sufficient evidence that אדר was the name of a deity.

35. Piræus. CIS i 119. Prob. iii cent. B. C. Piræus.

Ἀσептῃ Ἐσσυμσελήμου Σιδωνία

1 אנך אספת בת אשמנשלם צדנת אש יסנא לי
2 יתנבל בן אשמנצלח רב כהנם אלם נרגל

I am Asepta, daughter of Eshmun-shillem, a Sidonian.
(This is that) which Yathan-bel, son of Eshmun-šilleh, chief-
priest of the god Nergal, set up to me.

For this form of inscr., in which the deceased speaks in the first person and the monument is set up by some one else, cf. 32.

L. 1. מספח Perhaps the fem. of מפח , with a segholate termination מפפח , pronounced מפפח , as the transcription shows. אשמשלם Cf. שלם בעלשלם 28 3 n. In the Gk. Ἐστυμσελήμων the reduplication of the intensive stem (שלם) is not marked, cf. Δομσάλας and Δομανῶ 32; but Βαλσλλήχ = שלם בעלשלם 38 6, Balsillec CIL viii 1249. צדנת i.e. צדנית . For the omission of the art. cf. אשקלני , צדני 32.

L. 2. יחנבל = יחנבעל (?); the y is frequently dropped in NPun. pr. nn., e.g. מחנבל NPun. 22 3. יחנבל ib. 13 1 f. אחנבל ib. 102 2. Perhaps, however, בל is the Babyl. bel , not the Phoen. ba'al ; cf. עברבל CIS i 287, and נרגל below. אשמשלם See 7 2 n. רב כהנא ἀρχιερεύς , cf. 45 8 (Carthage), a title almost equivalent to a pr. n., and therefore apparently רבכהנא is not in the constr. st. before the following gen.; see König *Syntax* § 285 h. The usage is, however, hardly paralleled elsewhere; it may be due partly to carelessness, and partly to the unconscious recollection of the title ἀρχιερεύς in current Gk. speech. Contrast the constructions כהן שבעלשם CIS i 379, and כהן אל עליון Gen. 14 18. אלם נרגל Cf. אלם בעלצון 33 6 n. It is remarkable to find the Assyr. god Nergal (see 2 K. 17 30 and Zimmern *KAT* 414), the god of battle and pestilence and the dead, worshipped by Phoenicians at the Piraeus. The Phoen. colony there was evidently eclectic in its tastes; in 34 the worship of אסכנ is referred to; and in the pr. nn. we find devotees of the Arabian (?) D'om (32), the Babylonian Shamash and Bel, and the Carthaginian Tanith (CIS i 116 לעברחנת (בן עברשמש).

PHOENICIAN: PUNIC

MALTA

36. Malta. CIS i 122. Date ii cent. B. C. Louvre.

לאדנן למלקרת בעל צר אש נדר 1
 עבדך עבדאמר ואחי אסרשמר 2
 שן בן אסרשמר בן עבדאמר כ שמע 3
 קלם יברכם 4

Διονύσιος καὶ Σαραπίων οἱ
 Σαραπίωνος Τύριοι
 Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέται

To our lord Melqarth, the Ba'al of Tyre, which thy servant 'Abd-osir and his brother Osir-shamar, the two sons of Osir-shamar, son of 'Abd-osir, vowed, because he heard their voice. May he bless them!

This inscr. is repeated in the same words on two pedestals, one at Valetta, the other in the Louvre, each supporting a small pillar. The two pillars dedicated to Melqarth (Herakles) recall the *στήλαι δύο* which Herodotus saw in the temple of Herakles at Tyre (ii 44); cf. also Philo Byb., who says that at Tyre *ἀνιερωσαι δὲ δύο στήλας πυρὶ καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι*, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566. The letters of this inscr. resemble the Tyrian and Sidonian type.

L. 1. *לאדנן למלקרת בעל צר* See 23 3 n.; similarly in Sabaeen inscr., *אומ אלמקה בעל צר* 'Ilmaqah, lord of Awwam' CIS iv 126 16, cf. 155 5. 240 5. *עחתר בעל מדיבא* 276 4. *תאלב רימם בעל שצרים* 160 3 &c. *רמן בעל עלמן* 140 2 f.; and see 3 2 n. With the Gk. equivalent, *Ἡρακλεῖ ἀρχηγέται*, cf. an inscr. from Delos, dated at the beginning of the second cent. B.C., where the *σύνδοδος τῶν Τυρίων ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων* use a similar designation of Herakles, *ἀρχηγοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπάρχοντος* (CIG 2271 = M 998).

L. 2. עבראסר The same words in CIS i 9; for עבראסר see 14 2 n. The Gk. equivalent is Διόνυσος, implying that Osiris was regarded as the counterpart of Διόνυσος. The Gk. name of אסרשטר was Σαραπίων; in this case Osiris is confused with Serapis (= Osiris-Apis), in Aram. written אסרִי חפִי 72 (from Memphis). It is said that about 180 B.C., in the time of Ptolemy Philometor, the name of Serapis was first accepted for Osiris (CIG 2753 n.).

L. 3. שן בן i.e. שְׁנֵי בָנֵי; see 23 6 n.

37. Malta. CIS i 123 a. Date uncertain. Malta.

- 1 נצב מלכ
- 2 בעל אש ש
- 3 ם נחם לב
- 4 על חמן א
- 5 דן כ שמע
- 6 קל דברי

ח-ר-מ-
ant.

Pillar of Milk-Ba'al, which Naḥum placed to Ba'al-ḥammān (the) lord, because he heard the voice of his words.

The letters are of an archaic type; the W and W̱ ll. 1. 3. 5 (but 4 l. 4) resemble the forms in 1. 11. 41. Lidzbarski (p. 177) considers that this points to a date before the sixth cent.; but in an isolated colony the writing may have kept a rude and undeveloped character, and therefore furnishes no sure criterion of early date.

L. 1. נצב *cippus* or *pillar*, cf. Gen. 19 26 מלח נציב. The word occurs in the companion inscr. CIS i 123 b מלכאסר, in 30 נצב מלכבעל לאון לבעל חמן ... כ שמע קל [רב] [י] 147, נצבם (Sardinia), 194 and 380 מלכבעל נ' (Carthage), מלכבעל (Hadrumetum 9, Euting *Carth. Anhang* T. 6); in Old Aram. 61 i. 14. 62 i. 20 (with שם); and in Sabaeen, e.g. Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Denkm.* 95. The word is identical with the Arab. اَنْصَاب pl. نَصَب, an idol-stone to which worship was paid, e.g. *Qur.* v 92; see Wellhausen

Reste Arab. Heident. 101 f. The נצב in Phoen. was something of this kind, here a pillar of Milk-Ba'al, whose name occurs after נצב in each of the examples just given (except 80)¹; it is thus distinguished from מצבת, which as a rule is a funeral monument. מלכבעל A deity formed out of the attributes of Milk and Ba'al in combination, cf. מלכאסר CIS i 123 b, מלכעשתרת 10 3 n.; the Palm. מלכבל 112 4 Μαλάχβηλος, Malagbelus, is a different name. It is curious that the pillar of one deity should be dedicated to another; but Milk-ba'al and Ba'al-ḥammān were prob. only different aspects of the same god.

L. 2. שם Cf. Gen. 28 22. 2 K. 21 7. Jer. 7 30.

L. 4. בעל חמן In the formula לרבח לתנת מן בעל ולאדן לבעל חמן this title of Ba'al occurs more than 2000 times on the votive tablets from Carthage; see also the inscr. quoted above on l. 1. It corresponds to Hammoni J(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) on a Lat. inscr. from Mauretania Caesariensis, CIL viii 9018. לחמן is found alone in CIS i 404. 405, prob. for לבעל חמן; cf. עברחמן NPun. 67 (Schröder p. 271), Ἀβδημόνιος Jos. c. Ap. i 17. The signification² of the title is uncertain, but חמן is prob. a derivative of חמם *de hōt*, whence חמם *heat, sun* Is. 24 23. Ps. 19 7. Analogy is in favour of taking חמן as a noun in the genit.; but it can hardly be the name of a place, for the deity of Ḥammon (אל חמן) is Milk-'ashtart (CIS i 8) or 'Ashtart (10 4), nor a 'sun-pillar,' for the O. T. חממים are best explained as images of Ba'al-ḥammān³. Hence, as no suitable meaning can be obtained from a genit. noun, it is probable that חמן is an adj., *the glowing Ba'al*, cf. בעל מרפא *the healing B.* (CIS i 41), the article which Hebr. would require being dispensed with in Phoen. (see 8 2 n.). The title, thus explained, does not necessarily imply that Ba'al was regarded as a sun-god—a doubtful hypothesis (see Robertson Smith, art. Baal in *Ency. Bibl.*), but it describes him as the god of fertilizing warmth, an attribute which is quite in accordance with his usual character. אדן is in a very unusual position; cf. NPun. 31 לבעל חמן אלם.

L. 6. קל דברי Cf. Dt. 5 25. Dan. 10 9. דברי i.e. דברך(ו), following the Hebr. form; or possibly דברי, after the Aram. מלכפוי = מלכפוי, מלכפוי; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 159. Cf. קרני 42 5.

¹ Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Νίσιβις . . . Σημαίνει δέ, ὡς φησι Φίλων, Νάσιβις τὰς στῆλας, ὅτι δὲ Οὐράνιος, νέσιβις, φησί, σημαίνει τῇ Φοινίκῃ φανῇ λίθῳ συγκαίμενοι καὶ συμφορητοὶ *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 526.

² In the Palm. inscr. 136 we find a חמם dedicated to שמש the sun-god. But this instance can hardly decide the original meaning of the ancient חממים of the O. T. The Ἀμμονεῖς of the Phoen. temples, mentioned by Philo Byb. as inscribed ἀποκρφόροι γράμματα (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 564), were probably חממים.

38. Malta (Gaulus-Gozo). CIS i 132. iii-li cent. Malta,

- 1 פֶּעַל וְחֹדֶשׁ עִם גּוֹל אִית שֶׁלֶשׁ ...
 2 מִקְדָּשׁ בֵּת צִדְמָבֶעַל וְאִית מִן־קֹדֶשׁ ...
 3 מִקְדָּשׁ בֵּת עֶשְׁתֶּרֶת וְאִית מִן־קֹדֶשׁ ...
 4 בַּעַת ר אֲדָר עֹרֶכֶת אֶרֶשׁ בֶּן יֶאֱל ...
 5 שֶׁמֶט בֶּן זִיבְקָם בֶּן עֲבֹדָאֲשֶׁמֶן בֶּן יֶאֱל ...
 6 זֶבַח בַּעַל־שֶׁלֶךְ בֶּן חֲנָא בֶּן עֲבֹדָאֲשֶׁמֶן ...
 7 בְּלֹא בֶן כֶּלֶם בֶּן יַעֲזָר שֶׁמֶר מַחְצֵב י ...
 8 עִם גּוֹל

The people of Gaulus made and renovated the three(?)...² the sanctuary of the temple of Šadam-ba'al, and the sa[n]ctuary...³ the sanctuary of the temple of 'Ashtart, and the sanctu[ary]...⁴ in the time of (our) l(ord) of noble worth (?), Arish, son of Ya'el...⁵ judge (?), son of Zibaqam, son of 'Abd-eshmun, son of Ya'e[...]⁶ sacrificer Ba'al-shillek, son of Hanno, son of 'Abd-eshmu[n...]⁷ B'L', son of KLM, son of Ya'azor, keeper of the quarry...⁸ (of) the people of Gaulus.

The inscr., though found at Malta, was prob. carried there from the neighbouring island of Gaulus, now Gozo. The writing is clear and well formed, and Carthaginian in character. The date of the inscr. is uncertain, because we do not know the era, prob. referred to in the missing portion of l. 7, from which the independence of Gaulus was reckoned. The date can hardly be later than 150 B. C., and may be earlier.

L. 1. חֹדֶשׁ See 23 2 n. פֶּעַל עם גּוֹל Plebs Gaulitana, CIL x 7508 f. גּוֹל was pronounced with a diphthong; in Gk. Γαῦδος. שֶׁלֶשׁ As the stone is broken off at this point, and it is uncertain how much of the lines is missing, we cannot tell what שֶׁלֶשׁ refers to, or whether the word is complete. There are four, not three, sanctuaries mentioned in ll. 2-3.

L. 2. מִקְדָּשׁ The inner sanctuary of the temple (בֵּת, cf. 5 15 f.); cf. 29 3. 7. Eze. 48 21. Jer. 51 51. צִדְמָבֶעַל is generally taken as

= צלמבעל *likeness of Ba'al*, cf. פן בעל 48 1 &c., שם בעל 18 5, a goddess known to the Greeks as Σαλαμβώ or Σαλάμβας, in Lat. Salambo, and identified with Aphrodite¹, who had a temple in Gaulus, the remains of which still exist. For צדם = צלם cf. Γαῦδος = Gaulus, e.g. Strabo p. 230 ed. Müll. There is more probability, however, in the view of Hoffmann (*ZA* xi 244 f.) that צלם was a male deity whose name appears in the inscr. from Têma 89 3 ff. 70 3, perhaps the deity of the planet Saturn, *kakkubu Šalmu* 'the dark' (צלם), Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB.* 569. Hoffmann considers that צלם was associated with the sun-god among Phoenicians, and only by Greeks identified with 'Ashtart-Aphrodite. Possibly צלם, צלם, a village near Edessa, contains the name of the deity, P. Smith *Thes.* col. 3410.

L. 4. רב בעת ר. 42 1. ר is an abbreviation of רב or רבן; cf. הרב in CIS i 229-235 and רב ארץ 20 2. 6. The reference here, as in the case of the other officials mentioned in ll. 5? 6. 7, is not to a definite year named after the chief magistrate (... בשנת שפסם 40 2 n.), but to the period (עת) when these persons were engaged in the active duties of their office; so Lidzb. 113 n. אדר ערכת Meaning uncertain. In 5 9. 10 6 אדר = *great, powerful*; ערכת has been explained by the Hebr. ערך a valuation paid for a commuted vow or due, Lev. 27 2 ff.; hence אדר ערכת is taken by the Corp. to denote *chief of the taxes*, or *assessments*, a revenue officer, or 'superintendent of public works,' cf. Aram. and Rabb. ערכא *magistracy* (Wright *ZDMG* xxviii 143). But אדר is not a suitable word to be used as a noun for *chief*; and ערכת may be taken as a gen. of quality, in a figurative sense, *of noble worth*; for the construction cf. חכם לבב ואמין כח Job 9 4. רב חסד ואמת Ex. 34 6 &c. It must be admitted, however, that an expression of this kind is not customary in Phoen. inscr. Note that ערכת is fem., while in Hebr. ערך is mas., and not used in the plural. ארש See 21 1 n. יאל is a divine name, as appears from יאלפעל Altib. 2 2². Etymologically it may be identified with the Arab. يَآل lit. *asylum* from يَآل, *take refuge*, the god of the Arab tribe Bakr-Wâil; Wellhausen *Reste Arab. Heidentums* 64. This name occurs in Nabat. and Sin. as a pr. n. in the form ואלו and ואלת, e.g. CIS ii 214 2. 80 1. 90 2. 105, and often; in Gk. inscr. from Hauran Ουάελος &c. Wadd. 2496²;

¹ Σαλαμβώ ή 'Αφροδίτη παρά Βαβυλωνίους, Hesych. *Lex.* s. v.; Σαλάμβας ή δαίμων [ή]... περιέρχεται θρηνοῦσα τὸν 'Αδωνι, *Etym. magn.*; Salambonem omni planctu et jactatione syriaci cultus exhibuit (Heliogabalus), Lamprid. *vit. Heliog.* vii in *Scr. Hist. Aug.*

² Berger *JA* ix (1887) 466 ff.

³ In Polybius Ἰόλαος; the treaty between Hannibal and Philip was ratified

in Himyar. 𐩦𐩣 CIS iv 159 n.; cf. also the name of a N. Arabian king Ya'lû on Asarhaddon's cylinder, col. iii 19, Schrader *COT* 25. 208. On Edessene coins (163-167 A.D.) 𐩦𐩣 is the name of a king of Edessa; CIS ii p. 179. Perhaps the O.T. 𐩦𐩣 is to be explained in this way, though the above names belong to Arab. rather than to Hebr. See Rob. Smith *Kinship* 194. 301; Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 153; Driver *Studia Bibl.* i 5 n.

L. 5. 𐩦𐩣 Either another official (*the*) judge, supposing that l. 4 contained *son of . . . the*, or a pr. n. *Shafat*, common in N. Africa. 𐩦𐩣 The name occurs in Punic and Neo-Punic, e.g. CIS i 251. 423 &c. and 22 2 n.; perhaps it is of Libyan or Numidian, rather than Phoen. origin, and equivalent to Syphax (on coins 𐩦𐩣). The rest of the line prob. ran *and in the time of . . . the*.

L. 6. 𐩦𐩣 The chief officiating priest, *ιεροθύτης* CIG 5752 = Mich. 554, a Maltese inscr. circa 210 B.C. For the year, or period, dated by the name of this official cf. 55 5 𐩦𐩣 𐩦𐩣 (from Altiburur). 𐩦𐩣 Transcribed *Βασιλλήχ*, *balsillec* CIL viii 1249; see 35 1 n. The significance of 𐩦𐩣, found also in the name 𐩦𐩣 CIS i 50 1. 197 4, is obscure. It is not probable that 𐩦𐩣 = 𐩦𐩣, for 𐩦 is a soft guttural in Phoen., and therefore not interchangeable with 𐩦; see 40 1 n. Cl.-Gan. explains 𐩦𐩣 by the vulgar Arab. 𐩦𐩣, which in the dialect of Algiers = *save, deliver*, *Rec.* i 165 f. 𐩦𐩣 39 2 and often; perhaps shortened from 𐩦𐩣 or 𐩦𐩣.

L. 7. 𐩦𐩣 . . 𐩦𐩣 d. 𐩦. These names belong either to the genealogy of 𐩦𐩣(𐩦), or to another official whose name stood in the missing part of l. 6. 𐩦𐩣 Short for 𐩦𐩣. 𐩦𐩣 Qal ptc., *manager, overseer, επιμελητής*; the third, or, if 𐩦𐩣 = *judge* l. 5, the fourth official named. 𐩦𐩣 The form of the noun points to the meaning *quarry*; cf. 𐩦𐩣 2 4. 6. 1 K. 5 29. It is conjectured that the end of the line furnished the date from which the 𐩦𐩣 (cf. 9 5 f. 27 2 &c.) reckoned their independence. The date is unknown; but in the second Punic war Malta, and presumably Gaulus too, severed its connexion with Carthage, Livy xxi 51.

ἐναντίον δαίμονος Καρχηδονίων καὶ Ἑρακλείου καὶ Ἰολάου vii 9. 2; cf. also Diod. Sic. iv 29. Perhaps the pr. nn. *Ialnoati* CIL viii 280, *Iolitana* ib. 9841, *Iolitan(us)* ib. 9767 contain the name of the god; Nöld. *ZDMG* xlii 471.

SARDINIA

39. Caralis (Cagliari). CIS i 139. iii-ii cent. B.C. Cagliari.

1 לארן לבעשם באינצם נצבם וחנוטם שנים 11 אש נרר בע
2 לחנא שברמלקרת בן חנא בן אשמנעם בן מהרבעל
3 בן אתש

To the lord Ba'a(l)-shamem in the Isle of Hawks: (these are the) pillars and two 2 ? which Ba'al-hanno, (son) of Bod-melqarth, son of Hanno, son of Eshmun-'amas, son of Mahar-ba'al, son of Athash, vowed.

L. 1. בעשם i.e. בעלשם, see 9 i n. For the quiescence of ל cf. in Nab. בעשמן CIS ii 163, לבעשמן ib. 176, in Palm. בנא 112 2 n., and in Pun. בעחנא CIS i 869 2, 'Ανν(βα)-ς=הנבעל, Bomilcar=בעלמלקרת, Μάκαρ=מלקרת &c.; see Schröder 100. The construction לבעשם as in 24 2 n. אינצם=Ἱεράων νῆσος, mentioned by Ptolemaeus in his description of the islands round Sardinia, *Geogr.* iii 3, ed. Müll. p. 387; in the LXX Ἱερά is the usual rendering of נץ, e.g. Lev. 11 16 b. Dt. 14 14 a. Job 39 26. The Phoen. name is preserved by Pliny, Habet (Sardinia) et a Gorditano promontorio duas insulas, quae vocantur Herculis: a Sulcensi, Enosin: a Caralitano, Ficariam, *Hist. Nat.* iii 13. The island is now called San Pietro. נצבם See 37 i n. וחנוטם Meaning obscure; but evidently objects connected with the cult of the deity. In Hebr. חנמ means *to embalm*, but this gives no suitable sense here. Renan (in Corp.) explains the word by the Gk. χαυνερά, used in the LXX for *molten images*, טפכות, e.g. 1 K. 14 9 Α θεοὺς ἐτέπου χαυνερά.

L. 2. בעלחנא 47, cf. מלקרתחנא, רעמחנא 82 2 n. שברמלקרת The rel. ש is here used, like של in late Hebr. and ד in Aram., to express the genitival relation, in this case instead of בן; cf. 41 2 f. רש שנגר. For ש elsewhere in Phoen. see 40 1 ? 41 3. 52. CIS i 133 מסלח בן שערבעל (see 64 i n.). 316 ארש בן שמננן 315 ארש בן שמננן 316 ארש בן שמננן 317 (similarly). 379 שבעלשם בן. It is worth noticing that the form אש occurs along with ש in many of these inscrs. referred to; see 45 4 n. אשמנעם Eshmun carries, cf. בעלעם CIS i 169, and עמסיה 2 Ch. 17 16; see 5 6 n. מהרבעל A common

Pun. name, in Gk. Μέρβαλος a Tyrian king, Jos. c. Ap. i 21. מרר is generally explained as *gift*, Hebr. מרר the purchase price of a wife, Gen. 34 12 &c.; this explanation, however, is not convincing.

40. Pauli Gerrei (Santuiaci). CIS i 143. ii cent. B.C.
Turin Mus.

*Cleon salari(us) soc(iorum) s(ervus) Aesculapio Merre
donum dedit lubens merito merente.*

Ἀσκληπίῳ Μηρρῇ ἀνάθεμα βωμὸν ἔστυσε Κλέων ὁ ἐπὶ
τῶν ἀλῶν κατὰ πρόσταγμα.

לארן לאשמן מארח מובח נחשת משקל לטרם מאת א אש 1
נדר אבלין שחסגם אש במלהת שמ[ע]
2 [ק] לא רפ'א בשת שפטם חמלכת ועבדאשמן בן חמלך

To the lord Eshmun Merre:—the altar of bronze, in weight a hundred 100 pounds, which Cleon of ḤSGM, who is over the salt-mines (?), vowed; he heard his voice (and) healed him. In the year of the suffetes Ḥimilkath and 'Abd-eshmun, son of Ḥimilk.

L. 1. לאשמן See 5 17 n. There is a mineral spring near to the place where the inscr. was found. מארח A title of Eshmun, explained by Nöldeke as the Piel ptc. מרח (note the doubled 2nd radical in the transcriptions merre, μηρρη) of מרח wander, travel, with the meaning leader, guide, cf. Eth. warëha lead; ZDMG xlii 472. Lidzbarski, p. 305, suggests the Ifil ptc. of מרח, cf. Hebr. 1 S. 16 23 ורח לשאול Job 32 20; in Aram. (Ethpa.) alleviatus est, e.g. 2 Macc. 13 11 = ἀναψύχασθαι, convalescit a morbo; so מארח he who alleviates, healer, a suitable epithet for Eshmun-Aesculapius. In this case, however, the א is difficult to account for, unless it be merely euphonic. Hoffmann, ZA xi 238, takes מארח Merre as a diminutive of מלך, which sometimes takes the form of מר, מרי, Μαρκω, Μαρvas &c.; see 19 3 n. The Corp. regards מארח as=מארך scil. חיים, but in Phoen. מ is not a strong guttural, as appears from the transcriptions מארח

merre, חמלכת *himilco*, *imilco*, חמלך *otmilc*, חנבעל *hannibal* &c.; see 38 6. On the whole the first explanation seems to be the most plausible. מרם See 28 4 n. משקל See 29 14 n. Plur. of the Gk. weight *λίτρα*. The form of the symbol for 100 may be contrasted with that in 9 4 f. 29 14. 42 6. מכלן = Cleon, with מ prosthetic, as often in foreign names; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 45 f. שחסנא The ש is perhaps the rel. particle introducing the genit., either *son of* (see 39 2 n.), or possibly *servant of* (so Corp.). The significance of חסנא is unknown; it may be a (Sardinian) pr. n., or the title of an office; possibly a transliteration of *servus sociorum*, Hoffmann l. c. Cf. 59 B 4. ממשלחת *δ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλῶν*, *who is over the salt mines*, though strictly this requires על instead of ב; the Corp. therefore renders *who is in the salt business*. ממשלחת must be a dialectical form of ממשלח; for מ' cf. 38 7.

L. 2. קלא i. e. קלל; for the form of suff. cf. 48 5 and often. רפא Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. = רפא; cf. תברכא 48 5 and often. The רפא is here treated as ל'ה, the י of the root being retained before the suff., as occasionally in Hebr., e. g. הַיְיִי K. 20 35. חַיִּיחַ Hab. 3 2, more frequently in the pausal forms חַיִּיחַ Dt. 32 37. יִחַיִּי Job 16 22 (Ges. § 75 u, mm). בשת שטמט For the year reckoned by the suffetes cf. 42 1 n. (Marseilles-Carthage). CIS i 170 (Carthage). 45 5 f. (ib.). 46 1 (ib.). 55 5 f. (Altiburus). חמלך . . . חמלכת For אח', see 11 n., and l. 1 n. above. It has been proposed to read בן as בְּנֵי, making the suffetes brothers, and providing both with a brief genealogy; but this is improbable and unnecessary (see 45 5). The inscr. dates from after the first Punic war, when Sardinia was severed from Carthage and passed under the rule of Rome. The suffetes, therefore, were not Carthaginian; they belonged prob. to Caralis (39), the chief city in the neighbourhood. The form of the Latin letters is said to point to a date about 180 B.C.

41. Nora (Pula). CIS i 144. ? vi cent. Cagliari.

[מצ] 1

בת רש ש 2

נגר שהא 3

בשרדן ש 4

למה אש ל 5

- 6 נצבא מ
7 לכתן בן ר
8 ש בן נגר
9 לפסי

Pillar of Rosh, (son) of Nagid, who (dwelt) in Sardinia; Milk-(ya)thon, son of Rosh, son of Nagid, (the) Liphsite, completed it (?), (even that) which (was required) for setting it up.

The character is of an archaic type, which perhaps points to a date not later than the sixth cent. (Lidzb. 177); cf. 37 n. The ancient form of ה, X, occurs here.

L. 2. רש Perhaps = ראש. In Gen. 46 21 this pr. n. is corrupt. ש נגר See 39 2 n.

L. 3. נגר Prob. a pr. n.; so in Aram. CIS ii 112 (? נגר).

L. 4. שרא בשרדן It is uncommon to find the dwelling-place mentioned; cf. 31 a מצרים ישב רכי באן מצרים. Euting *Sin. Inschr.* 551 פ' די עמר באילת.

L. 5. שלמח Piel pf. 3 sing. mas. The ה' is possibly the suff. 3 sing. fem., anticipating the object in the relat. clause; to refer it to מצבת makes the construction more difficult. The subject of the vb. is מלכתן l. 6 f. שלם complete, perhaps with the thought of *fulfilling* a vow.

L. 6. לנצבא appears to be the inf. with suff. 3 sing. fem. of נצב; cf. Old Aram. 61 10 לנצב, Nab. 99 2 נצב pf., also in Palm. מלכתן For 12 2 מלכיתן &c.

L. 9. לפסי A gentilic form of the name of a city (unknown).

GAUL

42. *Marseilles*. CIS i 165. Circ. iv cent. B. C. *Marseilles Museum*.

- 1 בת בעל[. . .] ב[עת המש]אתת אש טנ[א האשם ש על המשא]תת
 עת [ר חלצ]בעל השפט בן בדתנת בן בר[אשמן וחלצבעל]
 2 השפט בן בראשמן בן חלצבעל וה[ברנם]
 3 באלף כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף עשרת → באחד
 ובכלל יכן לם עלת פן המשאת ז ש[אר משקל שלשת מאת III ש]
 4 ובצועת קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר
 לבעל הזבח
 5 בעגל אש קרני למבמחסר באטומטא אם באיל כלל אם צו[עת] אם
 שלם כלל לכהנם כסף חמשת II [III באחד ובכלל יכן לם על]
 6 ת פן המשאת ז שאר משקל מאת וחמשם ש z z → ובצועת קצרת
 ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפע[מם ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח]
 7 ביבל אם בעז כלל אם צועת אם שלם כלל לכהנם כסף שקל I זר II
 באחד ובצועת יכן לם עלת פן המשאת ז קצרת]
 8 ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי השאר לבעל הזבח
 9 באמר אם בגדא אם בצרב איל כלל אם צועת אם שלם כל[ל]
 לכהנם כסף רבע שלשת זר . . . [באחד ובצועת יכן לם על]
 10 ת] פן המשאת ז קצרת ויצלת וכן הערת והשלבם והפעמם ואחרי
 השאר לבעל [הזבח]
 11 בצ]פר אנגן אם צין שלם כל[ל] אם שצף אם חזת לכהנם כסף רבע
 שלשת זר II באחד וכן הש[אר לבעל הזבח]
 12 [ע]ל צפר אם קרמת קרשת אם זבח צד אם זבח שמן לכהנם כסף
 א[גרת] → לבאחד
 13 [ב]כל צועת אש יעמם פנת אלם יכן לכהנם קצרת ויצלת
 ו[ב]צועת

- 14 [ע]ל כלל ועל חלב ועל חלב ועל כל זבח אש אדם לזבח
במנח[ת] י
- 15 בכל זבח אש יזבח דל מקנא אם דל צפר כל יכן לכהנ[ם מנח]
16 כל מורח וכל שפח וכל מרוח אלם וכל אדמם אש יזבח . .
17 האדמם המת משאת על זבח אחר כמדת שת בכתב[ת] . . .
18 [כ]ל משאת אש איבל שת בפס ו ונתן לפי הכתבת אש [כתב]
האשם אש על המשאתת עת ר חלצבעל בן בדתנ]
19 ת וחלצבעל בן בראשמן וחברנם
20 כל כהן אש יקח משאת בדין לאש שת בפס ו ונענ[ש]
21 פל בעל זבח אש איבל יתן את כ . . [ע]ל המשאת א[ש]

Temple of Ba'al-[]. Ta[riff of pay]ments e[rected by the
overseers of pay]ments in the time of [the lord Hilleṣ-]ba'al
the suffete, son of Bod-tanith, son of Bod-[eshmun, and of
Hilleṣ-ba'al] ² the suffete, son of Bod-eshmun, son of Hilleṣ-
ba'al, and their col[leagues].

³ For an ox, whole-offering or prayer-offering (?) or whole
thank-offering, the priests shall have ten 10 silver (shekels)
for each; and for a whole-offering they shall have, besides
this payment, f[lesh weighing three hundred 300 (shekels)];
⁴ and for a prayer-offering (?), the ? and the ?; but the skin
and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong
to the person offering the sacrifice.

⁵ For a calf whose horns are wanting (?) ?, or for a hart,
whole-offering or pray[er]-offering (?) or whole thank-offering,
the priests shall have five [5] silver (shekels) [for each; and
for a whole-offering they shall have, besid]es this payment,
flesh weighing a hundred and fifty 150 (shekels); and for
a prayer-offering (?) the ? and the ?; but the skin and ? and
the fe[et and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person
offering the sacrifice].

⁷ For a ram or for a goat, a whole-offering or a prayer-
offering (?) or a whole thank-offering, the priests shall have

1 silver shekel 2 *sars* for each ; and for a prayer-offering (?) they shall h[ave, besides this payment, the ?] ⁸ and the ? ; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

⁹ For a lamb or for a kid or for the young of a (?) hart, a whole-offering or a prayer-offering (?) or a whole thank-offering, the priests (shall have) three quarters of a silver (shekel) . . *sars* [for each, and for a prayer-offering (?) they shall have, besides] ¹⁰ this payment, the ? and the ? ; but the skin and the ? and the feet and the rest of the flesh shall belong to the person offering [the sacrifice].

¹¹ For a bird, domestic (?) or wild (?), a whole thank-offering or a ? or a ?, the priests (shall have) three quarters of a silver (shekel) 2 *sars* for each ; but the fle[sh shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice].

¹² For a bird (?) or sacred first-fruits or sacrifice of game (?) or sacrifice of oil, the priests (shall have) 10 silver *a[gōrāhs (?)]* for each

¹³ In every prayer-offering (?), which is carried before the gods, the priests shall have the ? and the ? ; and for a prayer-offering (?)

¹⁴ For a cake, for milk and for fat and for every sacrifice which a man is disposed to sacrifice for a meal-offering, . . . shall . . .

¹⁵ For every sacrifice which a man may sacrifice who is poor in cattle or in birds, the priests shall have nothing [of them].

¹⁶ Every *misrah* and every ? and every religious guild, and all men who shall sacrifice , ¹⁷ such men (shall give) a payment for each sacrifice, according as is set down in the document

¹⁸ Every payment which is not set down on this table shall be given according to the document which [. . . the overseers of payments drew up in the time of the lord Hilleš-ba'al, son of Bod-tan¹⁹], and of Hilleš-ba'al, son of Bod-eshmun, and their colleagues.

²⁰ Every priest who shall receive a payment other (?) than that which is set down on this tablet, shall be fin[ed . . .].

²¹ Every person offering a sacrifice, who shall not give . . . for the payment which¹.

The stone, though found at Marseilles, must have come originally from the quarries near Carthage, as its geological formation shows. In style and contents the inscr. closely resembles the group 43. 44. CIS i 170, which belongs to Carthage; so it is probable, but not certain, that the stone was already inscribed before it travelled to Marseilles.

L. 1. בַּעַל בַּת The Corp. conjectures צֶמֶן after בַּעַל, cf. עֲבֹרֶצֶן CIS i 265. בִּרְצֶמֶן 108. אַחַת [בַּעַת הַמֶּשׁ] Cf. 43 1. CIS i 171 7. The missing parts of the inscr. may be restored from 43, and from other lines of the inscr. itself. The context shows that בַּעַת = *tariff*, but the etymology is doubtful. The word may be explained by the Arab. بَاعَ *make a covenant, stipulate*, مَبَايَعَةُ *contract for buying or selling*, بَيْعَ *buying or selling*, and the meaning be *agreement*; or the meaning *demand* may be obtained from the Arab. بَغَى, Aram. בָּעָא *seek*. מִשְׁמַחַת = Hebr. מִשְׁפָּחָה *dues, taxes*, 2 Ch. 24 6. 9. Eze. 20 40. מִנָּה 43 1, usually of *setting up* a statue on a pedestal (18 2 n.), or *fixing* a pillar in the ground (16 2 &c.). חָמָ' ש' עַל חֶמֶ' Cf. 46 1. 38 2. 55 5. עַת Cf. CIS i 170 1 and 38 4. חֲלָבְעַל i. e. B. *delivers* (piel); cf. אֶשְׁמַחֲלֵךְ CIS i 168 2. 777 5 &c. חֲשַׁמֵּת Even if the inscr. did not come originally from Carthage, it gives us some information about the Carthaginian constitution, for the colony at Marseilles would be organized on the model of the mother-state. (1) At the head of the state in Carthage were two *suffetes* (ll. 1-2. 18-19) or chief magistrates; cf. 45 5. 6. 46 1 (?). CIS i 170 1. 179 6 f. 196 4 f. By Gk. and Lat. writers they are called βασιλεῖς and *reges*, and they are generally given as two, being compared with the Roman consuls². Similarly in Lat. inscr. from N. African cities two are named, CIL viii 797. 5306; in the NPun. inscr. from Altiburus and Maktar there are three, 55 5 f. 59 B 4 ff. (2) The *suffetes* give their names to the period (עַת CIS i 170, cf. 38 4), or more usually to the year (חָמָ 46 1,

¹ The above translation is based upon that given by Dr. Driver in *Authority and Archaeology* 77 f.

² Livy xxx 7 5 Senatum itaque sufetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos erat, vocaverunt. Nepos Hann. vii 4 Ut enim Romae consules, sic Carthagine quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In historical narratives, it is true, one 'king' is generally mentioned; but perhaps one was often away on distant duties, or one of the two may have been in some sense inferior to the other. At any rate, the comparison with the consuls is decisive.

cf. 40 2), during which they held office. As the expression *בשט שפוט* suggests, the appointment was an annual one (see 45 5 n.)¹; the series of votive tablets, CIS i 199–228, were dedicated by suffetes prob. during their year of office. These tablets show that although the office was not hereditary, yet it tended to become associated with a limited number of families, of long-descended and honourable race². (3) The name *שפוט* implies that the office was magisterial, not hierarchical; thus in 45 8 the 'chief priest' is mentioned beside the suffetes; cf. 55 6 f. (4) Connected with the two chief magistrates were the *חברים* *colleagues*, who formed their council (Il. 2. 19, cf. 55 4 and *חבר היהודים* 149 C). Whether these *colleagues* correspond to the *γερονσία* of 100 (or 104), the 'centum iudices,' or to the executive committee of 30 chosen from the 100, we cannot tell. It may be assumed that the two suffetes presided over this senate (but see 45 6 n.); they certainly summoned it and conducted its business³. (5) The office and title of *suffete* were characteristic of Carthage and of the Carth. colonies. In the latter, of course, the suffetes would not have the same importance, and prob. not exactly the same functions, as in the mother-state; they would be little more than local magistrates. They are met with in Sardinia 40, Sicily CIS i 135, Malta ib. 124, Altiburus 55, and in a number of N. African cities, CIL viii 7. 765. 797. 5306. 10525. The title *Judices*, given to governors or petty kings in Spain and Sardinia (Cagliari) in the Middle Ages, may be a survival from Punic times; see Ducange s. v. At the Piraeus there was a *שפוט*, but prob. not in the Carth. sense, 34 n., and cf. 8 3 n. 17 2. The chief of a Phoen. city in Phoenicia itself, or in Cyprus, was called not *שפוט* but *סלך*, e. g. 3 1. 4 1. 5 1. 12 2 & c.

¹ Nepos l. c.; Zonaras, *Annal.* viii 8 *τὸν γὰρ βασιλεὺς ταυτοῦτ' ἐκλήσιν ἐτησίῳ ἀρχῇ δὲ ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ χρόνῳ δυναστεία προβάλλοντο*. Aristotle, *Pol.* ii 11, in his parallel with the Spartan kings, who ruled for life, does not notice this point of difference; perhaps he did not believe in it. Cicero, *Rep.* ii 23, seems to imply that the Carth. *reges* were elected for life ('perpetua potestas').

² From any family of full civic rights, not, as in Sparta, from one family and by hereditary dignity, Aristotle l. c.; but the text is uncertain.

³ E. g. Polybius iii 33 3. Beside the *γερονσία*, Polyb. mentions the *σύγκλητος*, x 18 1; xxxvi 2 6. The latter was probably a general assembly of the people (vi 51 6), who took a real share in the government, Arist. l. c. The *γερονσία* of Arist. is perhaps to be identified with the *σύγκλητος* of Polyb.; see Henderson *Journ. Phil.* xxiv (1896) 119 ff. Under special circumstances a military command seems to have been bestowed upon a suffete by decree of the senate, but this was exceptional; the *βασίλεια* and the *στρατηγία* are distinguished by Arist. The word *ισσὶν iudex* is in itself ambiguous; for the 104 were also called *iudices*.

Ll. 3-14. A Table of Sacrifices and Dues. It appears that the sacrificial institutions of the Phoenicians had a good deal in common with those of the Hebrews, and gave expression to the same general religious ideas. Thus the chief types of sacrifice in both systems are analogous, the whole-offering, the thank-offering, the meal-offering. The Hebr. חטאת and אשם *sin-* and *guilt-offering*, however, are absent, unless something of the kind was intended by the obscure צועה, which is doubtful. The materials of sacrifice are generally alike, but in some respects the details differ: the Hebrews sacrificed domestic animals only, but the Phoenicians offered as well deer (איל), young (?) deer (צרב איל), wild-birds (? ציץ), game (צד), and included milk (חלב) and fat (חלב) in the מנחה. It is to be noticed that in this inscr. oxen, sheep and goats, birds, produce are mentioned in the same order as in Lev. 1-2. Certain parts of the sacrifice are assigned to the priests and to the worshipper, as in Lev. 6 19. 7 8. 15-19. 31-34. Dt. 18 3. 4 &c.; while the relief allowed to the poor man (l. 15) may be illustrated by Lev. 5 7. 11. 12 8. 14 21 (אם רל הוא). The resemblance, however, between the two systems is a general one. Many of the sacrificial terms in Phoenician are obscure in meaning, and those which are identical with the Hebr. (e.g. כלל, שלם) may have denoted different things; at any rate they acquired different shades of meaning in the course of their separate history. See Driver *Authority and Archaeology* 78 f.

L. 3. באלף The prep. here is *beth* of reference; cf. the use of في in Arab. (Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 55 c); there is no exact parallel in Hebr. אלף *ox*, as in Assyr. *alpu*; in Hebr. the word is rare, and only used in the plur., e.g. Pr. 14 4. Is. 30 24. Ps. 8 8. Dt. 7 13. 28 4 ff. כלל 48 5 prob. = קליל *holocaust*, a word which in Hebr. hardly belongs to the ordinary terminology of sacrifice. It is used as a descriptive synonym of עולה, Dt. 33 10. 1 S. 7 9. Ps. 51 21; twice of the priests' מנחה, Lev. 6 15 f.; and figuratively in Dt. 13 17. Among the Phoenicians כלל was apparently the equivalent of the O.T. עולה. It was not wholly burned upon the altar¹, because part of the flesh was assigned to the priests. אה . . . אה See 5 7 n. צועה 48 4 f. may be connected with the same root as the Eth. 𐩨𐩣𐩪: (צוע) *cry out, invoke*, hence צועה was perhaps a sacrifice accompanied by *prayer*; it is highly precarious to make the Ethiopic root correspond to צוח, שוע, as Wright does, *Comp. Gr.* 60. The Eth. 𐩨𐩣𐩪: (שע),

¹ Cf. Ex. 20 24, which orders the עולה to be slaughtered (תקריב) upon the altar, but says nothing about its being wholly burned upon it; Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 358 n.

whence **שָׁלַם**: *sacrifice*, is again prob. a different root. **שָׁלַם** may be rendered 'a **שָׁלַם** of (i. e. *accompanying*) a **כָּלֵל** or 'a whole **שָׁלַם**.' It is probably incorrect to regard the 'ש' כ' as a third kind of sacrifice, for in the second part of each direction only the **כָּלֵל** and the **צֹעֵת** are repeated. This implies that two, and not three, distinct species of sacrifice are contemplated, in which case the 'ש' כ' will be a subordinate kind of **כָּלֵל**. Robertson Smith regards it as an ordinary sacrifice accompanying a **כָּלֵל**, *Rel. of Sem.* 219 n. It must remain uncertain what exactly the 'ש' כ' was. The word **שָׁלַם** is of course the same as the Hebr. for *thank- or peace-offering*. **כָּסָף** For the order cf. 2 S. 24 24. Neh. 5 15. 1 Ch. 22 13; **כָּסָף** is in apposition to **שְׁקָלִים** understood, cf. Gen. 20 16. 37 28 &c., and nominative to **יָכֵן** which must be supplied before **לְכַהֲנָם**; see Driver *Tenses* § 192 (1), König *Syntax* § 314 h. The money payments to the priests may be illustrated by CIL vi 820 pro sanguine . . et corium . . si holocaustum XX. **עַל עֵלָת מִן** lit. *over, here over and above, besides*; similarly perhaps Ex. 20 3 **עַל פָּנֵי מִן**. **שֶׁמֶן מִשְׁקָל ש' מ'** lit. *flesh, a weight of 300 (shekels)*; see Driver l. c.; **מִשְׁקָל** is in apposition to **שֶׁמֶן**, and prob. in the constr. state, as in 1 Ch. 21 25 **מִשְׁקָל שֶׁשׁ מֵאוֹת**; for **שְׁקָלִים** understood after **מִשְׁקָל** cf. Num. 7 13 ff. The restoration is based on l. 6, the amount for an ox would be double of that for a calf. For **שֶׁמֶן** = Hebr. **בֶּשֶׂר** see 3 4 n.

L. 4. **קִצְרַת וַיְצַלַח** 43 8 evidently certain parts of the victim assigned to the worshipper, as the **שֶׁמֶן** was to the priests. The practice is illustrated by Lev. 7 15-19. 19 6 &c., and by a Gk. inscr. from Miletus (end of the fourth cent. B. C.) λαμβάνειν δὲ τὰ δέρματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα γέρεα ἣν ἐν θύγῃται, λάψεται γλωσσάν, ἰσφύν, δασέαν, ὠρήν κ.τ.λ. Michel 726. The meaning of **קִצְרַת וַיְצַלַח** is unknown. **קִצְרַת** has been rendered *cuttings, prosecta*, from **קָצַר** *cut*; **וַיְצַלַח** may be connected with the root **צָלַח**, and the Hebr. **אַצְיָלוֹת** *joints*. The breast and right shoulder were the perquisites of the priests in the Levitical law, Lev. 7 31 f. **וְכֵן** ll. 6. 8. 10 f. 43 4 bis. 5. Here we have an instance of the waw conversive in Phoen. It is used with the perfect to introduce the predicate, as it is in Hebr. (Driver *Tenses* §§ 122. 123 a), i. when the subject follows the verb and intervenes between it and the clause introduced by **ל** (לבעל הובח); if the subject does not intervene the simple imperfect occurs, **לֹא יֵכֵן** ll. 3. 7. **יֵכֵן לְכַהֲנָם** 13. 15: ii. when the subject precedes the verb, the sentence having commenced with the casus pendens, l. 18 **וְנָתַן** . . . **כָּל מִשְׁמַח אִשׁ**. 43 11. l. 20 **וְנִעְנֹש אִשׁ** . . . **כָּל כָּהֵן אִשׁ**. So far as is known at present, the idiom is found only in the small group of related inscrr., 42. 43 and

CIS i 170 (rest.). The sister idiom, the imperfect with waw conversive, has not been discovered in Phoenician; ויטפננ 5 19 cannot safely be taken as an instance. The normal tense for continuing a narrative of finished acts is the perf. with weak waw, e.g. יתן ויטנא 13 2 &c. מעל חורש 38 1. 46 1; and this construction occurs where in Hebr. the impf. with strong waw would be natural, e.g. 8 8. 5 16. וישבני 17 1. 29 13. 14. 33 3. The material is very limited both in extent and character, but, so far as it goes, it suggests the conclusion that the waw conversive was not used in ordinary Phoen. speech and writing. Yet it was not entirely unknown, and the few instances of its occurrence with the perf., preserved in the Carthaginian dialect, are perhaps survivals of what was once more common. The later biblical and post-biblical Hebr. shows that there was a tendency to drop the use of the waw conv., and that at last it was abandoned altogether. The same thing may have happened in Phoen., though it is not likely that at any period the idiom reached such a full development in Phoen. as in Hebrew.

הערת 43 2 f., i.e. הערת. In Hebr. עור is mas. with a fem. ending in the plur. The עור העלה is given to the priests in Lev. 7 8; in the case of the sin-offering it was burned, Ex. 29 14. Lev. 8 17. Num. 19 5. In 43 4 and CIS i 170 2 אשלכם, *fatty parts*, cf. מַלְכָּל (only in the glossaries) *the fat of the hinder parts of birds*. In 1 K. 7 28 f. שְׁלָבִים may = *cross-bars, ribs*; the exact meaning is obscure. CIS i 170 2; see 3 4 n. אחרי prob. = Hebr. אחרי; see 10 9 n. בעל הובח 43 2 f., lit. *owner of the sacrifice*; for בעל as a noun of relation cf. 45 9 חרש בעל, and in Hebr. Gen. 37 19 החלמות ב' 2 K. 1 8. Gen. 14 13 בעלי ברית 2 S. 1 6 &c.

L. 5. קרני i.e. קרני(י); see 37 6 n. למבמחמר lit. *yet in want*, cf. Dt. 15 8. Jud. 18 10 &c.; for the accumulated preps. see 16 2 n. (of time). This is simpler than to take למ as = לו, an isolated example of this form of the sing. suff. (König *Lehrg.* ii 446 n. 2). באמומא is obviously a foreign word, Gk. or Berber. Its meaning is unknown. The Corp. suggests ἀδομητός for ἀδομητός *not castrated*. איל Perhaps איל *hart* rather than איל *ram*, because the latter belongs to the class specified further on, l. 7. The sacrifice of wild animals is surprising, but it seems to be implied in this Table (p. 117). The restoration of the number is based on l. 3.

L. 6. שאר משקל See l. 3 n. For the form of the symbol for 100 see 40 1 n.

L. 7. יבל i.e. יבל *ram*; in the O.T. only of the ram's-horn trumpet

and of the 'year of the ram(s) horn,' Ex. 19 13. Josh. 6 5. Lev. 25 13 &c. זֶרַע 43 7 a small coin, less than the quarter of a shekel l. 11. The Hebr. זֶרַע border moulding Ex. 25 11 ff., lit. 'that which presses, binds,' Aram. זֶרַע necklace, זֶרַע crown, may possibly be connected; the זֶרַע = lit. *press down*.

L. 9. זֶרַע lamb, Aram. זֶרַע , Palm. זֶרַע (plur.) 147 ii a 41, Arab. زَيْر from the Aram., Fränkel *Ar. Fremdw.* 107 f. זֶרַע = Hebr. זֶרַע . זֶרַע 43 5 = Aram. זֶרַע sheep, Nöldeke *ZDMG* xl (1886) 737; cf. pr. n. זֶרַע CIS i 380 4. The context refers to the young of sheep and goats, so זֶרַע is prob. the young of deer, זֶרַע l. 5. A gazelle could be sacrificed by heathen Arabs, but only as a poor substitute for a sheep; Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heidenth.* 115.

L. 11. זֶרַע Cf. Lev. 1 14 זֶרַע . זֶרַע 43 7 meaning very uncertain. זֶרַע is rendered *enclosure*, cf. זֶרַע &c., זֶרַע *surround, protect*; so *birds of enclosure* i.e. domestic birds. זֶרַע may = זֶרַע wing, Jer. 48 9 (? text), Targ. זֶרַע Dt. 14 9. 10. Ps. 139 9 &c., Sam. Targ. Gen. 15 9 זֶרַע = זֶרַע ; so perhaps *birds of wing*, i.e. wild birds. According to Athenaeus ix 47 the quail was offered to the Tyrian Baal¹. The Hebrews as a rule offered doves and pigeons for the זֶרַע (Lev. 1 14 cf. Gen. 15 9 JE), and זֶרַע (Lev. 12 6. 8), or 'birds,' of a kind not specified (Vulg. *passeres*), for purification from leprosy (Lev. 14 4). זֶרַע Two species of sacrifice; but of what nature is unknown. זֶרַע cannot be explained by Is. 54 8 (see Duhm or Marti in loc.); possibly זֶרַע may have been a sacrifice in connexion with auspices, זֶרַע vision, cf. Is. 28 15. 18 (perhaps of a *vision* by necromancy). See Rob. Smith *Rel. of Sem.* 202.

L. 12. זֶרַע The repetition of זֶרַע and the change of preposition are to be noted; contrast 43 7-8. Perhaps זֶרַע here means some other kind of bird than זֶרַע l. 11 or it may = זֶרַע he-goat, Ezr. 8 35. Dan. 8 5 &c.; or the words זֶרַע may be due to a sculptor's error. זֶרַע 43 9. 44 3 = Hebr. זֶרַע Lev. 2 12 f. Num. 18 12 and Dt. 18 4 &c. זֶרַע 43 9 = Hebr. זֶרַע hunting Gen. 10 9, game Gen. 25 28, or food Josh. 9 5. 14. Neh. 13 15. The latter may be intended here. זֶרַע 43 9. זֶרַע properly

¹ So far as date goes, there is no reason why the common domestic fowl should not have been sanctified at Carthage. It was first introduced into W. Asia by the Persians, too late to be included in the sacrificial lists of Lev. 1; but it may have reached N. Africa by the fourth or third cent. Egyptian wall-paintings represent only ducks and geese among domesticated poultry (Peters *New World* viii 36). זֶרַע , in Phoen. 'birds for sacrifice,' has a wider sense than in Hebr. and Aram.; cf. זֶרַע l. 15.

slaughter, has here the general sense of *offering*. For oil with the first-fruits see Lev. 2 14 ff.; in the Jewish system it was mingled with flour for the *מנחה*, but not offered separately, Lev. 2 4-6. [נרת] א Cf. 1 S. 2 36 לַאֲנִיָּה כֶסֶף LXX ὀβολοῦ ἀργυρίου. The *agōrāh* (= אָגוֹרָה Targ. 1 S. 2 36) was perhaps the same as the *gērah*, the 20th part of a shekel Ex. 30 13 &c., identified by Targ. and Talm. with the אָגוֹר *obol*, ὀβολός LXX. לבאחז Cf. למבמחזר l. 5 n.

L. 13. יעמס 43 8, Nif. impf., see 5 6 n. פנת אלם 43 8 i. e. למני אליהם For אלם see 33 6 n.

L. 14. בלל 44 2. 7 lit. *mixed* offering in connexion with the *מנחה*, so *cakes* or flour mixed with oil, as in the Hebr. *מנחה*, Ex. 29 2. Lev. 2 4. 7 10 &c. חלב . . חלב i. e. חֶלֶב . . חֶלֶב *milk . . fat*. Neither of these formed an element in the Hebr. meal-offering; the fat was sacrificed (Ex. 23 18 JE) and burned (1 S. 2 15 f. Lev. 3 3 ff. &c.); milk was not offered at all. Among the Arabs milk was poured as a libation: Wellhausen *supr.* 114; Rob. Smith *supr.* 203. In 43 10 only חלב occurs. אש אדם לזבח A striking case of similarity with Hebr. idiom, e. g. Hos. 9 13. Is. 10 32 &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 204. This construction, in which the inf. with ל forms the sole predicate, is freely used in later Hebr., e. g. *Abolh* 4 22 חילודים למות וחמחים להחיות וחמחים לרון; cf. the Syriac usage after ܠܥܣܐ e. g. ܠܥܣܐ ܠܥܣܐ ܠܥܣܐ *they can give nothing*: Stade *Morg. Forsch.* 194; Nöldeke *Syr. Gr.* 216. במנחת 43 10 the ב as in בכלל l. 3, בצעות l. 4 &c.

L. 15. רל 43 6, cf. 45 2. 46 1; for רל see note above p. 117. המסכן ותרופה is an accus. of limitation, *poor in respect of cattle*, like מקנא Is. 40 20. קרעו בתנאי 2 S. 15 32. After verbs of fullness and want the accus. is usual in Hebr.; Ewald *Synt.* §§ 281 b 2. 284 c. [מנח] From 43 6; see 5 add. note.

L. 16. The regulations here pass from individuals (ל. 14. רל l. 15) to classes of men (ל. 16. כל אדם); hence it is prob. that the difficult words מורח ונ' are to be interpreted as collectives. מורח may be connected with the Hebr. מורח lit. *one arising* (ורח) *from the soil*, so *native*, 'a free tribesman,' here a *clan*, *society of freemen*, cf. 55 4, where חברנם המזבח is to be read 'ח' המזרח, and 59 A 1 אש בנא . . המזרח. רב המזרח 16. המזרח . . אש בנא 1 belongs to the same root as the Hebr. משפחה, and may be rendered *family*. מורח אלם Prob. *a festal gathering in honour of the gods*, θίασος; cf. the Athenian sacred *symposia*. The √רוח apparently means *cry aloud*, and the noun פִּרְחָה is used in Hebr. of noisy revelry (Am. 6 7) or grief (Jer. 16 5, LXX θίασον), and in Rabbinic of a banquet,

esp. one in honour of a false god¹; perhaps מרזח in 33 1 may denote the period of the annual טטסטטטט. An interesting parallel to the מרזח of Jer. 16 5 (though the sense is different) has been found recently in the mosaic of Mâdebâ; a place called Βητομαρσεα ή Μαουμας² is mentioned on the E. of the Dead Sea, no doubt a transcription of מ' ב' מ', and the scene of licentious festivals; Cl.-Gan. Rec. iv 276. 339-345 = PEFQS (1901) 239. 369. 372 f. The word occurs also in Palm., בני מרזחא, *members of the thiasus* 140 A 2.

L. 17. למרת n. 19 5. See כמרת. שח 43 11, ptc. pass., cf. in Hebr. לִמְחָה *circumcised*, לִמְחָה S. 21 10; König *Lehrg.* i 445.

L. 18. 1. 21. 43 11 a negative compounded of אי (4 4 n.) and ל. 15. 1. 20. 43 11 *tablet*, from פסס *expand*; in the Talm. פסס = *plank, palisade* (Schröder 23 n. 3); here it is the stone which bears the inscription. ונתן Nif. pf. 3 sing. mas. of יתן with waw conv. (see l. 4 n.). לפי *according to the tenor of*, ל of norm; cf. in Hebr. Num. 26 54 אִישׁ לְפִי מְקָרָיו &c. כתבת A different document from the פסס bearing the inscription. The remainder of the line is restored from l. 1.

L. 20. ברץ Meaning unknown; ב is prob. the prep., with רץ cf. the Arab. دَامَى *turn aside*; so ברץ perhaps *in deviation from*, Ball *Light from the East* 253. ונענש Nif. perf. with waw conv. (see l. 4 n.); cf. Ex. 21 22 E. Dt. 22 19.

L. 21. פל An error for כל. אית Usually אית; see 3 3 n. על *above, beyond*; cf. Ex. 16 5. In l. 3 עלת פן 3.

¹ A good illustration is found in *Siphre* ed. Friedmann 47 b; the context speaks of the daughters of Moab tempting the apostate Israelites להם לעשות חורב ופחיתות; Midr. Rab. *Esther* 4 זה בית המרקש הרב ורשע זה (of Ahasuerus) יושב ושעה מרדכי.

² Lit. *the house of the Marseah* (i. e. orgiastic festival) *which is also the Majumas-feast*. The Gk. word Μαουμας occurs several times in the Midrashim as מַיְמָמָס *a great feast*, so called after the feast held by the pagan inhabitants of the city Majuma in Syria; Levy *NHWB* iii 99. It has been suggested that Betomarsea-Majumas was the traditional scene of the event recorded in Num. 25 1 ff.; *Rev. Bibl.* xi (1902) 150. For מרזח see further Berger *Grande inscr. d'édic. à Maktar* (1899) 16 ff.; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 47. 343 f.

NORTH AFRICA

43. Carthage. CIS i 167. iv-iii cent. B.C. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room no. 490.

- 1 בעת המשאתת אש טנא [האשם אש על המשאתת]
 2 [באלף כללם אם צועת וכן הערת לכהנם ותברת לבעל
 הזבח
 3 [בעגל כללם אם צועת וכן הערת לכהנם ותברת לבעל הזבח
 א
 4 [ביבל אם בעז כללם אם] צועת וכן ערת העזם לכהנם וכן האשל'כם
 והפעמם].
 5 [באמר אם בגדא אם ב] צרב איל כללם אם צועת וכן הערת
 לכה'נם]
 6 [בכל זבח אש יזב'ח דל מקנא בל יכן לכהן מנם
 7 [בצפר אגנן אם] בצץ כסף זר || על אחד
 8 [בכל צועת א] ש יעמם בנת אלם כן לכהן קצרת וניצלת
 9 [על כל קדמת] קדשת ועל זבח צד ועל זבח שמן
 10 [על בלל ו] על חלב ועל זבח במנחת ועל [כל זבח אש אדם
 לזבח . . .
 11 [כל משאת אש] איבל שת בפס ז ונתנן

Tariff of payments erected by [the overseers of payments].

² [For an ox, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the ? shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

³ [For a calf, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go] to the priests, but the ? shall belong to the person offering the sacrifice.

⁴ [For a ram or for a goat, whole-offerings or] prayer-

offering (?), the skin of the goats shall go to the priests, but the ? [and the feet] shall go

⁵ [For a lamb or for a kid or for] the young (?) of a hart, whole-offerings or prayer-offering (?), the skin shall go to the pries[ts].

⁶ [For every sacrifice which one may sacrific]e who is poor in cattle, nothing of them shall go to the priest.

⁷ [For a bird, a domestic (?) or] for a wild (?) one, 2 silver *sars* for each.

⁸ [For every prayer-offering (?) wh]ich is carried before the gods there goes to the priest the ? and [the ?

⁹ [For all] sacred [first-fruits], and for a sacrifice of game (?) and for a sacrifice of oil

¹⁰ [For a cake and] for milk and for a sacrifice for a meal-offering, and for [every sacrifice which a man is disposed to sacrifice

¹¹ [Every payment which] is not set down on this table shall be give[n

The lacunae are supplied from 42, which this inscr. closely resembles. An excellent facsimile is given by Ball, *Light from the East*, opp. p. 250.

L. 1. See 42 1.

L. 2. See 42 3 f. In contrast to 42 the שלם כלל is not mentioned here; and, instead of a money payment, the skin, which in 42 goes to the worshipper, is assigned to the priests, cf. Lev. 7 8. 3 חברת l. some part of the victim, ? *cullings*, cf. the Arab. *هَبَّرَ cut up*, *بَرَّ cut out*.

L. 3. See 42 5 f.

L. 4. See 42 7 f. 2. צועת 42 4. וכן 42 4. So אשלכם
CIS i 170 2; cf. 42 4.

L. 5. See 42 9 f. כללם Plur.; in 42 always כלל.

L. 6. See 42 15.

L. 7. See 42 11. כסף In apposition to זר (42 7), cf. 1 Ch. 22 13 זהב כברים מאח אלף 22 13; see 42 3 n.

L. 8. See 42 13. בנת An error for פנת. כן For the usual
וכן or יכן. 4. קצרת 42 4.

L. 9. See 42 12.

L. 10. See 42 14. על זבח במנחת An abbreviated form of אש
אדם לזבח במנחת.

L. 11. See 42 18.

44. Carthage. CIS i 166. iv-iii cent. B.C.

| | |
|--|---|
| ים הארבעי | 1 |
| שח פר יא הקדש | בל[ל] 2 |
| הקדש בחדרת ולחם קט[רת] | קדמת 3 |
| הקדשת יכן הלחם הא ורב | חד לסוית עלת 4 |
| ותין יא לבן לקחת תשקד | ת אש כן יא ומח 5 |
| וקמרת לבנת דקת שבע כמ | בוין ומכסא תח 6 |
| ים החמשי | בל[ל] וקדמת 7 |
| לשת עלת החדרת נפת ע | 8 |
| בנם מאתם וכס | 9 |
| ח חמשת | 10 |
| 1 | The fourth day. |
| 2 [cak]es | plants of fair fruit, the sacred . . |
| 3 first-fruits | the sacred, in the chamber, and bread, inc[ense] |
| 4 veil (?) upon (?) | the sacred, that bread shall be, and |
| 5 which is fair and rich | and figs, fair (and) white, thou shalt be careful to fetch . . . |
| 6 . . . fine linen and a covering be[low ?] | and incense, fine frankincense, seven |
| 7 . . . cakes and first-fruits. | The fifth day. |
| 8 . | to set upon (?) the chamber, honey (?) |
| 9 | ? two hundred, and |
| 10 | . . . five |

An obscure and fragmentary list of religious offerings for the days of the week, perhaps during the spring festival (קדמת &c.). It may be compared with the sacrificial calendar from Cos, M. 716-718 (iii cent. B.C.); see Hicks *Journ. Hell. St.* ix (1888) 323 ff.

L. 1. ים הארבעי Cf. Hebr. יום הששי Gen. 1 31; Driver *Tenses* § 209.

L. 2. בלל See 42 14 n. שח Prob. = Hebr. שִׁיחַ *shrub* Gen.

2 5 &c. פֶּר = פֶּרִי 5 12; cf. Lev. 23 40. יֵא 1. 5 = Aram. נֵאֻחַ = נֵאֻחַ, Pesh. Ps. 33 1. יֵאִי בְּהִינוּא 6 Targ. Gen. 39 6. *fitting, fair*, In Jer. 10 7 יֵאֻחַ is an Aramaism. 1. 3. הִקְרַשְׁתָּ 4. These forms can hardly be verbs in (H)ifil, for the (H)if. of קִרַּשׁ in Phoen. is יִקְרַשׁ 28 4. They must be adjs. with the art.; but their construction is not apparent.

L. 3. קִרְמַת See 42 12 n. 1. 8 חֲדָרָה *the chamber*, i.e. of the temple, like the Hebr. דְּבִיר, קִרְשׁ הַקְדִּישִׁים; cf. 47 הַחֲדָרָה *the chamber* and CIS i 124 1 חֲדָר *a sepulchral chamber*. The Hebr. חֲדָר has neither of these special meanings. וְלֶחֶם קִמְרַת Either *ἀσπιδέτωρ*, *bread (and) incense*, or *bread of incense* (Corp.), incense in the form of a wafer. קִמְרַת lit. *smoke* of offerings made by fire, then the *incense-offering* (Ex. 30 8), and then, as here, the material used in this offering (Lev. 10 1 &c.). The word occurs again in CIS i 334 אִמְרַת *the seller of incense*. Various substances used for incense are mentioned in Sabaeen inscr.; see Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Inscr.* 78. 81 f.

L. 4. סוּיָה Meaning uncertain; סוּיָה? *curtain, veil* = Hebr. סוּיָה Ex. 34 34 P. עֲלֵה Perhaps prep. *upon* 1. 8. The rendering of the Corp. *upper chamber*, i.e. עֲלֵה (Dan. 6 11) = עֲלֵיהָ, is not probable. 1. 2 n. 42 12 n. The adj. here is fem., sing. or plur.

L. 5. מַח *fat*, מַחֵח, whence Hebr. מַח (plur. only) Is. 5 17. Ps. 66 15. In Talm. מִיָּחָה is used figuratively of *choice flour*. תִּין Perhaps = Arab. نَجِيْن, Hebr. תִּינָה. *White figs* are mentioned in Jer. Talm. *Terumoth* 43 תִּינָה שְׁחֹרֹת. For this use of the inf. with ל cf. Is. 5 2 וְיָקוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת; Driver *Tenses* § 207. The inf. of לָקַח takes the same form in Phoen. as in Hebr.; for other parts of the vb. cf. 20 B 7. לָקַח 42 20 יָקַח שָׁקֵר lit. *watch, be wakeful*, Jer. 1 12. 31 27 &c.

L. 6. בִּרְץ *byssus*, fine Egyptian linen, written *plene* because a foreign word. In Hebr. the word is met with only in late literature; its origin is uncertain. מַכְסָּה Acc. to Corp. = מַכְסָּה (cf. 42 15) *covering*; cf. كِسْوَةُ the *covering* of the Ka'aba at Mekka. תַּח Possibly to be completed [ת]תָּה. λίβανος *libanos*, so called from its *white* appearance. For דָּקָה cf. Lev. 16 12 דָּקָה סֹמֵם. כַּמִּ is restored by Corp. כַּמִּרָּם *priests*, 55 7 and (Aram.) 64 1. 69 23 (rest.).

L. 8. לִשְׁתָּ i.e. לִשְׁתָּ. The significance of the prep. עֲלֵה is not clear in this context. נִפְתָּ = Hebr. נִפְתָּ Pr. 24 13.

L. 9. בְּנֵם may mean *among them* 5 9; '200 sons' for sacrifice (!) could not be mentioned in this way.

45. Carthage. iii–ii cent. B. C. Discovered 1898. Carthage Mus.

- 1 לרבת לעשתרת ולתנת בלבנן מקדשם חרשם כס כל אש בנ ...
 2 והחרטית אש במקדשם אל ודל מלכת החרץ ודל כל מנם אןש ...
 3 ודל כל מנם במאונם המקדשם אל ודל העלם אש על פן המקדשם
 אל ...
 4 אש יבא עלת החרו שמקדשם אל כמש חגר השמרת להר הא ...
 5 אדרנם ועד צערנם למבירח חיר שפטם עבדמלקרת ו ...
 6 י שפטם שפט וחנא בן אדנבעל ורב עבדמלקרת בן מנן בן ...
 7 תן בן עבדלאי בן בעליתן בן אשמנפלים ועבדארש בן עבד ...
 8 ו עבדמלקרת הרב ורב כהנם עזרבעל בן שפט רב כהנם ...
 9 לשלך רב כהנם ובעל חרש עבברם הפלם בן חנבעל

To the ladies 'Ashtart and Tanith in Lebanon. New sanctuaries as well as all that . . . built (?) . . .² and the sculptures which are in these sanctuaries and ? the gold-work, and ? all vessels wh[ich ?³ and ? all vessels in ? these sanctuaries, and ? the ? which is over against [these] sanctuaries⁴ which approaches the ? of these sanctuaries; as also the fence enclosing (?) that hill⁵ the greatest of them even to the least of them: from the month Hiyar, the suffetes (being) 'Abd-melqarth and⁶ the suffetes (being) Shafaṭ and Ḥanno, son of Idniba'al, and the Rab (being) 'Abd-melqarth, son of Magon, so[n . . . Ba'al-ya]thon, son of 'Abd-lai, son of Ba'al-yathon, son of Eshmun-pilles, and 'Abd-arish, son of 'Abd- . . . [so]ⁿ of 'Abd-melqarth the Rab, and the chief-priest (being) 'Azru-ba'al, son of Shafaṭ the chief-prie[st . . . Ba'al]-⁹shillek the chief-priest; and the master-workman (was) 'Akboram the surveyor, son of Ḥanni-ba'al.

L. 1. לרבת Sing. or plur.; see 3 2 n. לעשתרת ולתנת The combination is remarkable. Cl.-Gan., Rec. iii 186 ff., considers that

it points to a mythological connexion between the two goddesses, borrowed from the cult of Demeter and Persephone. It is possible that Tanith was associated with this cult (47. 48); but 'Ashtart, usually identified with Aphrodite (4 1 n.), seems at first sight foreign to it. 'Ashtart, however, absorbed a great variety of local types, and at Carthage she may have assumed the characteristics of Demeter. In later times a temple dedicated to Ceres and Proserpine appears to have stood on or near the site of these sanctuaries¹; but this later dedication hardly proves Cl.-Ganneau's view, for it may have been due merely to a reminiscence of the earlier sanctuaries of 'Ashtart and Tanith. כלבן Not the Lebanon in Syria, but an eminence in Carthage, prob. so called from the *white* colour of its stone (Lidzb. Eph. i 21); cf. the name Λευκος given to the city of Τύνη (Tunis) in Diod. xx 8. For the place-name with כ see 24 2 n. כם כל אש Prob.=כמאש (כמו אש) + כל, cf. כמש l. 4 and 3 7 n. בן either בן they built or [בן] in them. Cl.-Gan., l.c. § 2, adopting the latter, continues with עם קרת חדשה, as 38 1.

L. 2. חרמית Prob. plur., חרמית or חרמית; √חרם=*cut, carve*, Aram. חרץ, Arab. حَرَطَ *peel off*, in modern usage *turn wood*. Here prob. the meaning is *sculptures*. אל See 5 22 n. רל Meaning uncertain. Cl.-Gan.'s translation *conjunctim, item*, lit. *depending*, rests upon a questionable application of the √רלה, Arab. نَالَ *hang down*. Lidzb., l.c., renders with more probability *that which is damaged*, lit. *weak, poor*, supposing that repairs as well as new buildings are commemorated (38. 46); this may be the meaning of רל פעטם 46 1 *ruinous as to its steps*; elsewhere, however, in Phoen. (42 15) and in Hebr. רל is used of persons. מלכת For מלאכת 20 A 6. חרין Perhaps *trench*, cf. חרין Dan. 9 25 (? text) and חרין in Mishnah; so Halévy *Rev. Sép.* ix (1901) 79 ff. מנם See 4 5 n.

L. 3. מאנם Meaning unknown; *armoury* lit. *place of weapons* has been proposed (*Rép.* i 16), connecting the word with אָנָן (√אנן) *implements* Dt. 23 14; cf. Targ. אַינא *arms* in בית אַינא Is. 49 2, אַינא *weapons* (√אין). But the construction is not evident, and נם may be the suff. with מאן (? sense), or a ptc. plur. העלם Some fixed object *in front of* על פן (3 5) the temple; Cl.-Gan. renders *steps*, cf. עולות Eze. 40 26.

L. 4. יבא Sing. or plur. If העלם is the subj., יבא עלת may mean *comes (up) upon, ascends*, cf. Ex. 18 23. 2 Ch. 20 24. חחרו Possibly connected with חרין *string together*, חרמים *strings of beads* Cant. 1 10; here perhaps *the circle round the precincts*; so Halévy. כמש=

¹ Delattre *Bull. et mém. soc. nat. des antiquaires de France* lviii (1899) 1-26.

כמאש l. 1, as in 10 9 introducing a further item of the dedication. In this inscr. ש is the relat. with the noun, אש with the predicate; חנר therefore must be a noun, not a verb. It means perhaps *enclosure*; the $\sqrt{\text{חנר}}$ =*restrain, gird*, in Arab. حَنْزَر the wall enclosing the Ka'aba, Assy. *igaru* 'wall.' שמרח Perhaps *watch-tower*, or *defence*. Lidzb. suggests a connexion with שְׁמִירָה, שְׁמִירָה *thorn-hedge*, in which case חנר לבנן i. e. להר הא will be the *fence hedging* the sanctuaries. l. 1. Cf. 2 Ch. 33 14. After הא Halévy proposes [יקדש מ] *they have consecrated*.

L. 5. אדרנמ ועד צערנמ Cf. Jer. 14 3. Jon. 3 5. The suffixes refer to the temples and their furnishings. למבירח חיר *during or from the month Hiyyar*, cf. למבחי 18 2. למבמחסר 42 5 (Lidzb.); for חיר see 27 1 n. Cl.-Gan. is prob. right in explaining the double mention of the reigning suffetes as an indication of a twofold date: 'when 'Abd-melqarth and . . . were suffetes [the work was begun, and lasted to the month . . .] when Shafaṭ and Ḥanno were suffetes.' The suffetes (42 1 n.) are mentioned without full genealogies, as in 40 2 n. CIS i 135 6. 179 6 f.

L. 6. The י at the beginning is prob. the last letter of the name of the month, the missing sentence prob. being in the same form as the preceding one. ארנבעל is transcribed Idnibal in 80. The constitutional position of the רב at Carthage is unknown. In 42 1 (restored from CIS i 170) ר i. e. רַבִּי is merely a title of the suffete; but in this inscr. רב, who comes after the שפמם, is a distinct official; the same must be the case with הרב in CIS i 229-235 &c. An inscr. from Tyre, lately discovered, reads עברבעל רב מאת (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 294 ff.); but whatever this may have meant at Tyre, it does not imply that the Rab was president of the 100 at Carthage (42 1 n. (4)). May the title have been given to an ex-suffete when his term of office was over, or to the members of the executive cabinet of 30 chosen from the 100? In 7 1 f. (Sidon). 29 2. 6 (Cyprus). 38 4 (Gaulus) the office was that of a district governor.

L. 7. עברלאי In form resembles the Aram. אמת־אלהי=אמת־לאי the mother of Abraham, *Baba Bathra* 91 a; but the Western and Punic עברלאי cannot=עבר־אלהי (Lidzb.). It may be a Numidian or Berber name. עברארש Apparently another official; his title and the name of his colleague prob. stood at the end of l. 6. עברארש occurs in CIS i 537. 805, cf. 52 2 עברארש. The prefixed עבר seems to imply that ארש was a deity, Ἄρως; for the name ארש see 21 1.

L. 8. רב כהנמ Cf. 35 2 (Piraeus); evidently the office was hereditary.

L. 9. ובעל חרש Prob. *master of the workmen* (coll.), *contractor*.

As in the foregoing lines the office precedes the name. With בעל cf. חובח 42 4; חרש 20 A 13. עכבר i.e. *mouse*, cf. עכבר CIS i 178. 239 &c. Gen. 38 38 &c. חפלס i.e. *leveller*, i.e. *surveyor, architect*; cf. Lat. *librator*. The √חפלס = lit. weigh (piel); so אשמופלס l. 7 *whom E. weighs*; in the O. T. of *levelling* a path, e.g. Ps. 78 50. Is. 26 7.

46. Carthage. CIS i 175. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

1 חרש ופעל אית המטבח ו דל פעמם עשרת האשם אש על המקדשם
אש כן בשת ש

2 גרסכן וגרעשתרת בן יחנבעל בן עזרבעל בן שפט וברעשתרת בן

The Decemvirs in charge of the sanctuaries renovated and made this slaughter-house (?) steps: which was in the year of the s[uffetes . . .] Ger-sakun and Ger-'ashtart, son of Yaḥon-ba'al, son of 'Azru-ba'al, son of Shafaṭ, and Bod-'ashtart, son

L. 1. חרש ופעל Plur.; cf. 38 1. 23 2. מטבח Possibly the place where animals were slaughtered before they were sacrificed; cf. the title המטבח CIS i 237 ff. 376. The word occurs in Is. 14 21 מְטַבֵּחַ. חרש רל פעמם Possibly *ruinous as to (its) steps*; see 45 2 n. The words might mean *twice* (i.e. פְּעַמַּיִם) *ruined*, G. Hoffmann quot. by Lidzb. *Eph.* i 22 n. 'א על המ' Cf. 55 5. 42 1. אש כן Cf. 40 2. The name of the first of the suffetes is lost; the second is Ger-'ashtart, and apparently Bod-'ashtart is the third (Corp.). But this would be very unusual (42 1 n. (1)); possibly Bod-'ashtart had a different title, given at the end of the line.

L. 2. גרסכן See 17 2 n. 34 n. יחנבעל Again Euting *Carth.* 230 5 f. &c.; usually חנבעל; cf. עזרבעל and יעזרבל, in Hebr. פדיה and ימריה. ברעשתרת See 6 3 n.

47. Carthage. CIS i 177.

לרבת לאמא ולרבת לבעלת החדרת אש פעל חמלר בן בעלחנא

To the lady Amma, and to the lady, mistress of the inner shrine (?): which ḤMLR, son of Ba'al-ḥanno, made.

The mention of two goddesses is significant; see 45 1 n. מִמָּא is evidently the title of a deity worshipped as *Mother*, such as Rhea or Demeter; cf. Hesychius *Elym. magn.* s. v. Ἀμμάς . . . καὶ ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ ἡ Πεία, καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ. Demeter, rather than Rhea, is prob. to be looked for here, for the worship of Demeter and Persephone was introduced μετὰ πάσης σεμνότητος into Carthage from Sicily as a reparation for the pillaging of their temple by Himilco during his disastrous campaign in 396 B.C.; Diodorus xiv 77. The Carthaginians would naturally adapt the new worship to their own religion, and it seems likely that the Carth. goddess Tanith (48 1) assumed some of the attributes of Demeter; at any rate she is called *mother* in CIS i 195 לאם לרבח לתנת and 380 לאם לרבח. Perhaps this accounts for the head of Demeter (= Tanith?) figured on the coins of Carthage; see Cl.-Gan. *Él.* i 149 ff. For the form מִמָּא cf. Plaut. *Poen.* iii 22 amma = מִמָּא; in 14 3 'Ashtart (?) is called *mother*. If מִמָּא is Demeter, the other goddess is prob. Persephone, who was certainly worshipped at Carthage; a characteristic figure of her surmounts the inscr. CIS i 176, though she is not mentioned by name. The exact meaning of בעלת החדרת is obscure (see 44 3 n.), possibly *mistress of the inner shrine*; cf. לאלן אקדש to the god of the sanctuary Costa 31 (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 39). It is prob. that חדרת corresponds to the Gk. μέγαρον *adytum* = מערה *cave*; the 'dark inner chamber, found in many temples both among the Semites and in Greece, was almost certainly in its origin a cave' (Rob. Smith *R. of S.* 183); and in the worship of Demeter and Persephone the μέγαρον had a special significance. The title מערת given to Sed-tanith in CIS i 249 עבר בת צרתנת מערת, though it is generally explained as a topographical title *Megarensis*, may well denote the goddess of the sacred cave. For בעלת see 3 2 n. חמלר Cf. חמלרת CIS i 597. 787, for חמלר = חמלכת = אחימ' 40 2 n.; either an error or a peculiarity of spelling. בעלחנא See 39 2 n.

48. Carthage. CIS i 181. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room.

- 1 לרבח לתנת פן בעל
 - 2 ולאדן לבעל חמן אש
 - 3 נדר בדמלקרת בן עבר
 - 4 מלקרת בן חמלכת כ שמ
 - 5 ע קלא יברכא
- K 2

To the lady Tanith, Face of Ba'al, and to the lord Ba'al-
hammān: which Bod-melqarth, son of 'Abd-melqarth, son of
Ḥamilkath, vowed, because he heard his voice: may he
bless him!

More than 2000 votive tablets of this character have been un-
earthed on the site of ancient Carthage, in the neighbourhood of what
was once the citadel (Byrsa). The stones are often inscribed with
symbols of the two deities, and the formula of dedication is in nearly
all cases the same. Judging from the style of the letters, the earliest
tablets belong to the same period as the sacrificial tariffs 42-44; the
latest of them must have been inscribed before the destruction of
Carthage by the Romans in 146 B. C. They cover, therefore, a period
of about 200 years.

L. 1. לרבת See 3 2 n.; in CIS i 401 ff. לארן (possibly by acci-
dent). תנת A female deity, as appears from the title אמת which is
found occasionally (p. 131). The vast number of these tablets proves
that her worship was popular, though not necessarily predominant, at
Carthage; it is to be noted that she always takes precedence of Ba'al-
hammān in the formula of dedication¹; but we cannot say for certain
that she was the chief deity of Carthage, the δαίμων Καρχηδονίων (Polyb.
vii 9 2). The etymology of the name is unknown; prob. it is to be
looked for in Libyan or N. African, rather than in Phoenician. Nor is
the pronunciation certain; *Tanith* is on the whole most likely², but it
may have been *Tun(i)th* if Τύνης, the town near Carthage, was named
after the goddess. Outside Carthage and its dependencies in N. Africa
she is not found; the Sidonian called עברתנת in an inscr. from Athens
(CIS i 116) prob. had some connexion with Carthage. Tanith
is never mentioned alone: in 45 בלבנן follows, elsewhere בנל בעל.
The latter title is generally taken to mean *the face of Ba'al*, a mythic
phrase perhaps denoting the self-revelation of the divine nature, cf.
פני Ex. 33 14 and מלאך פניו Is. 63 9; the *manifestation* of Ba'al, we
may suppose, came to be regarded as a distinct deity, cf. שם בעל
5 18 n. On the other hand, Rob. Smith explains *Tanith with the*
Ba'al face, i. e. the bearded, androgynous goddess, and quotes in
support the title לארן beside לרבת noticed above (*R. of S.* 459).
The combinations Milk-'ashtart, Eshmun-'ashtart, Ṣed-tanith may

¹ In several inscrs. from Cirta (Constantine), e. g. those given in Corp. pp. 296
and 365 and in Lidzb. *Eph.* i pp. 40 f., Ba'al-hammān comes before Tanith.

² Cf. TAINTIAA, said to have been found on a stone at Carthage, Corp. p. 288.

imply the same idea¹. The character and attributes of Tanith are obscure. Some of the symbols on these tablets seem to connect her with 'Ashtart, the crescent surmounting the full moon (very common), the star, the dove, the dolphin. Two tablets (CIS i 398. 419) show the figure of a sheep, which was sacred to 'Ashtart. The commonest symbol of all, the triangle crowned by a circle with horns bent outwards, may belong either to Tanith or to Ba'al-hammān; Rob. Smith (l. c.) thinks that the horns are sheep-horns, pointing to 'Ashtart again². We have seen that Tanith is occasionally called *Mother*, and that she was prob. assimilated to Demeter (47 n.); but Cl.-Ganneau seems to go too far when he alleges, on this ground, that the worship of Tanith was of foreign and Sicilian origin (*Ét.* i 149 ff.). Tanith, it is true, was rarely used in the composition of pr. names; עֲבֵרְתַנְתַּי 42 ו. בִּרְתַנְתַּי CIS i 247–249. עֲבֵרְתַנְתַּי ib. 116 are almost all the instances; and she has not yet been found in Carth. names transcribed into Gk. and Lat.; but this does not necessarily imply that her cult was foreign. The evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that Tanith was a native, possibly a pre-Carthaginian, deity, who, in the process of religious syncretism, so characteristic of the Semitic genius, was identified with various goddesses according to circumstances, with 'Ashtart, with Demeter, and with Artemis (CIS i 116 עֲבֵרְתַנְתַּי = Ἀρτεμιδωπος, from Athens). After the overthrow of Carthage, the Romans introduced the worship of Juno Coelestis (Virgo Coelestis, Coelestis) into the ruined city; but we do not know that they intended thereby to identify Juno or Coelestis with Tanith³; see 4 i n.

L. 2. בעל חֲמֵן Prob. *the glowing B.*, see 37 4 n. In these inscr. he is always the παρκεδος of Tanith.

L. 5. קלא יברכא For the suff. 3 sing. m. cf. 40 2 n.

¹ Meyer, *Ency. Bibl.* 3747, after Halévy, explains כַּן בַּל as the name of a place, like טַמַּל in Gen. 82 32, 'TNT of Pne-ba'al,' and supports his view by CIS i 880 לַאֲם לִרְכָּה 'to the mother, the mistress of Pne-ba'al' (see p. 131). But the instance of טַמַּל seems to be too isolated to justify the inference, and analogy favours treating כַּן בַּל as in appos. to לִרְכָּה, rather than as a genit. On the whole the first explanation given above is to be preferred provisionally.

² Cf. Sanchuniathon ap. Phil. Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 568 Κρόνη δὲ ἐ-γένοντο ἀπὸ 'Ασράρης θυγατρὸς ἐνρὰ Τίταριδος (? Τανιρίδες) ἢ Ἀπρέμειδος. The Persian or Babyl. 'Anatris mentioned by Strabo pp. 439. 456 (codd. Τανιρίδος). 479 &c. ed. Müll., by Berosus *Fr. Hist. Gr.* ii 498, and other writers, was prob. the Babyl. Anatum rather than the Carth. Tanith.

³ In CIL viii 999 *Dianae cael. aug.* the Virgo Coelestis is identified with Diana, cf. Tanith-Artemis; in iii 998 *Caelesti Augustae et Aesculapio Augusto et genio Carthagini et genio Daciarum*, she is distinguished from the *genius* of Carthage, if that was Tanith.

49. Carthage. CIS i 269. Bibl. Nat., Paris.

1 לרבת לתנת פן בעל ולאדן
 2 לבעל חמן אש נדר בעלח
 3 נא אש צדן בר אדני בר
 4 אשמניתן
 5 עם קרתחדשת

Render ll. 2-5 'which Ba'al-hanno of Sidon, client of his lord, client of Eshmun-yathon, vowed. The people of Carthage.'

Twenty-four inscrs. of this type are given in the Corp., nos. 269-287. 288-293.

L. 2. בעלחנא As a rule the usual genealogy of the donor is not given in these inscrs., except in 271. '3 f. '7. '87. '91, where the father is mentioned. It appears that among the Semites, as among the Greeks and Romans, a slave was not allowed to have a genealogy, e.g. CIS i 236 עבר מ', and בר חרי מ', *freed-man, -woman* in Nab. and Palm. inscr. (147 ii b 12; p. 250 n. 1), cf. עבר אין לו חיים Talm. B. *Qiddushin* 69 a; the same must have been the case with the 'dependent foreigner' (בר אדני) of these inscrs.; Lidzb. 133 f.

L. 3. אש צדן Not אש but the relat. אש, because in four inscrs. (273. '9. '80. '81) a woman dedicates the tablet. All the tablets of this group are offered by Sidonians, who prob. occupied a subordinate position in Carth. households. For בר see 6 2 n. אדני With suff. 3 sing. m.; in 276. 293 אדנא, which must be the honorific plur. (cf. אלם 33 6 n.), as only one 'lord' is mentioned.

L. 5. The expression 'people of Carthage,' occurring here without any verbal connexion, is to be accounted for by the full term לם אש צדן which is found elsewhere in this group, 270 ff. The meaning of the phrase is not certain, but it may be rendered 'let not the people of Carthage carry (it, i.e. the stone) away'—for building purposes. For the prohibitive לם cf. 5 21, and for אש צדן cf. 5 6. Another explanation is suggested by Cl.-Gan., who renders ἀτελής i.e. 'free from public burdens,' cf. *immunis perpetuus* CIL viii 2714, taking אש צדן as pass.; *Rec.* iii 2. This certainly suits such a case as 274 אש צדן למעמם בן שפאט i.e. 'Shafaṭ the artisan, the Sidonian, tax-free (?), the son of Shiṣifam.'

50. Carthage. iii–ii cent. B.C. Discovered 1899.

1 רבת חות אלת מלכת שיסכהא
 2 אתך אנכי מצלח אית אמע[ש]תרת
 3 ואית עמרת ואית כל אש לא כא
 4 עלצא עלתי בכסף (אש) אברחת שלם
 5 אם אית כל אדם אש עלץ עלתי
 6 בר. ת הכסף ז כמ?ת יסך אעפרת

O ladies Hawwath, Elath, Milkath . . . ! ² I, Maṣliāḥ, bind Am-‘ashtart ³ and ‘MRTH and all who belong to her; for ⁴ she exulted (?) over me in the matter of the money which I discharged (??) in full; ⁵ or every man who has exulted (?) over me ⁶ in . . . of this money, according to . . . the lead.

This inscr., found in the necropolis of Duimes at Carthage in 1899, is written on a small sheet of lead. It was intended, like the Gk. and Roman *tabellae devotionis*¹, to be a missive to the gods of the underworld, and to act as a spell or imprecation against the writer's enemies. These *tabellae* were rolled up and dropped down a tube, which was used also for libations to the dii inferi, into the sepulchre below. See Berger *CR* (1899) 173. 179–186; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 304–319; iv 87–97; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 26–34 (with facsimile); *Rép.* i no. 18. See also Deissmann *Bible Studies* 273 ff. for a Jewish-Greek specimen of the third cent. A.D.

L. 1. חות Cf. O.T. חַיָּה *Eve*, which according to Nöldeke and Wellhausen (see *Oxf. Hebr. Lex.* s.v.) meant originally *serpent*, cf. Arab. *أَسَل*, a suitable name for the goddess of the underworld. אלת (see 60 3 n.) and מלכת (in pr. nn., e.g. חמלכת, עברמ, &c.) may be the names of infernal deities, forming with חות a triad; so Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iv 90, who compares the *triple* Hecate. Lidzb. takes מלכת אלת as epithets of חות, *goddess, queen*, and רבת as sing. שיסכהא After

¹ See Wünsch *Defixionum tabellae atticae* (1897) in CIA appendix, and Michel nos. 1319–1325. The foll. is a specimen: Φερένικος πρὸς τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν χθόνιον καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην χθονίαν καταδεύσθω Γαλήνην, ἥτις Φερενίκου, καταδύω πρὸς Ἑρμῆν χθονιῶν καὶ Ἑκάτην χθονίαν καταδύω καὶ ὅς οὗτος ὁ βόλυβδος ἀτιμος καὶ ψυχρὸς, οὕτως ἐκένου καὶ τὰ ἐκένου ἄτιμα καὶ ψυχρὰ ἴστω καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκένου ὁ περὶ ἐμὸ ἀέγιοιεν καὶ βολινοῖατο, Wünsch 107 = Michel 1324. Cf. Tacitus *Ann.* ii 69.

1 לאדן לבעל חמן ולרבת לתנת פען בעל
2 נדר אש נדר חמלכת בן בעשתרת
3 בן נבל מלך אדם בשערם בתם
4 כ שמע קלא ברכיא

L. 3. מלך ארם is evidently the title of a petty king or local chieftain; cf. Costa 100 מלך ארם בשערם. The year of the king's reign is sometimes given, e.g. Costa 18... מנהבשל; Villefosse 69 עורבעל ... בחמש [שנת] למלכי; ib. 98 בחמש למלכי; Villefosse 69 בדרשתרת ... [א]רבעת ארבעם שח למלכי. In some inscrs. מלך ארם is the title, not of the king, but of the deity, e.g. Costa 93 לארז לבעל; Villefosse 69 מלך ארם בשרם בתם; cf. Altiburus 2 (JA viii t. 9. 467) [ארז] לבעל. The meaning of ארם is obscure. It can hardly be 'lord,' a variant of ארז, because

³ Note the variations in Costa 81 לאון אקדש בעל חסן; לאון לאון לבעל חסן 16; לאון לאון לבעל חסן 33 are not different deities, but divine names regarded as equivalents of בעל חסן. Berger l.c. 282.

this word occurs previously in the dedication. Perhaps מ' ארם = מ' ארם, 'king of the land'; so Lidzb. l. c. בשערם בתם is clearly the name of a place, perhaps of Cirta, as the inscr. come from there, or of a city dependent on Cirta; besides the inscr. quoted above, cf. Costa 17 לבעל חמן בשרם בתם. A group of 13 inscr. from Carthage, CIS i 294-306, contains the expression in various forms, בשערם, בשערם, בשער, בשר, &c., used apparently of a native of Cirta (?) resident in Carthage, but what the words exactly mean is not known. The name שערם possibly = שערים 'gates', and may refer to the ravines and passes of the hills in the neighbourhood of Cirta, which stood on the S. of the range which stretches across the country west of Carthage. This country was known to the Romans as the land of the Massylii, a Numidian kingdom, one of whose kings, Massinissa, figured prominently in the Second Punic War (218-201 B. C.), and died (148 B. C.) just before the destruction of Carthage. The seat of his kingdom was Cirta²; but that the מ' ארם of these inscr. was a predecessor of his we cannot say.

L. 4. An interesting variation of the formula occurs in Costa 6 3 f. בך שמוע קלא ברמא בים נעם [אש] בים בך i. e. 'because he heard his voice (and) blessed him on a good day, on the day when he blessed'; cf. Is. 49 8.

52. Thugga. Brit. Mus., Semitic Room nos. 494-495.

- 1 [מ]צבת . שאטבן . בן . יפמטת . בן . פלו
- 2 הבנם . שאבנם עבארש . בן . עברשתרת
- 3 זמר . בן אטבן . בן . יפמטת . בן . פלו .
- 4 מנגי . בן . ורסכן
- 5 ובאורת . שלא זוי . וממן . ורסכן
- 6 החרשם . שיר . מסרל . . . ננבסן . ואנכן . . אשי
- 7 הנסכם שברול . שפט . בן . בלל . ופפי . בן . בבי

¹ In a Lat. inscr. of 48-49 A. D. lately excavated at Thugga the sentence occurs: huic senatus et plebs ob merita patris omnium portarum sententis ornamento (enta) safetis gratis decrevit. Possibly the Pun. for portae would be שערם, as in these inscr. from Cirta. Cl.-Gan. Rec. iii 325 n.; Lidzb. Eph. i 52.

² Strabo p. 706 ed. Müll. Κίρτα τί ἐστὶν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, τὸ Μασσανάσσου καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς διαδόχων βασιλείον, πόλις εὐερκεστάτη καὶ κατεσκευασμένη καλῶς τοῖς πᾶσι, καὶ μέγιστα ὑπὸ Μισίφᾳ κ.τ.λ. Polyb. xxxvii 3.

This inscr. is bilingual, Punic and Berber. It was written on the E. side of a mausoleum discovered among the ruins of the ancient city of Tucca (Thugga) in Eastern Numidia; see Schröd. 257. The Pun. characters closely resemble those of 38. The monument was built evidently for a Numidian person of consequence, and the inscr. gives the names of the masons, carpenters (?), and iron-founders who erected it.

L. 1. מעשן עצמם For the relat. in this connexion cf. שיתנמלך *the urn of the bones of Y.* Lidzb. 435; and in Palm. cf. 141 קברא דנה די עתנתן. The use of the relat. ש in this inscr. is remarkable; it has quite taken the place of the genit.; see 39 2 n. אמבן This and the other pr. nn. in the inscr. (exc. in ll. 2. 7) are Berber; their pronunciation and significance are unknown.

L. 2. הבנם שאבנם *the builders of the stones*, cf. 20 A 4. Three chief masons are mentioned in ll. 2-4 and their assistants in l. 5. עבראיש . . . עברעשתרת for עברשתרת (45 7).

L. 4. ורסכן The prefix as in 55 7.

L. 5. ובאורת Prob. for ובעזרת *and with the help of*, cf. אמ האורת. 14 3 n. (?) שלא The first letter is prob. the relat.

L. 6. החרשם *the workmen*, cf. 20 A 13. שיער Possibly = שיער *of wood*; cf. St. Aug. on Ps. 123 'quod Punici dicunt iar, non lignum, sed quando dubitant'; see Schröd. 19.

L. 7. הנסכם שברול *the mellers, founders, of iron*, cf. CIS i 67 4 f. נסך החרץ, and ib. 327 ff. נסך החרץ. בלל Pr. n., as in 55 5.

PHOENICIAN: NEO-PUNIC

The Neo-Punic inscrr. belong to the period extending from the destruction of Carthage (146 B.C.) prob. down to the first cent. A.D. They come from ancient sites in Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, countries which were formerly under the dominion of Carthage or in alliance with her. The change from the Pun. to the NPun. writing began, no doubt, in Carthage itself; it was accelerated when the Pun. characters were adopted by neighbouring populations of a different race (e.g. the Numidians). Outside N. Africa, NPun. inscrr. have been found in Sardinia (80) and Sicily (CIS i 134). In appearance they are very different from the Punic inscrr. of the preceding age; the character of the writing and language shows how great had been the break with the past. So long as Carthage stood, national instinct cherished the preservation of the Phoen. mother-tongue; but under the domination of Rome there was not the same interest in keeping up the old tradition. A more cursive form of writing was adopted for greater ease and rapidity. A few letters, like כ, ס, ע, פ, are little changed; ב, ד, נ are as a rule indistinguishable, being represented by mere strokes; ג, ה, ו are generally much alike; while א, ח, ט, ש become greatly debased. Thus the reading of these inscrr. is often uncertain and difficult, and the difficulty is increased by the arbitrary and irregular nature of the spelling. The use of א and ע as vowel-letters is a characteristic feature, ע=א, and א often=ח or ח, e.g. שענאח 53 ג; these letters often take the place of ה and ח, e.g. אקבר for חקבר, עוע for חוא 53 ג. 3; while there seems to have been a preference for ע over א, e.g. עבן for אבן, עוע for חוא, טענע for טענא 58, but עשרם for אשרם ib. The only inscrr. which throws much light on contemporary history is that of Micipsa (57). How long the NPun. speech lasted is not exactly known; it was spoken by the common people in the time of St. Augustine (see Schröd. 36); but long before that Latin had taken its place for purposes of writing.

TUNIS

58. Tunis. NPun. 123. CIL viii 793. Berlin.

*Dis manib[us] sacr[um]. Gadaeus Felicis fil[ius] pius
vix[it] annis LXVI hic sit[us] est.*

Secunda Secundi fil[ia] vixit a[nnis]

Saturio et Gadaeus patri piissimo posuerunt.

- 1 גע[ר]עי בן פלכש בן פחלען אקילא
2 עוה שענא[ת] ש[אש]ם ושאש ושהקנר
3 ע בת שקנרע אש[ת]י עווע שענת
4 פהלא לאבענהם מת קבר שעמרי וגרעי
5 ע. תכבעדרמונ. אאפהעמערעק. . אאחם
6 בתהנמפהלאננצתג עווע שת הנמ. . וברמשיח
7 הע. . . ע. . . שעמר. אקבר בשלם

Gadai, son of Felix, son of FHL'N Aquila (?), ¹ lived sixty and six years. And Secunda², daughter of Secunda, his wife, lived years. ³ Saturio and Gadai made it, a grave for their father deceased (?). ⁴ . . . ⁵ . . . lived . . . ⁶ . . . Saturio . . . the grave, in peace.

L. 1. גע[ר]עי Restored from the Latin; cf. the Pun. name גרי CIS i 300 5. פלכש Again CIS i 151 (Sardinia, NPun.). Cl.-Gan. reads פלכס, cf. 54 2 n.

L. 2. שנת=שענא plur.; see 6 1 n.

L. 3. עווע Pf. 3 sing. m.=חוא. The number of years is left a blank, intended to be filled up after the mother's death.

L. 4. פהלא=פלו, Euting ZDMG xxix (1875) 235 f. The termination of the 3 plur., however, is not usually written, and the n may be the suff. 3 sing. m., cf. נדרא 55 1. פהלא 57 11. רפיא 40 2 &c.; the suffix will then anticipate the obj. קבר. לאבענהם is apparently a unique form for the usual לאבננ; cf. the 3 plur. m. suff. with the verb

in Mandaic, לנאמינהן; Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* § 203. מן May be ptcip. of מות, but the reading is perhaps מן.

L. 6. Euting l. c. reads at the beginning ברחנא מהלא *their house* (i. e. grave) *they made*; but ה'נ may be read ח.

54. Tunis. NPun. 66.

1 מנא אבן ו לאחתמילכת בת בעמלק
2 רת אשת יעצאתען בן שעלדיא בעל
3 המכתערם וחוא שנת ששם וחמש
4 הנכת עבנת תחת אבן ות קברת

This stone is set up to Aḥath-milkath, daughter of Bo'-melqarth, wife of Y'S'TH'N, son of She'lidi, the citizen of Makta'rim: and she lived sixty and five years. She is laid to rest (?) ? under this stone she is buried (?).

This is one of four inscr., NPun. 66. 67. 68. 69, which follow the same type. They are given by Schröd. 271 f.

L. 1. מנא Qal ptcip. pass. אחתמילכת Again in NPun. 68 1; cf. the forms חמלכת, חמלכת, and see 40 2 n. בעמלקרת for ברמ'; so in Pun., Euting *Carth.* no. 15, cf. במ' NPun. 86 (Schröd. 267).

L. 2. יעצאתען Cf. יעסותען 55 4. According to the facsimile, the א here is not quite in the usual form; it may be כ, in which case יעצכען will be the same name as יעשכען in NPun. 68 and the bilingual 69 = IASVCTA in the Lat. transcription. שעלדיא So NPun. 69, transcribed SELIDIV (genit.); in 59 B 2 f. סלדיא. Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iii 333 n., reads ש here and י in ות l. 4 as ס. בעל המכתערם So in NPun. 67. 69. For בעל *citizen* see 10 3 n. Under the Romans Maktar (now مکتار) appears as Colonia (or civitas) Aelia Aurelia Mactaris or Mactaritanorum, cf. CIL viii 677 (as rest.) &c. Maktar is in the neighbourhood of Thugga (52), and has yielded a good many NPun. inscr., see 59, and Schröd. 65 f.

L. 3. וחוא Cf. 53 2. 3.

L. 4. The words of this line are repeated with unimportant variations in each of the inscr. of this group. Their precise meaning is not clear. If the forms קברת . . . עבנת are verbs, they may be pass. perf. 2 sing. fem. It is possible that הנכת may be connected with

✓ נח *rest*, cf. נחת 18 2; the interchange of ח with כ, though questionable in Phoen. (38 6 n.), is less unlikely in NPun.; Schröd., 203, thus renders *thou art laid to rest* (הַיִּכְתָּ Hof.). עבנת in NPun. would naturally be a variation of אבנת; Schröd. suggests that it is a denominative from אבן, *thou art covered with a stone* (עֲבַנְתָּ Pual). Another interpretation (Ewald) is *thou art shrouded, covered*, cf. the Arab. حَبِنَ *fold or hide in a garment*, so حَبِنَ حَبُونٌ *he is dead*. This is very uncertain. קברת is explained as=קָבְרָת; but in each case it is doubtful how the form is to be taken. אבן or אבן זח Contrast אבן l. 1, and see p. 26, add. note ii.

ALGIERS

55. Altiburus (Medéina). NPun. 124. Louvre.

- 1 לארן בעל חמן באלתברש נדר אש נדרא עברמלקרת כנש בן
כנסאען . . .
- 2 מעריש בן תברסן ושטמן בן יכסלתן ומסהבא בן לילעי וגגם בן שסיעת ו
3 מאגמע בן תברסן ויעצמוגר בן סבג ואדנבעל בן ילל וגור בן כנורמן
ומעריש
- 4 בן לבוא וזעלגם בן שטוען ויעסתאן בן מסהבא וחברנס המזבח ו
5 נסמרן בנאת ואיספן עלת מקדשם בירח כרר שת בלל הזבח בן
. . גטען ב
- 6 שפטם מסהבא בן יזרם ועזרבעל בן ברך וס. כסלן בן זעזבל ומביו
הצפ. אש
- 7 על כמר ניעטמן וכהן לבעל חמן ורוסן בן ארש כא שמע קלם ברכם
8 אש העלא [כ]א עלת או מ[נ]חת במקדש
- 9 אש [עבר]מלך [שם] נדרא

To the lord Ba'al-ḥammān in Altiburus: the vow made by 'Abd-melqarth KNŠ, son of KNS'N . . . ² Ma'rish, son of TBRŠN, and ŠT̄MN, son of YKSLTHN, and MSHB', son of LIL'I, and GGM, son of ŠSI'TH, and ³ M'GM', son of TBRŠN, and Y'ŠMZGR, son of SBG, and Idni-ba'al, son of YLL, and GZR, son of KNZRMN, and Ma'rish, ⁴ son of LBU', and Z'LGM, son of ŠTW'N, and Y'ST'N, son of MSHB', and their colleagues—the [mis[r]ah]; and ⁵ NSMRN (?), son of 'THI (?), and 'ISFN were over the sanctuaries; in the month KRR, the year of Balal the sacrificer, son of . . . GṬ'N, under (?) ⁶ the suffetes MSHB', son of YZRM, and 'Azru-ba'al, son of Barik, and S. KSLN, son of Z'ZBL, and MBIU the augur, who ⁷ was over the priests of Neitman (?); and the priest of Ba'al-ḥammān (being) WRWSN, son of Arish; because he heard their voice and blessed them.

L. 1. בעל חזן באלתברש See 24 a n., and cf. בעל חזן בשרם בתם. Costa 17 (from Cirta). Altiburus is now Médéna, where the inscr. was found. The name occurs in different forms on Lat. monuments from the same place, e.g. municipium Althiburitanum, Altuburos &c. כנש coming between the pr. n. and the patronymic, is perhaps an official designation; cf. l. 5. 34. 45 9. Cl-Gan. suggests a transcription of the Lat. *cens.* = *censor*, though the title would be unusual; or an equivalent for *princeps (gentis)*, *magister (pagi)*, local officers mentioned in N. African inscr. (CIL viii p. 1100 f.); *Rec.* iii 31 n. In CIS i 417 כנש ? כנז is a pr. n.; and it may be only a surname here. כנסאען This and most of the pr. nn. which follow are Libyan (Berber); their vocalization is unknown. Most of them end in ן (? *dn*), cf. מכמון 57 1. For צ, formerly read in this inscr., we ought to write ד, which hitherto has not been identified in NPun. In the newly discovered inscr. from Maktar (59), however, the two letters are clearly distinct, ף=ד, ץ=צ, and in this inscr. the letter is nearer to the first than to the second of these forms. So Cl-Gan. l. c. 333 n.

L. 2. מרש CIS i 390, perhaps = *Marissa* in Lat. inscr. from Numidia, CIL viii p. 1028; *Berger Journ. As.* (1887) 462. מסהבא In Lat. *Massiva*. לילעי = Lat. *Laelius*.

L. 3. ארבעל See 60 1. סבנ Prob. same name as ויבס, ויבסם 38 5 n., CIS i 341. כנורמן looks like a name from Arabia, if כנ is the same as קנ Gen. 36 11. 15. 42, and רמן is the Arabian (Sabaeen) deity *Rammdnu* (Hommel *Sud-Ar. Chrest.* 60), CIS iv p. 203.

L. 4. לבא Cf. לבא CIS i 147 5 and (?) Λεββαῖος Mt. 10 3; Sin. לבא Eut. 421. חזברנ See 42 1 n. The *colleagues* in this case, however, are different from the חברים who formed the council of the suffetes at Carthage; here they have no connexion with suffetes (L. 6). המזבח gives a sense which is impossible in this context; we must read המזרח (42 16. 59 A 1. 16), in appos. to the suff. in חזברנ (Cl-Gan.). The מזרח was an institution, prob. of pre-Roman and native origin, peculiar to N. Africa. Its character is not exactly known; most likely it partook of the nature of a religious confraternity or administrative council, possibly of an industrial guild. Cl-Gan. thinks its Roman equivalent was *curia*, frequently alluded to in N. African inscr. At any rate there is ample evidence that Altiburus had a municipal organization under the Romans (CIL viii 1824 municipium althiburitanum), and the מזרח may have had something to do with it. Twelve members are mentioned here by name, the

first with a title or special designation (כנש). These may correspond to the African *undecim primi*¹, with a president; it is clear that the members of the מורה were superior to the חברים, who made up the rest of the corporation.

L. 5. ונסמין בנאת ואיסמן It is uncertain whether these are the names (בן את = בנאת) of the commissioners in charge of the sanctuaries (cf. 46 1. 42 1), or verbs stating the manner in which the vow (l. 1) was carried out, e. g. by the restoration or embellishment of the temples. In the latter case, איסמן may be Hif. (cf. איכרמא 59 A 13), and have the same meaning as the Hebr. סמן K. 7 7. Jer. 22 14; no meaning suggests itself for the other words. בלל בירח כרר Cf. 26 2.

Perhaps rather לל 1. 3, Cl.-Gan. הובח For the year reckoned by the name of the sacrificer cf. 38 6 n. and Costa 105 מובח ('son of Kenath the sacrificer'), Lidzb. Eph. i 40. At the end of the line, ב may be taken with שפסם, although the usual construction is ש' בשת 40 2. 46 1, or שפסם 45 5; perhaps it is the last letter of the preceding name. It is worth noticing that *three* suffetes are mentioned here, as in 59 B 4 ff.; see 42 1 n.

L. 6. ברך Often in Pun. inscr., e. g. CIS i 444 4. 597 4 &c. 59 B 2; in Lat. *baric, baricas, baricio* &c. CIL viii p. 1020 d. הצפ or הצף According to Berger l. c. *the seer, augur* = Hebr. צפה *watchman*. Cl.-Gan. proposes [ר] הספ *the scribe*. There is a space between פ and the foll. א; no trace of a letter appears in the facsimile given by Euting ZDMG xxix (1875) 237.

L. 7. כמר ניעמן אש על may be rendered *who was over the priests of Neifman*, i. e. the Egyptian goddess Neith or Nît, a manifestation of Isis; כמר plur. constr. *priests*, as in Old Aram. 64 1 n., in Hebr. 2 K. 23 5 &c. The reading, however, is not certain, and the letters may be grouped differently. Cl.-Gan. proposes כם בן ניעמן for the last two words, thus providing the patronymic of מבין after the name of his office (l. 1 n.), but suggests no definite sense for אש על כם (l. c. 32 n.). כי = כא The prefix 'ור' as in 52 4. ורסכן

L. 8. This and the foll. line are written carelessly and in another hand; their connexion with the foregoing is not clear. אש העלא אלה = עלה? עלת Prob. *who offered up*, Hif. pf. 3 sing. m. 'a burnt-offering or a meal-offering (42 14 &c.) in the sanctuary.'

L. 9. Apparently 'which Abd-milk vowed there.' נררא Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. 3 sing. f.

¹ The functions of the *xi primi* (CIL viii p. 1101) are obscure. See for the above suggestions Cl.-Gan. l. c. 34 f.

56. Jol (Shershel 1). NPun. 130. Louvre.

- 1 סבר . . א לאשת נעמתמהרת טנא ת המנצבת רש בעת
 2 עבראשמן בן עזרבעל לאמא לתעונת אחר אש פעל ציוען
 3 להחיים האש שלא עזרבעל הילד שחרבעל בען שקלן
 4 אמא לשרת שנת חמשם באיחשבר לטהרת נכתבת
 5 ונשמרא . אתמיקנא ואידרא לימ . אמ עשרת
 6 כמשלם עלא הנשכבת בת שמנם שת

The memorial . . . to the woman The pillar was set up by Rosh, daughter ² of 'Abd-eshmun, son of 'Azru-ba'al, to her mother T'WNTH, after that a monument (?) had been made ³ for the living by her husband 'Azru-ba'al . . . Shaḥar-ba'al, son of ŠQLN (?), ⁴ his (?) mother, to minister (?) fifty years in the island of Ḥashbar (?) . . . prescribed ⁵ and observed (?) . . . and the island of Dara (?) . . . ten (?) ⁶ she who is laid to rest, being eighty years old.

L. 1. סבר See 9 6 n. The word which follows may be ברא, but no suitable meaning can be found for it. נעמת Perhaps *the good*; the foll. letters may be read מהרת (Derenbourg, *Comptes Rendus* (1875) 259 ff., translates *intelligent*, lit. *quick*=מְהִירָה), מחבת, or מחת. טנא Qal pf. 3 sing. fem. אית= Cf. 57 3. 60 3 f. מנצבת Cf. CIS i 159 1 מצבת= 1. רש Here fem.; in 41 2 the name is mas. בת=בעת.

L. 2. לאמא = לאמה. פעל Qal pf. 3 sing. mas. ציוען
 Perhaps= ציין 2 K. 23 17; but the reading is uncertain.

L. 3. להחיים Apparently= לחיים, cf. להרעת= 57 7. לרבח= להרבח. Subj. האש 60 3, for, i. e. among, the living, cf. מצבת בחים 18 1 n. הילד Reading of פעל l. 2. אשך לה= שלא, cf. 57 7. 9 f. (mas.). שקלן and sense doubtful. שחרבעל whom B. seeks; cf. שחריה 1 Ch. 8 26. בן=בען. שקלן Apparently a pr. n., as in NPun. 76 5.

L. 4. The meaning of this and the foll. lines cannot be made out. Neither Euting, *ZDMG* xxx (1876) 285 f., nor Derenbourg, l. c., has anything satisfactory to propose. אמא Apparently = באיחשבר. לשרת ? Piel inf.; לשבת may be read. אשך like אידרא l. 5, has been taken as the name of an island (א); cf.

39 1. Derenbourg explains חשבר as = Ἑσπέρα, which he supposes was the name of a small island in the lake Tritonis with a temple of Aphrodite upon it, near the harbour of Hesperides in Cyrene, mentioned by Strabo p. 710, ed. Müll. למרר for the cleansing (Derenb.); but this meaning is doubtful. נכתב, like ונשמרא l. 5 and הנשכבת l. 6, appears to be a Nif. form.

L. 5. Derenb. reads ונשמרא ראת מי קנא and translates *and she is kept from seeing the waters of Qana*; but ראת is uncertain, and קנא מי may = בקנה (Lidzb.). עשרת Meaning doubtful: *ten* does not suit the context.

L. 6. הנשכבת Cf. משכב of the *grave*, 5 4 n. שח is sing., שנת l. 4 plur.; see 6 i n.

57. Jol (Shershel 2). Louvre.

- 1 מיקדש קנאם חי חים מכפון מלך משליים
- 2 המילל מישר ארצת רבת ממלכאת חשב נעם
- 3 לא מנא ת המאש ות .. האחבעלא קברא יעזם
- 4 בן ישגנזן בן בגאת בן מזנזן מיקם אלם
- 5 זכי ברר עלגמא ... תמא אוראכמאת כנם
- 6 ות אבהנים אש עלמים כלא נעזכלא למח[יא]
- 7 ת .נם עלם עכ .. ת לח .. א .. להרעת שלא ...
- 8 ושעותם .. בעל .. ל .. א .. מא השם
- 9 רבא שלא בכל חות בנא .[מ]טעא ...
- 10 רצאת המחקת שלא תבנם רב ...
- 11 פעלא ארש בן עברא ...

L. 1. מיקדש קנאם *sanctuary of Qn'm*; cf. the beginning of 42. מעל . מעקר הרעץ לקנאם . 2 (Lidzb. 434) . קנאם occurs again in NPun. 2 (Lidzb. 434) . Mo'qar the sculptor (?) made (this) for Qn'm and for his brothers (or life?). Berger suggests that קנאם is the Egypt. deity *Hndm* (*Inscr. ntop. de Cherchell* (1889) 3 f.); but the opinion of Egyptologists is against the identification. חי חים *the life of*

life; cf. לענת עז חים 28 1. *Mikipzan*, king of the Massilians, i. e. of Numidia; for the pr. n. in פ' see 55 1 n. This can be none other than the Micipsa who appears in the history of the Roman occupation of Carthage. He was the third son of Massinissa (51 3 n.), and succeeded to the kingdom after the premature death of his two elder brothers. An illegitimate son of his was the notorious Jugurtha (John of Antioch *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 560; Diod. Sic. xxxiv 35). The seat of his kingdom was Cirta, but he was buried at or near Jol¹, where this inscr. was found; it must have been set up shortly after his death in 118 B.C. This reference to a historical personage, whose date can be fixed, is unique among the NPun. inscrs. at present known. A specimen of Numidian coinage of this period, in the British Museum, bears on the obverse the letters מן, on the reverse הח, i. e. possibly *Mikipzan the king*²; so Berger, l. c. 10, who gives an illustration of the coin.

L. 2. חסילל Lit. *who is to be extolled*, an epithet of the king, probably Pual ptc. מילל. In Hebr. ילל is used in Hif. *to howl*. משרר *sovereign of broad lands*; Piel ptc. of משר, or perhaps from שרר. ממלכא = ממלכת *prince*; see 3 2 n. חשב נעם *who devises good*; cf. the Gk. title Εὐμενής.

L. 3. The previous clause from מכמן is a casus pendens, resumed by לו = לא: *Mikipzan . . . to him Ya'azam set up this statue*. אית = ח. Cf. 80 4, where the Lat. version gives *statuam*. מאאמ CIS i 151 2 is apparently the same word; the etymology is unknown. קברא *his grave*. The three letters preceding are עלא ? *over him*. The erection of a statue (if the rendering be correct) over a grave was unusual; Berger compares CIL viii 211 30 *statuam posuit* (over a mausoleum), but notices that the stone which bears the inscr. does not look as if it had once formed the base of a statue.

L. 4. מונן Possibly the Pun. form of the name Massinissa, written משחננן on coins. מיקם אלם A title found in CIS i 227. 260–262 &c. and in a new Carth. inscr., *Rép.* i no. 13; it is prob. the equivalent of *praetor sacrorum*, *praefectus sacrorum* in Lat. inscrs.

L. 5. In this and the foll. lines only a word here and there can be translated. תמא may = אחמא which seems to be a pr. n. in CIS i 151 3.

¹ The burial-place of the Numidian princes was in the neighbourhood of Jol; Pomponius Mela i 6 30–1 Iol ad mare aliquando ignobilis, nunc quia Iubae regia fuit et quod Caesarea vocitatur illustris . . . ultra monumentum commune regiae gentis.

² Cf. the legend on coins of Juba יובע המלכא or יובע המלכו, of Bocchus בוקס המלכא, and of Syphax ספח המלכו (Berger l. c.).

L. 6. ואת חכהנים = ות אכהנים. קי לו = ? בלא. למחיא
during his life-time (Berger); but the form is uncertain.

L. 7. עלם ? eternity. להרעת Cf. 56 3 n., ? *for the good pleasure*
which was his; see 38 4.

L. 9. רבא ? *his chief*. בכל חות בנא ? *during all the life of his*
son (Berger).

L. 10. חקקת ? *the inscriptions*, from חקק.

L. 11. The name of the artist who *made it*.

58. Gelma. NPun. 24. Louvre.

1 עבן ו מענע לש
 2 בלת בת מעלל עו
 3 ע שענת אש
 4 רם ועמש א
 5 שת משיכעתן ב[ן]
 6 בנריעל

This stone is set up to ŠBLTH, daughter of Ma'lal; she lived twenty-five years; wife of MŠIK'THN, son (?) of BNRI'L.

L. 1. עבן = אבן, see p. 140. מענע = מענא Qal. ptc. pass.

L. 2. שבלת Perhaps = *ear of wheat*, Gen. 41 5 ff. חוא = עוע, cf. 58 3.

L. 4. עשרם חמש = אשרם ועמש.

L. 5. משיכעתן ב[ן] So Lidzb.; but Schröder p. 270 reads משיכעתח and shows ח in the facsimile, xvii 8.

L. 6. בנריעל If Schröder's reading is followed, this will be בן ריעל.

59. Maktar. Discovered 1892.

A

i

1 המורה אש לדרת אש בנא מקרש חצרת
 2 פחנת קרשם מחות שתעת אל עמת

- 3 עטרת אדראת לא ולעמא ישב אדמת
 4 לאלם הקירש לשאת אחת שמם בסוב
 5 מלך חטר מיסכר רזן ימם בעל חרדת
 6 על גברתם כעתבתי יתנתי שבעת

ii

- 7 סמל מרנ... חסיד תם . לתא עלם עבר
 8 ירד בעמק הלח ואחרסת... תעת אדרת
 9 ראשא צלק אתם ליטא . דל עק. צב הפערת
 10 ש חרץ דערכן ולנאחן יתן נכתחת
 11 כילן באשרלב פעלן ביתן שבעת

iii

- 12 שמאת המורח אש
 13 איכרמא תהמנחת
 14 קרא לם מעלא מתא
 15 למדתת . מעזרת

v

iv

- 16 רב מורח סהלכני בן מאנומער
 17 מעסיר בן פלכעי 20 סהלכני בן יסתען
 18 בעלשמע בן מעסקלת 21 שעפרגם בן דבער
 19 קערטא בן סלסמין 22 מתנבעל בן ברכבעל

vi

- 23 רופא בן מעסתיבער
 24 מתנבעל בן בעות
 25 בעליתן בן בובע .
 26 יעסכתען בן בע... ל .

| viii | vii |
|------------------------|----------------------|
| 33 כעשא בן בעליתן | 27 יערבני בן ארש |
| 34 לקי בן געלגסת | 28 מתנבעל בן סלכני |
| 35 עבדמלקרת בן בעליתן | 29 ראסת'מטא בן ר. י |
| 36 שעפרגם בן ברכבעל | 30 א'י. נע בן מערשמא |
| 37 בעסא בן אדרבעל | 31 סלכני בן מעסקלת |
| 38 רולני בן מעסיסען | 32 א... בן ארשא |
| x | ix |
| 45 ראנעטא בן הכהנת | 39 ברכבעל בן רבער |
| 46 אורמען בן יסתענת | 40 כס. פנל בן בעלשלך |
| 47 עומזנוער בן מעסירחן | 41 יסכתען בן בעליתן |
| | 42 בעלשמע בן מערוסא |
| | 43 מעסקלת |
| | 44 ברכבעל בן געגירת |

i

The *misrah* of . . . which built sanctuary, courts, ² also a chamber (?) for the holy things, lights (?), these columns (?) at the side of (?) ³ a rich cornice (?), for themselves and their people (?) who dwell in the land :—⁴ To the holy god

⁵ Milk-ḥaṣar-miskar, prince of the seas (?), lord of terror.

⁶ Upon . . . I, Yathan- . . wrote it . . .

ii

iii

¹² Names of the *misrah* which ¹³ defrayed the offering.

¹⁴ Read them from top to bottom (?) ¹⁵ help.

This and the two following inscrs., B and C, were discovered in 1892 on the walls of a temple at Maktar (54 2). They were first published by Berger *Mémoire sur la grande inscription dédicatoire* . . .

à Maktar (1899); they have been treated also by Lidzbarski *Eph. i* 45-52 (1900), by Cl.-Gan. *Rec. iii* § 57 and § 3 (1900), and by Halévy *Rev. Sémi. ix* (1901) 268-287. The great inscription (A) consists of ten columns, and falls into two parts: (1) Coll. i and ii, the dedication of the temple and its appurtenances, (2) Coll. iii-x, the names of those who took part in the dedication. The writing of this inscr. is, on the whole, clear and well preserved; but the meaning of Coll. i and ii is exceedingly obscure. It is noteworthy that the letters ב, ד, ר are written almost in their ancient form. Inscr. A probably belongs to an earlier date than B and C.

L. 1. המזרח ll. 12. 16. C 1. The word has been met with already in 42 16. 55 4. From this inscr. it is clear that the *misrah* or *masrah* was some kind of local council or association, in this case consisting of 32 members, including a president (רב מזרח l. 16). It was certainly a native institution, no doubt tolerated under the Roman domination; Cl.-Gan. suggests that its nearest equivalent in Latin would be *curia* or *ordo decurionum*, terms which occur in the inscr. from N. Africa, l. c. § 3. In each instance the *misrah* is mentioned in connexion with some religious act; so it may have been a religious rather than a secular association. *אש לדרת* of *DRTH*, perhaps a technical term describing the *misrah*, ? of the *habitations*, cf. Arab. *house*, Is. 38 12. If *דרת* were the name of a place (Lidzb. l. c., cf. 19 5 דאר), we should expect the simple prep. ב rather than ל *אש*; cf. 24 2 n. *חצרת* Prob. plur. abs. To construe *חצרת* as a genit. after *מקדש* would not make good sense; the two words are to be taken *ἀσυνδέτως*. Cf. *חצר* 38 2 f.

L. 2. *מחנת* Lidzb. suggests that *מ*=*מ*, as *ש*=*ש*, and *ח*=*ח* in NPun. Then *חנת* (cf. p. 337) may=*חנת*, *חנית* cells Jer. 37 16, as having an *arched* or *curved* roof; cf. Aram. *vaulted room*, *חנה* = lit. *bend, curve*. Hence *חנת קדש* may mean *a vaulted chamber for the sacred vessels*. *מחוז* Perhaps = *מחוז* *light, window* 1 K. 7 4 f. As the previous words seem to denote parts of the sanctuary, Cl.-Gan. renders *שחע* *pillars*, Hebr. *שחית*, and *אלעמח* *porches, propyla*, cf. Hebr. *אילם*. In the case of the last word, however, the rendering is made doubtful by the fact that there is a space on the stone before and after *אל* (facsimile in Berger l. c.); hence Lidzb. renders *מחוז* *שחע אל* *a place for the auspices (?) of Tal, the god of the community*. He takes *חע* as = *חנת* rather than the Egypt. Thoth (Berger), and for *עמח* compares CIS i 263 *עשתרת* [= *איש*] *אש בעמח* 264 *אש בעמח*. It may be doubted whether *חע* could be substituted for

the familiar תנת. Taking שחעת as = *pillars*, it is possible that אל = *these* and עמת = *beside*, Hebr. לְעַמָּת, cf. Ex. 25 27. 1 K. 7 20. Eze. 40 18. The deity to whom the dedication is made does not appear till l. 4.

L. 3. עמרת אדראת *a crown of splendour* or *a splendid cornice*; cf. 'cum ornamentis suis' in Lat. inscr. from this region. לא ולעמא The suffixes may refer to המורה, *for themselves and their people*, cf. 'ad ornandam patriam' in N. African inscr., or to עמת אל if these words contain the name of a goddess. ארמת In this connexion ארץ might be expected.

L. 4. לאלם הקדוש *to the holy god* = לאלהים הקדוש; *the god of the sanctuary* would be אלן המקדש, cf. אלן אקדש Costa 31 (Constantine) in Eph. i p. 39; see 33 6 n. No certain meaning can be given to the words which follow. שסם may = *heaven*. The last word of the line is prob. בטוב. The distinction between ס and צ (חצרת) l. 1. 9. צ l. 9. חרץ l. 10) is clear in this inscr.; see 55 1 n.

L. 5. מלך חטר מסכר The name of the deity to whom the sanctuary was dedicated. The deity seems to have been a compound one (cf. 10 3), formed out of Punic and Egyptian elements, *Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar*. The temple of חטר מסכר is mentioned in CIS i 253 f. חטר is the Egypt. god Hathor, and מסכר is either an Egypt. word or Punic; see 7 1 n. The epithets of the deity describe him as רון ים i.e. *ruler of the seas* or *days* (רוֹן Jud. 5 3. Ps. 2 2 &c.) and בעל חרדת i.e. *lord of terror(s)*. A Lat. dedication to Saturn has been found in the temple near to this inscr.; and it is not unlikely that Milk-ḥaṭar-miskar was a deity with the same character and attributes as Saturn. A number of votive steles to Ba'al-ḥammān, found at Maktar, exhibit the fish in various forms, pointing to the worship of a marine deity.

L. 6. על נברתם ? meaning. After נ a letter has been erased on the stone. The words which follow may be a remark of the mason: כעתבתי prob. = כְּתִבְתִּי; יחנ . . . (יתנתי ?) is perhaps a pr. n. שבעת, as in l. 11, is separated by a space; its meaning is not apparent. Lidzb. suggests בעת + ש *agreement, order*; see 42 1 n.

Column ii is exceedingly obscure. It seems to specify the dedication of an image of the god.

L. 7. The first word is clearly סמל *image, statue*; Cl.-Gan., however, suggests that it = שמאל *on the left*. . . . מרנ Cf. the pr. nn. beginning with מר, מרברך, מריחי 19 3 n. The next two words possibly = חסיד קם *kind, perfect*, a description of the god, to which עלם, or אעלם, *of the world*, may also belong. עבר is perhaps the first part

of a pr. n.; there seems to be a trace of letters after it in the facsimile. Lidzb. thinks that the particulars of the dedication of the סמל begin here; Cl.-Gan. reads על מעבר *on the west*.

L. 8. ירד Perhaps a verb, *brought down* (Ifil); בעמק *in the valley*; הלח = הלח tablets of stone (Ex. 34 1 &c.), or planks of wood (Ex. 27 8 &c.), or plates of metal (1 K. 7 36), in a collective sense. Cl.-Gan. takes ירד as Qal ptc., and, following out his view of the general sense, thinks that ירד בעמק refers to a part of the temple which 'descended into the valley.' He makes a new clause begin with הלח. חלח the same word as the obscure חרז 45 4, which is some part of a temple. חעת אדרת (l. 2) *splendid pillars* (?).

L. 9. ראש *his or her head, or capital* ?

L. 10. Cl.-Gan. reads חת ערת ש חרץ, and supposes that the words refer to 'overlaying with gold.' He compares the biblical חפה 2 Ch. 3 5 ff., and ערת in 3 5. ח' דערבן The rendering *gold of the daric*, cf. דרבנן (for דרבנן) 33 3, i.e. gold of standard quality, is pronounced impossible by experts in ancient coinage; see Lidzb. *Eph.* i 177.

L. 11. סעלן . . . כילן ? *we have finished* (Piel) . . . *we have made*; Halévy renders 'we have finished our work with happiness of heart (באשר לב). By Yathon. Shib'ath.' ביתן The word *house* is not written with the vowel letter in Pun. שבעת l. 6 n.

L. 13. איכרמא Berger explains by the Arab. أكرم *largiri, they paid the cost of*; this makes good sense. תהמנחת i.e. *the cost*.

L. 14. קרא Prob. imperat. למ i.e. *שמא* l. 12; Hal. takes למ as לקח *what*. מעלא מתא Lit. *upwards, downwards* (?), מתא ? = Hebr. מטה; cf. 5 11 f. According to Hal. מתא = מאתא; he renders the line, 'Read what has been adduced (lit. brought) above.'

L. 15. למדת Lit. *according to the measure* (?). מעזרת Apparently a noun from עזר *help*.

Columns iv-x. A list of the members of the *misrah*, headed by the president (l. 16). The names are mostly Numidian; some are Punic, some Latin. The Latin names, it will be noticed, belong to the sons, the native ones to the fathers. This no doubt indicates that the younger generation was fast becoming latinized, a process which has become complete in other NPun. inscr. from Maktar, where the Latin names are followed by a Latin genealogy, e.g. Marcus son of Gaius Canuleius, Publius son of Valerius Nobilis; these last belong, therefore, to a later age. With regard to the Numidian names, the pronunciation of which is in most cases

unknown, the sibilant \mathfrak{D} is characteristic, and the endings *dn* and *ath*; the latter are not sounded in the Latin transcriptions, e. g. Jasuktan = Jasucta, Galgusath = Gulussa, &c. In the Punic forms of the Latin names *a* is represented by \mathfrak{u} , *e* and *o* by \mathfrak{A} ; the ending *us* becomes \mathfrak{A} , *i*us is dropped (Berger 36).

L. 17. פלכעי Cl.-Gan. conjectures *Felicus*, *Felicio*, *Felicius*.

L. 19. קערטא = *Quartus*; or קעפטא = *Capito*.

L. 20. יסתען ? = *Istantius* (Algerian). Cl.-Gan. reads יסתענה l. 46.

L. 23. רופא = *Rufus*.

L. 26. יעסכחען Transcribed in Lat. *Jasucta* (NPun. 69, Schröd. p. 272).

L. 29. ראסחיטמא = *Restitutus*.

L. 30. מערשמא = *Marsus*.

L. 31. מעסקלת ? *Maskulath*, cf. *Masculus*.

L. 32. For ארשא Cl.-Gan. reads ארשם.

L. 33. בעשא ? = *Cassus*.

L. 34. לקי ? = *Lucius*. געלונסח Transcr. *Gulussa*.

L. 45. ראגעמא = *Rogatus*. הכהנת ? *the priestless*.

B

- 1 נבנא [כ]א המקדש ס לעמר מסכר
- 2 בניא יפתען בן יפשו וברך בן סלדי
- 3 א ומתנבעל בן ברך ומתנבעל בן בעליתן
- 4 חסנן ש המקם שפטם עומזגוער
- 5 בן תתעי ומגדסען בן שבעמן מסולי
- 6 ומסיגרען בן קפסי שמע קלם

This sanctuary was built here to 'Aṭar-miskar. It was built by Ift'an, son of Ifshar, and Barik, son of Selidi', and Muttun-ba'al, son of Barik, and Muttun-ba'al, son of Ba'al-yathon ? . of the place; the suffetes being 'Umzgu'ar, son of Tat'ai, and Mnds'an, son of Shb'aṭn, ? and Msigr'an, son of Qfsi heard their voice.

L. 1. נבנא is not distinct in the facsimile. $\mathfrak{D}=\mathfrak{Z}$. עמר מסכר
Cf. A 5.

L. 2. בניא Pf. 3 pl. with suff.; cf. 52 2. ברך See 55 6 n.
סלדי=סלדיא *Selidiu* NPun. 69 1 (Schröd. p. 272).

L. 4. חסנ Cf. חסנ 40 1 where it is possibly a transliteration of *sociorum*. שסמ Three suffetes are mentioned here, as in

55 6. עומנוער Cf. A 47.

L. 5. מסולי Berger suggests that this is an ethnic form, meaning 'a man of Mascula' (in Numidia) CIL viii 2568 &c.; cf. השלכי 60 2. אשקלני 32 1 &c.

C

- 1 המזרח אש
- 2 גר הימם נדער נדרא אש ל
- 3 שלא תתהא לאב ברכת מל[כ]
- 4 הנדער קלא שלא עזר

The *misrah* . . . to Gad of the heavens (?) vowed their vow which . . . his ? to the father of blessing, king (?) . . . the vow; his voice helped . . .

L. 1. המזרח A 1. אש=?אש.

L. 2. גר הימם Perhaps rather השמם; for גר see 27 3 n. השמם corresponds with the N. African *Caelestis*. The whole expression finds a remarkable parallel in *Fortunae Caelestis sacrum* CIL viii 6943 from Cirta (Lidzb.). נדער נדרא The first is a verb, the second a noun with suff. 3 sing. m. agreeing with המזרח.

SARDINIA

60. Sulci. CIS i 149. Museum of Cagliari.

*Himilconi Idnibalis . . . qui hanc aedem ex s[enatus]
[onsulto] fac[iundam] coeravit Himilco f[ilius] statuam
[dedit].*

- 1 [ח]מלכת בן. ארנבעל. בן. חמלכת
2 הפרט על. מי. מבארשא. השלכי
3 לבנאת. תהמקדש זת. להרבת לאלת
4 טינא תהמאש זת. בנא. חמלכת

Himilkath, son of Idni-ba'al, son of Himilkath to
build this sanctuary to the lady Elath: his son Himilkath
dedicated this statue.

This inscr. probably belongs to the first cent. B. C.; it is among the
earliest NPun. inscrs. known.

L. 1. חמלכת See 40 2 n. ארנבעל 45 6. 55 3, pronounced
Idnibal (Lat. transcr.).

L. 2. The first four words prob. correspond to *qui ex senatus
consulto curavit* in the Lat. version; but their exact meaning is
unknown. מבארשא has a certain resemblance to *τοπαρχία*. השלכי
Prob. *Sulcitanus, the man of Sulci*, cf. CIL 7518. The final letter
is most likely י; for the form cf. הלוי *the man of Lycia* CIS i 45, and
the names כותי *Buζάντιον*, כתי *Kίτιον*.

L. 3. לבנאת = לבנות, implying some word meaning *curavit* in
l. 2. אלת Cf. להרבת Cf. לחים = להחים 56 3 n.; for רבת see 8 2 n.
אלת Cf. 50 1 n. CIS i 243. 244 אלת כהן; in Aram. *Ildt* or *Alldt*, see in
Nab. 80 4 n. The Phoen. form אלת is the fem. of אל, or perhaps
rather of אלן; in the latter case the vowel of the second syllable may
have been long (Nöldeke *ZDMG* xlii 472)¹.

L. 4. טינא looks like the Piel of טנא, cf. כילן (?) 59 A 11. טאש
The Lat. version shows that this must mean *statue*; cf. 57 3. בנא =
בנה.

¹ The identification of אלת with 'Ελλωρία—ή Εύρώπη τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλεῖτο, ὅτι αἱ
φοίνικες τὴν Παρθένον 'Ελλωρίαν καλοῦσι *Etym. Magn.* col. 332; 'Ελλωρίς 'Αθηνᾶ
οὕτω καλουμένη, ἐτιμᾶτο ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ Ἰορτῇ 'Ελλωρία *ib.* 333—is rejected by
Nöldeke l. c. The forms 'Ελλωρίς, 'Ελλωρία are prob. genuine Greek.

ARAMAIC

NORTH SYRIA

61. Zenjirli : Hadad. First half of viii cent. B. C. Berlin.

- 1 אנך פנמו • בר • קרל • מלך • יאדי • וי • הקמת • נצב • זן • להדר • בעלמי
- 2 קמו • עמי • אלהו • הדר • ואל • ורשף • ורכבאל • ושמש • ונתן • בירי •
הדר • ואל •
- 3 ורכבאל • ושמש • ורשף • חטר • חלבבה • וקם • עמי • רשף • פמו • אחו •
- 4 ביד הא • פלח • ומו • אשאנל • מן • אלהי • יתנו • לי • ושנם • חויו •
- 5 ל • ארק • שערי • האל •
- 6 ארק • חטי • וארק שמי •
- 7 וארק • אז • ב • רת • ימי • וי • יעבדו • ארק • וברם •
- 8 שם • ישנב] פנמו • גם • ישבת • על • משב • אבי • ונתן •
הדר • בירי •
- 9 חטר • חל[בבה] ת • חרב • ולשן • מן • בית • אבי • ובימי • גם •
אכל • ושתא • יאדי •
- 10 ובימי • יתמר • קי • לנצב • קירית • ולנצב • זורי • ולבני • כפירי •
חלבב • יקח •
- 11 אש • רעיה • ויתר • הדר • [ן]אל • ורכבאל • ושמש • וארקרשף • וכבר •
נתנה • לי • ואמן • כרת •
- 12 בי • ובימי • חלבב • ת • יהב • לאלהי • ומת • יקחו • מן • ידי • ומה •
אשאל • מן • אלהי • מת • יתר •
- 13 לי • וארקו • וי • קרל • אלהי • מת • פלו • נתן • הדר • מת • ל • הי •
קרני • לבנא • ובחלבבתי •
- 14 נתן • מת • הדר • ל • לבנא • פבנית • מת • [תה]קמת • נצב • הדר • זן •
ומקם • פנמו • בר • קרל • מלך •

- 15 יאדי • עם • נצב • חד • מן • מן • בני • יאחז • חט[ר] • וישב • על • משבי •
ויסעד • אברו • ויזבח •
- 16 הדר • זן • י • י • י • נשי • ויזבח • ס • א • יזבח • הדר • ויזכר •
אשם • הדר • או •
- 17 א • פא • יאמר • [תאכל] • לבש • פנמו • עמך • ותש[תי] • לבש • פנמו •
עמך • עד • יזכר • לבש • פנמו • עם •
- 18 [ה] • דר • י • זבחה • זא • פתב • [י] • רקי • בה • שי • להדר • ולאל •
ולרכבאל • ולשמש •
- 19 ז • [פ] • נמו • ב • י • ק • זא • פב • ה • והושבת • בה •
אלהי • ובחלבבתה • חנאת •
- 20 נתנו • לי • זרע • חבא • י • אמ • בני • יאחז • חט[ר] •
וישב • על • משבי • מלך •
- 21 על • יאדי • ויסעד • אברו • ויזבח • [הדר • זן • ויזכר] • אשם • פנמו •
יאמר • תאכל • לבש • פ[נמו] •
- 22 עם • הדר • ותשתי • לבש • פנמו • עם • ה[דר] • הא • חהן •
זבחה • ואל • ירקי • בה • ומו •
- 23 ישאל • אל • יתן • לה • הדר • והדר • חרא • ליתכה •
אל • יתן • לה • לאכל • ברזו •
- 24 ושנה • למנע • מנה • בלילא • ודלח • נתן • לה • י • איח •
מודדי • מומת • תי •
- 25 יאחז • חט[ר] • ביאד[י] • וישב • על • משבי • ומלך • י • וישלח • ידה •
בחרב • ב • תי • או •
- 26 חמס • אל • יהרג • או • ברזו • או • על • א • א • ל • י •
מומת • או • על • קשתה • או • על • אמרתה •
- 27 חה • ירשי • שחת • באשר • חד • איחיה • או •
באשר • חד • מודדיה • או • באשר •

- 28 חדרה • איחתנה ירשי • שחת • יגנב איחיה • זכרי • ויקם •
ותה • במצעה • מת • נשה
- 29 יאמר • אחכם • השחת • והג א • יריה • לאלה • אבה • נשה •
יאמר • הן • אם • שמת • אמרת • אל • בפם •
- 30 זר • אמר • קם • עיני • או • דלח • או י • בפם • אנשי צרי • פהגו •
זכר • הא • לתגמרו • איחה
- 31 זכרו • פלכתשה • באבני • והגו ר רן • איחתה • פלכתשנה •
באבני • והגו • לו • שחת •
- 32 באשרה • ותלעי • עינך • בא • בב על • קשתה • או • על •
גברתה • או • על • אמרתה •
- 33 או • על • נרבה • את • פא • ישרה • ב ו • תהרגה •
בחם • [או] • בחמא • או •
- 34 תחק • עליה • או • תאלב • אש • זר • להרגה • י
מו

I am Panammu, son of QRL, king of Ya'di, who have set up this statue to Hadad in my ? ² There stood by me the god (?) Hadad and El and Reshef and Rekub-el and Shamash, and Hadad and El ³ and Rekub-el and Shamash gave into my hand the sceptre of ?; and Reshef stood by me; and whatsoever I take ⁴ in hand ... and whatsoever I as[k of] the gods they give me, and ? ? ⁵ a land of barley ? ⁶ a land of wheat and a land of garlic, ⁷ and a land they till the land and vineyards; ⁸ there dwel[t] ... of Panammu. Moreover I sat upon the seat of my father, and Hadad gave into my hand ⁹ the sceptre of ? ... sword and slander from my father's house. And in my days Ya'di (?) ? did both eat and drink. ¹⁰ And in my days ? ... to establish (?) cities and to establish (?) ., and for the sons of villages (?) ? .. takes (?) ¹¹ each (?) ? and Hadad [and] El and Rekub-el and Shamash and Arqu-reshef did abundantly (?)

give greatness to me, and surety ? ¹² with me. And in my days ? . ? to the gods, and indeed (?) they receive from my hands, and what I ask from the gods they have indeed (?) abundantly granted (?) ¹³ to me, and ? .. QRL, the gods indeed (?), and if Hadad gave indeed (?) to . he called me to build, and in my ? ¹⁴ Had[ad] gave indeed (?) . [to] build; and I built indeed (?), and set up this statue of Hadad, and the place of Panammu, son of QRL, king ¹⁵ of Ya'di, together with a statue . . Whoever (?) of my sons shall hold the [scept]re, and sit upon my seat and grow strong (?) and sacrifice ¹⁶ to this Hadad . . . and sacrifice . . . sacrifice to Hadad, and make mention of the name of Hadad, or ¹⁷ . shall say, May the soul of Panammu [ea]t with thee, and may the [s]oul of Panammu drin[k] with thee!—shall moreover remember the soul of Panammu with ¹⁸ [Ha]dad . . this his sacrifice . . may he look [f]avourably upon him ? to Hadad and to El and to Rekub-el and to Shamash ¹⁹ . . . [Pa]nammu . . . this . . . and I made the gods dwell in it, and in his ? I reposed (?) ²⁰ . . they have given me a seed . . . my son shall hold the sceptre, and sit upon my seat as king ²¹ over Ya'di, and grow strong (?) and sacrifice [to this Hadad and remem]ber the name of Panammu (and) say, May the soul of Panammu eat ²² with Hadad, and may the soul of Panammu drink with that Ha[d]ad . . . his sacrifice let him not look favourably upon it, and whatsoever ²³ he shall ask let not Hadad give him; and let Hadad pour out wrath upon him . . . suffer him not to eat, in anger, ²⁴ and withhold sleep from him by night, and terror (?) ? to him . . . kinsman (?) . my friend (?) put to death (?) . ²⁵ shall hold the sceptre in Ya'd[i], and shall sit upon my seat and reig[n] . and pu]t his hand to the sword . or ²⁶ . . ? let him not slay either in anger or by . . . put to death (?) either by his bow or by his order ²⁷ . . . shall allow to destroy after one of his kinsmen (?) or after one of his friends (?) or after ²⁸ one of his kinswomen (?) . . he allow to destroy, his kinsmen (?) steal my memorial, and set it up in the midst thereof (?) indeed (?) ? ²⁹ shall say, Your brother has destroyed (?) . . his

hands to the god of his father ? shall say, If (?) ? I have put these (?) orders into the mouth ³⁰ of a stranger, say thou (?) my eye was dim or terrified or . . . in the mouth of adversaries, and behold ! (?) it is a memorial (?), so that ye make his kinsman (?) discontinue ³¹ ? and let him crush him with stones ; and behold ! (?) . . . his kinswoman (?), and let him crush her (?) with stones ; and behold ! (?) if he have destroyed ³² after him, and thine eye be wearied (?) . . . by his bow or by his might or by his order ³³ or by his instigation (?), thou (?) also ? . . . thou shalt slay him ? [or] in wrath, or ³⁴ shalt write (?) concerning him, or teach a stranger to kill him . . .

Zenjirli (زنجيرلي) is a small village in NW. Syria, rather more than half way between Antakiyeh (Antioch) and Marash. This inscription was found in 1890 at Gerjin (كرجين), half an hour NE. of Zenjirli. It is carved on a colossal statue of the god Hadad ; the writing, like that of 62 and 63, is in relief, and belongs to the archaic type represented by the Moabite Stone. The contents show that this inscr. is earlier than 62 and 63, which date from the time of Tiglath-pileser iii (745-727 B. C.) ; moreover, in the latter inscr. the Aramaic character of the dialect is more strongly marked ¹.

Part i. ll. 1-15 a. Panammu acknowledges the good providence of Hadad and the other gods of his country, and records the prosperity of his reign.

L. 1. 1. אַנְךְ In 62 19 אַנְכִי ; see 1 1 n. פַּנַּמְמוּ בֶר קַרְל Panammu i 62 5, the predecessor of Panammu ii 62 1. 63 2, to whom 62 is dedicated. *Panammu of Sam'al* (prob. Panammu ii) is mentioned in inscr. of Tiglath-pileser iii, *KB* ii 20. 30. A similar name is met with in Asia Minor, in Caria, Παγαμνίης (Ball *TrSBA* (1888) 432), and in Isauria, *Panemou-teichos* (Ramsay *Hist. Geogr. of Asia Min.* 394 &c.). The derivation is unknown ; prob., like קַרְל, the name is of non-Semitic origin. יַאֲדִי 62 1. 5 &c. Ya'di was a town and petty kingdom of N. Syria, situated in the country N. of the Orontes.

¹ In connexion with these inscr. the following abbreviations are used : Sach. = Sachau in *Mitth. aus den Orient. Sammlungen*, Heft xi *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* (1893). Hal. = Halévy in *Revue Sémitique* i-ii (1893-4). DHM = D. H. Müller *Altsemitischen Inschr. von Sendschirli* (1893). Nöld. = Nöldeke in *ZDMG* xlvii (1893) 96-105. Hoffm. = G. Hoffmann in *Zeitschr. für Assyriol.* xi (1897). The text above is derived from the facsimile given by Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigr.*, Atlas taf. xxii, with reference to Euting's facsimile in *Ausgrab. in Sendschirli*.

Winckler, *Allor. Forsch.* i 1 ff., suggests that the well-known expressions in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser iii, *KB* ii 24 f., [*Asri*] *jdū* (*mdtu*) *Jaudāi*, [*A*] *surijdu* (*mdtu*) *Jaudi*, which are usually taken to refer to 'Azariah (=Uzziah) the Judaeon,' 'A. of the land of Judah',¹ really refer to this יארי. The context implies that *Jaudi* was in N. Syria²; it speaks of nineteen districts of the city of Hamath as having revolted to *Asrijdu*, and there is little likelihood that the Judaeon Azariah would have mixed in the politics in N. Syria and formed an alliance with Hamath, 150 miles N. of Palestine. According to the biblical chronology Azariah was dead at this time (about 740 B.C.), but this difficulty can be overcome³. Winckler's view requires that two such names as *Asrijdu* and *Jaudi* (=either יארי or יאודי) existed at the same period in different parts, a mere coincidence, perhaps. *Asrijdu*, with the divine name ידו, is more characteristic of Judaea than N. Syria; ידו, however, was not unknown in the latter region⁴. There is much to be said for Winckler's contention, but it is hardly established beyond dispute⁵.

¶ The Old Aram. form of יר (Bibl. Aram., Nab., Palm.), used as a relative (64 14. 69 9. 70 1 &c., and on coins 149 A 6) and as a sign of the genitive (66 a. 67. 68. 76 B 3 &c.). ירִיִּית=הקמת. נצב See 87 1 n. ¶ So in Phoen. (Gabal); see add. note ii p. 26. ירד 150 b, the chief deity of the Aramaeans; cf. Ἀδωδὸς βασιλεὺς θεῶν Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569. The statue on which the inscr. is carved represents a bearded human head with horns, the symbol of the god's power. In the O.T. his name occurs in compounds, e.g. הירדעור 2 S. 8 3 ff.=Assyr. *Dad'idri*; בן־הירד K. 20 1 (*COT* 200 f.); הירדרמן Zech. 12 11. Nothing distinctive is known of his character; but he was prob. regarded as a god of storm and thunder, for he was identified by the Assyrians as a stranger-god from the Amorite country with Rammân; see Zimmern *KAT*³ ii 443 f. The original significance of the name may possibly be found in the Ar. ܕܐܕܐ *break, crash, growl*, ܕܐܕܐ *thunder*; cf. Hebr. היר, הירד *shout* (Baethgen *Beitr.* 67 f., Hal. ii 26 f.). As a personal pr. n. הירד is found in Sabaeon, CIS iv 55⁶. בעל־יָר ? *in my youth* (בעל־יָר) not *in my life-time* (בעל־יָר); the latter, moreover,

¹ So e.g. Schrader *COT* 217 ff.

² Cf. also *Jaudu* in the Nimrūd Inscr. of Sargon, *KB* ii 36.

³ See Kittel *Gesch. d. Hebräer* ii 284 ff.

⁴ Thus *Iau-bi'di* of Hamath, *KB* ii 36. 56, is interchanged with *Ilā-bi'di* (of Hamath), ib. 42.

⁵ It is accepted by Benzinger *Königs* 166.

⁶ Possibly Hadad was known to the ancient Arabs, Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heidenthums* 55; but Wellhausen's translation is disputed by Hoffm. 228.

is expressed by **בַּיִת** in the inscr. DHM renders *lord of waters* (**מִי**). Possibly **עַלְמִי** is the name of a place.

L. 2. **אֱלֹהִים** is explained as an abstract form, **אֱלֹהִיּוּת** *godhead* (Lidzb.). The reading is uncertain. **אֱל** 62 22, Assy. *ilu*. The name by itself is found in Sabaeen inscr., e.g. **אֱל וְעֹתָר** Halévy no. 144 3. 150 4; elsewhere in N. Semitic inscr. it appears in compounds, e.g. **יִרְמַאֲל** 150 c. **רִשָּׁף** l. 3 see 12 3 n., and cf. **אֱרִיקְרִשָּׁף** l. 11.

רַכָּבָאֵל 62 22. 63 5. The name of this deity is known so far only in this district of N. Syria; it may mean *chariot* or *steed of El* (Rekub-el), or *charioteer of El* (Rakkab-el, Rekab-el), Hoffm. 252; cf. the Palm. **עֲנַלְבֹּל** 139 6 n. On Assy. monuments the sun-god is sometimes represented as riding in a chariot drawn by griffins, and he is called *rakib narkabti*¹ (cf. 2 K. 23 11 **מִרְכָּבוֹת** **שָׁמַשׁ** and Ps. 18 11); but whether Rekub-el had any connexion with the sun-god, as his minister or attendant, we cannot tell; it is possible that he was a moon-god, for in the ancient East the moon came before the sun, as here (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 255 n., cf. 112 4 n.). Sach. 61 f. suggests a transposition of **ר** and **ב**, and renders *cherub of El*; this is unnecessary. The pr. n. **בִּרְרַבֵּי** 62 1. 63 1 prob. means *son of the god Rekub-el*. **שָׁמַשׁ** 62 22. 64 9 the sun-god, Assy. *šamash*, worshipped throughout the Semitic world, e.g. in Israel 2 K. 23 11. Dt. 17 3, in Palmyra 117 5. 136 3. 6. His cult is implied by such pr. nn. as **בֵּית שָׁמַשׁ** (Hebr.), **עִבְרֵשְׁמַשׁ** CIS i 116 f. (Phoen.), **שַׁמְשִׁיעֵרִי** ib. ii 87 (Aram.), **לִשְׁמַשׁ** 117 3. **שַׁמְשֵׁרִים** 145 1 (Palm.).

L. 3. **חֹמֶר** *branch, rod*, common in Aram., in Hebr. rare, Is. 11 1; here used for *sceptre*, Hebr. **שֵׁבַע**. **חֹלְבָנָה** Here and in ll. 9. 10 (rest.) this might be the name of a place not otherwise known; but in ll. 13. 19 it seems to be a fem. noun with a suffix. In each case the meaning 'blessing,' 'prosperity' (Hoffm., Lidzb.) or 'majesty' (Hal.), would suit the context. **חֹלְבָנָה** i. e. **ח** + **חֹלְבָנָה** + **נָה**, in ll. 4. 22 **חֹלְבָנָה**, cf. **חֹלְבָנָה** = **חֹלְבָנָה** 65 5. The conjunction **ו**, which is prob. to be found in **חֹלְבָנָה** (Nöld. 103 n.), is used in these inscr. like the Ar. **و**, ll. 13 f. 31. 63 18; similarly in Nab., e.g. 80 7. 10. 83 3. 94 4 &c.; in Palm. 143 5. Another form of the conjunction is **וּ** ll. 17. 33. 62 22. **חֹלְבָנָה** Peal impf. 1 sing.

L. 4. **אֱלֹהִי** Pl. abs. = **אֱלֹהִים**, ll. 12 f. 19. 62 23. For the omission of final **י** cf. **שַׁעֲרֵי** l. 5. **חֹמֶי**, l. 6. **אֲנִשִּׁי צָרִי** l. 30. **אֲנִי** l. 31. **שַׁעֲרֵי** 62 3 (see note); but contrast **מִלְכָּן רִבְרָבָן** 63 10. 13. This peculiarity finds a parallel in Assy., which forms a plur. in *l* (or *l'*) as well as in *ani*,

¹ Jastrow *Rel. of Babyl. and Assy.* 461; Sach. 70.

and in Aram. dialects, e.g. Talm. דיקלי *dates*, פירי *fruits*, cf. Γεσθη-
μανη = שָׁמַן (Dalman *Gram. Jud.-Pal. Aram.* § 38, 3), and in Mandaic
(Nöldeke *Mand. Gr.* 162). יתנו In this dialect, and in that of
Nêrab and Têma, the impf. 3 plur. ends in *n*, not, as is usual in
Aram., in *an*, e.g. ll. 7. 12. 64 9. 11. 65 9. 73 B 3 (Egypt. Aram.);
exceptionally in B. Aram., יאבדו Jer. 10 11. יחייטו Ezr. 4 12. Dan.
5 10. ושם חויו Meaning unknown. DHM takes שם as = שָׁלַם and
reads רויו = רְוִיתָא, lit. *peace of satiety*; but the reading is uncertain.

L. 5. ארק 62 14 &c.; in 63 4. 66 a (and regularly on Nineveh
weights) ארקא = the later Aram. ארעא, Hebr. ארץ, Arab. أَرْض. In Jer.
10 11 ארקא occurs side by side with ארעא; in Mandaic it appears
prob. as an intentional archaism, Nöld. l. c. 73. For the *p* which is
peculiar (Driver *Tenses* § 178) cf. רקי ll. 18. 22 = רצה = רָצָה;
62 13 = רָצָה = רָצָה, see p. 185. שְׁעָרִים Hebr. שְׁעָרִים,
cf. 62 6. 9 and see l. 4 n. חאל? meaning. אל l. 29 is prob. the
plur. of חן, but the article prefixed is not found in these inscriptions.

L. 6. חטי = Hebr. חטים; שטי = Hebr. שטים Num. 11 5.

L. 7. אז 62 9 perhaps for אִי + וִי (DHM, Nöld.) *whatsoever*; or =
Hebr. אִי, Aram. אִיִּין *then*. Cf. Gen. 2 5 &c. (אח וארמח).
Dt. 28 39 (כרמים); in later Aram. פלח בארעא is the usual expression.
See l. 4 n.

L. 8. DHM restores פנמו ובר[ארק ובר] שם יש[בו ויעברו ארק ובר] 9. 1. נם
62 16, cf. אנם 62 5, is characteristic of Hebrew; it is found on the
Moab. St., 1 6, but the later Aram. does not use it.

L. 9. DHM restores חרב [והכר]ת חרב *and he cut off*. לשן *tongue*, as
the instrument of slander; cf. איש לשון Ps. 140 12. 15 3. 101 5. בית
62 2. 7. 63 7 ff. The scriptio plena (cf. לילא l. 24. עיני l. 30) is
more frequent in 62, which is somewhat later. בימי = בימי
62 18, חַמֶּה. In Aram. the vowel of the first syllable in ימן is
ē not *ā*, as in Hebr.; cf. 65 3. 76 A 4, constr. st. ימי 62 11. אכל
If the last word of the line be read יארי—Lidzb.'s facsimile
shows traces of initial *y* and of *r*—these words may be taken as perfs.;
cf. 62 9. DHM takes them as nouns, reading the last word ארי
food and drink were abundant, cf. l. 4 n. Nöld. 103 reads ורי *and was*
abundant, i. e. *abundantly*.

L. 10. Meaning very obscure. DHM regards יחמר as = יחמר *was*
appointed, and לנצב as = לְנָצַב (cf. Solomon's נָצַבִּים 1 K. 4 7 ff.) *prefect of*
Q. . . , and prefect of the Zerart. But לנצב may be a verb, *to set up*, and
קירח cities 62 4. 15; cf. הציב Dt. 32 8. Ps. 74 17. Pr. 15 25 (with
נבול), 1 Ch. 18 3 (with יר). The meaning of וררי is unknown. כפירי

Perhaps *villages*; cf. Neh. 6 2 (?), נְקָרִים Cant. 7 12. 1 Ch. 27 26. But *sons of the villages* is not a very natural expression, and possibly כְּפִירִי is the name of a tribe or place. This, however, does not suit the context of כְּפִירִי in 62 10. לָקַח impf. of יָקַח. The reading is uncertain.

L. 11. אִשׁ רְעִיָּה וִיתֵר חֹדֶר (Lidzb.) ? *each his neighbour, and Hadad did richly*; but the text is very doubtful. יִתֵּר is possibly Pael of יָתַר l. 12. Euting's facsimile gives יִתֵּר . . . יִתֵּר . . . יִתֵּר. The name of a god. Hoffm. 214. 252 connects אֶרֶק i.e. 'Arqu or 'Arqt with the ✓רָצָה=רָקִי (l. 5 n.) *be favourable*, and compares אֶרֶצִי, אֶרֶץ, apparently a divine name in Palm. (see 115 1 n.), אֶרֶצִי and the Arab. عَزَى (Wellhausen *Reste Ar. Heid.* 58 f.). כְּבֹרִי i.e. prob. גְּבוּרָה *greatness*. DHM reads כְּבֹרִי (for כְּבוֹדָא) *honour*. נָתַן Perhaps perf. 3 plur. (or sing.) with suff. 3 sing. fem.=נָתַנָּה, the suff. resuming the object which precedes, *greatness they (he) gave it*. A Nifal form is improbable. DHM reads אָמֵן כֶּתֶב *a sure (covenant) they made*; אָמֵן *faithfulness* occurs again in 62 21. Lidzb. reads זָכַרְתָּ, but neither the reading nor the form is clear.

L. 12. מָטָה Various meanings of this obscure word are proposed: thus *gift* in l. 12 = מָתָן; *males, male offspring* in ll. 13. 14. 62 4 = מָתָה, Assy. *mutu*; *town, district* in l. 14. 62 10 = Assy. *mātu* (Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 107), cf. CIS ii 31 בִּמְחַ בְּבִשְׁקִין *in vico Bābsuqin*. But it seems more reasonable to give מָטָה the same meaning throughout. Halévy regards it as an adverb, *aussitôt, forthwith*, and explains the form as a contraction of the Hebr. מָהֵר, cf. Assy. *mal*. Lidzb. renders *surely, indeed*, a meaning which suits the context in each case, and may be accepted provisionally, though its etymology is not evident. יָקַח See l. 4 n.

L. 13. וְאֶרֶק is prob. some part of the verb רָצָה=רָקִי (l. 5 n.); *his land* would be אֶרֶקָה, like זָבָחָה l. 18. DHM restores קָרַל . שְׂאֵל, rendering 'and QRL asked for a male offspring; and Hadad did not give a male offspring.' This gives a suitable sense, but the rendering of מָטָה is doubtful, and מָלוּ (l. 31. 62 11) seems to mean *and if*, אֵלֹ=לוּ (Nöld. 104), rather than *and not*, לֹא=לוּ. To fill the space, [שְׂאֵל . יָאֵבִי] is a better restoration. קָרַנִי i.e. קָרַנִי Pf. 3 sing. m. with suff., from קָרַא. In Lidzb.'s facsimile the ר is clear. לִכְנַא l. 14, inf. of בָּנָא l. 3 n. חִלְכַּבְתִּי l. 3 n.

L. 14. מָקָם *place*, possibly like *τόπος* in Gk. inscr., a *burial-place*.

L. 15. מִן מָן מִן Part ii. ll. 15 a-24 a. Panammu invokes the blessing of the gods upon his successor if he be faithful to his religious and filial duty, and a curse upon him if he neglect it. מִן מָן

The first מן is perhaps the indef. pron. מן, ܡܢ, Assyr. *mannu*, *manu*.
 21. In Hebr. סעד = *support, stay* esp. with food, e.g. Gen. 18 5; here perhaps in a more general sense, *strengthen*.
 מברו may be an abstr. form, מברו = מברותא (DHM), or possibly a plur. with suff. = מבריו *his strong ones*, Jud. 5 22. Ps. 50 13; but the latter does not give a good sense, and the form lacks support (Nöld.).

L. 16. הוד The deity is in the accus. after זבח, cf. in Sabaeen עולתה . . . לידבחו CIS iv 74 11 f.; in Hebr. ל is required. The sacrifice was to be offered not to the dead, but to the god on behalf of the dead; see Lagrange *RB* (1902) xi 232 f. וזכר אשם חדר
 Cf. the Hebr. idiom יהוה חזק שם *make mention of Yahweh's name*, i.e. to call upon, worship, Is. 26 13. Ex. 23 13. The verb here may be regarded as Afel. אשם = Arab. اشم, Samaritan אשמא.

L. 17. ܡܢ ܠ. 33. 62 22 = ܡ ܠ. 3 n. [תאכל] נבש ונ' Cf. ll. 21 f., where the words are more legible. נמש = נבש; cf. תאלב ܠ. 34 = תאלף, תאלף = נבש, and vice versa ברול = ברול &c.: Wright *Comp. Gr.* 64 f. חשתי Impf. of שחח ܠ. 9; see ܠ. 22 n. For the idea cf. Luke 22 30. עמך i.e. with Hadad. עור Prob. = עוד. עמ . . . עמ
 The verb here and in ܠ. 21 is Peal; contrast חדר אשם חדר ܠ. 16, where the verb is Afel.

L. 18. After חדר [ח] Lidzb. reads [חא], but the word is illegible in the facsimile. ܠ. 22; the last letter is perhaps the suffix, חא. Hoffm. 234 regards the form as fem, and compares שחחה 62 2; see 62 6 n. חא ܠ. 19 (?), though elsewhere fem. (see add. note p. 26), is here prob. mas., like the Arab. حا, since it appears to agree with נבחה.
 חא ܠ. 22 n., impf. of חא ܠ. 5 n.; cf. חא in Hebr., e.g. Mic. 6 7. Hag. 1 8. חא Meaning unknown.

L. 19. and in his prosperity I rested (?), Lidzb., taking מנחת as Pf. 1 sing. of מנח = חנא *encamp*, cf. חנא Pael 62 12 and מנחת 62 13 ff. But מנחה means *camp*, not as a *resting-place*, but as the place one *reaches* at the end of the day's march; so in Syr. مائل = *incline towards, reach*. Possibly חנא 62 12 may come from חנן *be gracious*, and חנא be a pass. form, *I was treated graciously*.

L. 20. See 4 7 n. The obligation of religious duty on the part of Panammu's successor is repeated; a clause expressing the possible neglect of it must be among the missing portions of ll. 20-22, to justify the imprecations in ll. 22 b-24 a.

L. 21. See ll. 15 f.

L. 22. חא in a demonstr. sense, cf. חא 78 A 3 *that time*. For חא after [ח] ܠ. 21 cf. Gen. 32 3. חא ܠ. 4. חשתי, חשתי i.e. חשתי &c., cf. חשתי ܠ. 27 f. חשתי ܠ. 32. The impf. 3 sing. of these חשתי

verbs ends in — as in Palestinian Aram., Targ. &c.; contrast the Bibl. Aram. and Syr. ending — , — .

L. 23. חרא Perhaps = חרון *wrath*. ליחכח Afel (?) impf. 3 sing. mas. with suff. 3 sing. fem. from נחך *pour forth*, in a figurative sense with חמה , אף in the O.T., e.g. Jer. 42 18. 2 Ch. 34 21. The impf. is here preceded by ל = Arab. ل before the jussive, similarly למנע (i. e. למנע) l. 24. לחנמרו l. 30. לכחשה (i. e. ליכחשה) l. 31, in each case with a jussive force; cf. in Sabaeen לעותרו *ut descenderent*, ולידבחו *atque ut sacrificarent* CIS iv 74 10 ff. &c., and see Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 25. This usage has not been found hitherto in Aram. Possibly it may have given rise to the impf. in ל which occurs in B. Aram., Targ. Jon., Talmud Bab., and Mandaic; but in these dialects the ל has no distinctively jussive force, and may be merely a phonetic variation of the impf. in נ (Driver *Tenses* § 204 Obs. 1). אל יתן לה לאכל Cf. 2 Ch. 20 10 for the construction. ברנו Reading indistinct, but the word is clear in l. 26.

L. 24. שנח i. e. שנח . למנע i. e. למנע Nöld. 98 n., in a jussive sense; see note above. בלילא With scriptio plena, Hebr. לילה , Arab. لَيْل , but Syr. ܠܝܠܐ . דלח *terror*, as often in Targ.; but the form is not apparent; it might be inf. constr. The perf. occurs in l. 30. נתן if Peal perf., does not construe; the form must remain uncertain. For the imprecations cf. 4. 5. 64. 65.

Part iii. ll. 24 b–34. Panammu denounces those who shall attempt to injure the persons or the power of his family and successors. Such seems to be the general drift of this most obscure section. DHM thinks that the reference is to the violation of the statue; this is apparently alluded to in l. 28, but the rest of the passage deals with the treatment of persons (note the verb חרנ ll. 26. 33. 34). איה appears to be a title denoting a member of the royal family, איהי אבה 62 3, like the Hebr. בני חמלך 2 Sam. 13 32 ff. 2 K. 10 6 ff. 11 2 &c., and בר מלכא CIS ii 38 2 'a prince of the royal house' (?). In ll. 27. 28 איהיה is plur. with suff., l. 30 איהיה is sing. with suff., while איהיה ll. 28. 31 is prob. a fem. plur. or sing. with suff. The word may be a form of אה in a special sense. מורדי l. 27 מורדיה is perhaps a noun from ורד , Arab. وَرْد *love*, lit. *my loved one*, so *friend* (Lidzb.). l. 26 מומת seems to be Hofal ptc. of מות . וישלה ידה בחרב Cf. Jud. 5 26 ליתור . Panammu appears to have in mind the wholesale assassinations of the royal family which so frequently accompany the accession of an oriental king. 62 3 shows that his fears were justified. חי . . Lidzb. suggests חי [בי].

L. 26. חמס is some part of חמס *be violent*.

L. 27. ירשי l. 28, i. e. ירשי impf. 3 sing. mas. of רשי lit. *be able*, so perhaps *allow*, cf. רשיון *permission* Ezr. 3 7; see l. 22 n. שחת is perhaps inf. constr. באשר The word אשר = *place*, 62 18 (?). 64 8 אשרה *his place*. 68 6 אתרא. 76 C 4 אתר. Here and in l. 32 באשר may perhaps be taken like the Syr. ܐܬܪܐ, i. e. ܐ + ܬܪܐ, in the sense of *after*, lit. *in the place of*; so Hoffm., Lidzb. The exact meaning, however, of the expression *destroy after one of his princes* is not clear.

חר must be constr. state before the gen. following, for in l. 28 it takes a fem. form before a fem. noun. For the construction cf. in Hebr. אחר העם Gen. 26 10. אחת האתונות 2 K. 4 22 &c. חר is the usual Aram. for אחר, e. g. 62 5. 63 13 &c.; in Hebr., Eze. 33 30.

L. 28. איהחא See l. 24 n. יעב איהחא זכרי Here and in the foll. lines to 30 b the offender is apparently not the future king but a member of the royal house, and the offence is the removal or violation of the statue which Panammu had erected. The details and general sense are very uncertain. ל זכרי l. 30 (?) *my memorial*; זכר has this meaning in 62 22, Palm. דכר 135 1, and Nab. CIS ii 169 &c.; in Phoen. סבר 9 6 n. וקם Impf. 3 sing., rather than plur. as Nöld. 104.

ותח Accus. particle with suff. This form is prob. preserved in ܘܬܚܐ, but in later usage it has become ית, thus Nab. יתה 80 5, Palm. ית 121 4, BAr. יתהו Dan. 3 12 (only here), ית in Targ. and Sam., ܝܬ in Syr. (rare). This ות, and the Phoen. אית, Hebr. את, may be accounted for by an original *'awayat* which passed into *'iwayath*, *'iyyath*, *'iyath*, *'eth*; see 3 3 n.

במצעה in the *midst of it*, supposing that we have here the Aram. מִצְעָה, מִצְעָה *midst*, as in 62 10. 63 9 f. Hoffm. 319, however, suggests in each case the meaning *place*, מִצְעָה, Arab. مَوْضِع. What the suffix refers to is not clear. ל נשה l. 29 Meaning unknown.

L. 29. אחכם The suff. as in לכם Ezr. 5 3 &c., for the usual Aram. להם; cf. להם 63 18 for להם. להחן Afel, either perf. or imperat. אלה i. e. אלה or אלה constr. state sing.; so in Nab. 68 6. 64 3. Palm. 136 7. This is the sing. form of the plur. אלהי l. 4.

For ידיה cf. Ps. 44 21. הן Prob. = *if* 64 11, as in Bibl. Aram. Dan. 2 6 &c. Ezr. 4 13. The meaning of אם is not clear. שמת

Perf. 1 sing. of שים. If אמרת is plur., אל may = *these*. פם

l. 30, with suff. פמי 65 4; Aram. פִּמְיָא, פִּמְיָא, Hebr. פִּי. For the expression cf. in Hebr. שים דבר במי פ' Num. 22 38. 23 5. 12. 16 &c.

L. 30. זר *stranger* l. 34. אמר Either perf. or imperative. Apparently the offender is supposed to make the excuse that he did not realize what he was doing. קם עני Cf. 1 K. 14 4. רלח

Perf., cf. l. 24. צרי אנשי צרי Prob. = אנשים צרים, although, since צר = Arab. ضر, the dialect of this inscr. should have p for z, on the analogy

of רָקִי and אָרָק. פָּחַנו ? and behold; the reading is very indistinct, but it is supported by וְהָנוּ l. 31 bis. זָכַר may = memorial as זָכַר l. 28; it may also = male, a meaning which seems to be required for זָכְרוּ l. 31 (Lidzb.). לְחַנְטֵרוּ Impf. 2 plur. with cohortative ל; see l. 23 n. נָטַר = make an end, in a trans. sense.

L. 31. זָכְרוּ Lidzb. suggests that this is an abstract form for זָכְרוּתָא mankind, men. פָּלַחְתָּהּ Impf. with cohort. ל 3 sing. mas. with suff. 3 sing. mas., similarly פָּלַחְתָּהּ with suff. 3 sing. fem. (?). כָּרַשׁ = break in pieces, shatter; in Hebr. Pr. 27 22 to pound, in Targ. Jon. Ex. 30 36 and הִכְתִּישׁ the incense, used in Ethpa. like the Syr. פָּאָל = fight, strive. The punishment is to be stoning, whether the offender be a man or a woman. But it is not clear what the offence is, whether the violation of the memorial, which is apparently alluded to in the preceding lines, or the attempted assassination of Panammu's successor, which seems to be the drift of what follows. אָבְנִי i. e. אָבְנִים l. 4 n. שָׁחַ The form is uncertain.

L. 32. בְּאַשְׁרֵה Perhaps after him, l. 27 n. חָלְעִי Meaning doubtful. The Aram. לָעִי = לָאִי means to be wearied, e. g. Targ. Jon. Dt. 25 18 וּמִשְׁלֵהֵינּוּ וְעֵינָיו לָעִי wearied and faint. נִבְרָתָהּ his might, cf. נִבְרָתָא Dan. 2 20.

L. 33. נִרְבָּה To render his generosity (cf. Hebr. נִרְבָּה) does not give a suitable sense; his instigation is better, cf. Arab. نَدَبَ impel, incite (DHM). אַתְּ ? thou, 64 5. אֵלְכָא also, l. 17 n. יִשְׂרָה is some part of יִשְׂרָאֵל be straight. תִּהְרַגְתָּ thou shalt kill him. It is difficult to believe, as DHM does, that הָרַג can mean destroy (the monument).

L. 34. תִּחַק Apparently impf. 2 sing. of חָקַק inscribe (Eze. 23 14), perhaps rather thou shalt write of him, or inscribe on it; the context is not decisive. תִּלְבֵּן Pael impf. of לָבַן = לָמַד learn, לָמַד teach; cf. נִבְשׁ for נִבֵּשׁ l. 17 n. לְהַרְגֵּה Either inf. constr. to kill him, or impf. with ל that he kill him.

62. Zenjirli: Panammu. Between 745 and 727 B.C. Berlin.

- 1 נִצַּב · זֶן · שֵׁם · בִּרְכַב · לֵאבָה · לִפְנֵמו · בֵּר · בְּרַצַּר מֶלֶךְ [יֹאדִי] · ב ·
שֶׁנֶּת · קָל · [א] · בִּי · פְּנֵמוּ ב · .. ק
2 אבָה · פִּלְטוּה · אֵלָה · יֹאדִי · מִן · שַׁחְתָּה · אֵלָה · הוּת · בְּבֵית · אֲבוּה ·
וְקָם · אֵלָה · הוּדְרָ[ד] · ק · ... מִשְׁבָּה · עַל · ו · .. א · וּשְׁב · ו · שַׁחְתָּה · ...

- 3 בבית אבה וְהַרְגִּי אִבְהָא בְּרַצְרִי וְהַרְגִּי שְׁבַעִי :: איחִי אִבְהָא ל... ל.
 רַכֵּב : ה' : בְּךָ : עֵלְמָא : כְּ : בַּעֲלֵי : חַל : ל... מו : ...
 4 ויתרה : מת : מלא : מסגרת : והכבר : קירת : חרבת מן : קירת :
 ישבת : ו... נ... ק... ש... ש... חשמ.
 5 חרב : בביתי : ותהרגו : חד : בני : ואגם : הוית : חרב : בארק : יאדי :
 וחל : אל פנמו בר קרל : א... אבי : ס... ב... ר... אבר : ...
 6 שאה : ושורה : וחטה : ושערה : וקם : פרס : בשקל : ושטרב : ...
 בשקל : ואסנב : משת : בשקל : ויבל אבי : בר... : ...
 7 עד : מלך : אשור : ומלכה : על : בית : אבה : והרג : אבן : שחת : מן :
 בית : אבה : מן : אצר : ארק : יאדי : מן : ב... : ...
 8 ופשש : מסגרת : והרפי : שבי : יאדי : וק[ם] : אבי : והרפי : נשי :
 בם : ... : בא : בית : קתילת : וקנואל : ב... : ...
 9 בית : אבה : והיטבה : מן : קרמתה : וכברת : חטה : ושערה : ושאה :
 ושורה : ביומיה : ואז אכלת ושת : ... : ...
 10 זלת : מוכרו : וביומי : אבי : פנמו : שם : מת : בעלי : כפירי : ובעלי :
 רכב : ו... ח... ב... אבי : פנמו : במצעת : מלכי : כְּבִר... [א]
 11 בי : לו : בעל : כסף : הא : ולו : בעל : זהב : בחכמתה : ובצדקה : פי :
 אחז : בכנף : מ[ר]אה : מלך : אשור : ר... : ...
 12 אשור : פחי : ואחי : יאדי : וחנאה : מראה : מלך : אשור : על : מלכי :
 כבר ברש : ... : ...
 13 בגלגל : מראה : תגלתפלסר : מלך : אשור : מחנת : ה' : מן : מוקא :
 שמש : ועד : מערב : ו[מן] : ... : ...
 14 רבעתארק : ובנת : מוקא : שמש : יבל : מערב : ובנת : מערב : יבל :
 מוקא : שמש : ואבני : ... : ...
 15 גבלה : מראה : תגלתפלסר : מלך : אשור : קירת : מן : גבל : גרגם :
 ... 4. [וא]בי : פנמו : בר : ב[רצור] : ..

- 16 שמרג • וגם • מת • אבי • פנמו • בלגרי • מראה • תגלתפלסר • מלך •
 אשור • במחנת • גם
- 17 ובכיה • איחה • מלכו • ובכיתה • מחנת • מראה • מלך • אשור • כלה •
 ולקח • מראה • מלך • אשור ...
- 18 • נבשה • והקם • לה • משתי • בארח • והעבר • אבי • מן • רמשק •
 לאשר • ביומי • שר
- 19 יה • ביתה • כלה • ואנכי • ברכב • בר • פנמו • בצד • ק • אבי • ובצדקי •
 הושבני • מרא • י ...
- 20 אבי • פנמו • בר • ברצר • ושמת • נצב • זן • . [לאב] • י • לפנמו • בר •
 ברצר • ומ...ת • בט ...
- 21 ואמר • במשות • ועל • יבל • אמן • יסם • .. מלך • • יבל • יו • א •
 קדם • קבר • אבי • פנמו •] ...
- 22 חכר • זנה • הא • פא • הרד • ואל • ורכבאל • בעל • בית • ושמש •
 וכל • אלהי • יאדי ...
- 23 • קדם • אלהי • וקדם • אנש •

This statue Bar-rekub placed to his father Panammu, son of Bar-şur, king [of Ya'di]: ... year ... my [fa]ther Panammu ...² his father; the gods of Ya'di delivered him from his destruction. There was a conspiracy (?) in his father's house, and the god Had[ad] rose ... his seat (?) over (?) ... destruction ...³ in the house of his father, and slew his father Bar-şur, and slew seventy 70 kinsmen of his father . . chariots ... owner of ...⁴ and with the rest thereof indeed (?) he filled the prisons, and desolate cities he made more numerous than inhabited cities [ye] set (?)⁵ the sword against my house and slay one of my sons, I have also caused the sword to be in the land of Ya'di .. Panammu, son of QRL .. my father ... perished ...⁶ grain and corn and wheat and barley, and a peres stood at a shekel, and a shaṭrab .. at a shekel, and an 'esnab of ? at a shekel; and

my father brought . . . ⁷ to the king of Assyria, and he made him king over his father's house, and he slew ? of destruction from his father's house . . from the treasure . . . of the land (?) of Ya'di, from . . . ⁸ and he ? the prisons, and released the captives of Ya'di; and my father aro[se] and released the women of house of the women killed (?) and ? . . . ⁹ his father's house; and he made it better than it was before; and wheat and barley and grain and corn were plentiful in his days; and then . . . did eat and . . ¹⁰ cheapness of price (?). And in the days of my father Panammu he appointed indeed (?) ? ? and charioteers, and . . my father Panammu in the midst of the kings of ? . . ¹¹ my [fa]ther, whether he possessed silver or whether he possessed gold, in his wisdom and in his righteousness ? laid hold of the skirt of his lord the king of Assyria . . . ¹² Assyria, the governors, and the princes of Ya'di, and his lord the king of Assyria was gracious to (?) him above the kings of ? . . ¹³ at the wheel of his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, (in) the campaigns . . from the east even to the west, and [from] . . ¹⁴ the four parts of the earth; and the daughters of the east he brought to the west, and the daughters of the west he brought to the [ea]st, and [my] father . . . ¹⁵ his border, his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, cities from the border of Gurgum . . and my [fa]ther Panammu, son of B[ar-šur] . . . ¹⁶ ? Moreover my father Panammu died while following his lord Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, in the camp, also . . ¹⁷ and his kinsfolk bewailed him ?, and the whole camp of his lord the king of Assyria bewailed him, and his lord the king of Assyria took . . . ¹⁸ . his soul, and set up for him a ? on the way, and brought across my father from Damascus to (this) place (?). In my (?) days . . . ¹⁹ . the whole of his house. And as for me Bar-rekub, son of Panamm[u, for the righteous]ness of my father and for my own righteousness, [my] lord made me to sit . . . ²⁰ of my father Panammu, son of Bar-šur; and I have placed this statue . . to my [father] Panammu, son of Bar-šur . . . ²¹ and . said ? and concerning ? surety (?) . . king . . and ? . . before (?)

the sepulchre of my father Pa[nammu] . . . ²² and a memorial is this (?). Also may Hadad and El and Rekub-el, lord of the house, and Shamash, and all the gods of Ya'di . . . ²³ before the gods and before men!

The text given above is derived from the facsimile in *Ausgraben in Sendschirli*, and from the text as published by Lidzbarski in *Nordsem. Epigr.*

L. 1. 61 נצב זן; for שם נצב see 37 ז n. 63 בררכב prob. a short form of בררכבאל 61 ז n. 64 אבה Pronounced אבה as appears from אבה 1. 2; the full form is אבהי 76 A 5. D 1, in Nab. 82 2, in Palm. 110 3 &c., in Syr. ܐܒܗܝ. 65 ברער As in בררכב, the latter part of the compound is a divine name ער, which occurs in the biblical pr. n. מרעור Num. 1 10 &c., and in the place-name ביתר Josh. 15 58; see Gray *Hebr. Pr. Names* 195 ff. ¹ 61 ז. After שנת Sach. reads [נ]לם i. e. a Nif. form (not used in Aram.), and translates '[in remembrance] of the year when his father was delivered.'

L. 2. 62 פלסח One of the objects of the inscr. was to commemorate the deliverance of the king, cf. 1 3 f. For פלם, in Hebr. poetical, cf. Ps. 18 3. 44. 49. 63 אלה יארי Contrast אלהי 1. 22. Perhaps the ' at the end of אלה (constr. plur.) was left out here because יארי follows. 64 שחתה appears to be inf. constr. with suff., cf. 1. 7. 61 27 f., and see 61 18 n. 65 אלה Possibly = Hebr. אלה *oath*, here *conspiracy*, DHM approved by Nöld. The facsimile clearly gives אלה, but Lidzb. reads אח, a form of the relat. particle, cf. 1 (?) 66 רות 3 sing. fem. of רות, in Bibl. Aram. רות, רות. Perhaps the same word as in 61 15. 25.

L. 3. 67 אבה ברער *His father* is ambiguous; the suffix may refer to the murderer, another son of Bar-sur and brother of Panammu, or it may refer to Panammu, the murderer being some member of the royal household. The latter is preferable (DHM). 68 שבעי For the omission of final ן see 61 4 n., and cf. the forms of the tens (cardinals) in Assyr. *ērd, ʾaldā, hanā* &c., and in Eth. *saldā, ḥamsā* &c., and in late Syr. ܫܒܥܝܬ &c. On a basalt fragment found at Zenjirli the usual form occurs with the same numerical symbols as

¹ The connexion between this divine name and the title ער (ה) *the Rock* used of Yahweh in the O.T. (Dt. 32 4. 2 S. 23 3. Is. 17 10 &c.) is not clear. Very likely there is none; the title ער (ה) seems too purely figurative to have suggested the existence of a separate deity called *Rock*. The bibl. and post-bibl. references to ער are discussed by Wiegand in *ZATW* (1890) 85 ff.

here . . . מלכ[ן] : כשלש, Sach. 71. As an illustration of the massacre see Jud. 9 5. 2 K. 10 7. מיהי Apparently plur. constr.; see 61 24 n.

L. 4. ויתרה May be a verb (61 11 n.); but it is simpler to take it as a noun, cf. יתרו Is. 44 19; the suff. will then be sing. collective, referring to those who took part in the plot. For the two accus. after מלא cf. 1 K. 18 35. Eze. 9 7 & c. מסגרת Cf. Ps. 18 46. Mic. 7 17. For מות see 61 12 n. חרב Adj., cf. Eze. 36 35. ישבת Ptcp. pass. In Hebr. the Nif. ptcp. is used, e.g. Eze. 12 20 & c. חשמו DHM reads חשמו, and supposes that the speaker is the god Hadad, announcing a divine oracle.

L. 5. חר בני i. e. king Bar-sur; cf. Ps. 2 7. אנה See 61 8 n. חיה if it governs the foll. חרב must be Pael, *I caused to be, to fall*, cf. Arab. هوى *to fall*. The perf. after the impfs. in the preceding clause lays emphasis on the finality of the god's decision. מנמו בר קרל i. e. Panammu i, 61 1.

L. 6. שמה l. 9, prob. = *corn*, Assy. *šeu*. שורה The context requires some kind of *grain*. The use of the word here throws light upon Is. 28 25 חמה שורה ושערה, and shows that it is unnecessary to regard 61 חמי, שערי Cf. חמה ושערה as a corrupt repetition of שערה. שורה as a corrupt repetition of שורה. סאה סלה בשקל וסאתים 1 K. 7 2 for prices in a time of plenty cf. 2 K. 7 2. 6; for prices in these words the fem. ending ח (absol. state) is noticeable; cf. l. 22. 63 20. 61 18 n., and the usage of Bibl. Aram. and Nabataean. פרים lit. *half, a half mina*, cf. CIS ii 10 פרים, explained in the Assy. version as 'a half mina.' In Talm. B. *Peḏ* viii 5 פרים, as the context implies, = חצי מנה; cf. Dan. 5 25 פרים, and see Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* i 142 f. שקל = חקל, the ש as in early Aram. inscr. from Nineveh, CIS ii 13 f. 43, cf. שלש ib. 3. שטרב The name of a dry (?) measure. There are traces of a letter after ב; perhaps the full form was שטרבת. אסנב Cf. סנב CIS ii 7 a, in the Assy. version, 'two-thirds of a mina,' perhaps the Sumerian *sinibu*. משח The meaning *drink* (= משחית Dan. 5 10) is too indefinite, and *load, something carried* (משח a fem. form of משח) is equally vague. Lidzb. reads משח *oil for anointing*, cf. 76 C 1 (?) 147 ii a 12 ff.; but the facsimile shows a ח. חבל i. e. חבל Pael pf. = חבל, ll. 14. 21. The object of the verb was prob. some such word as 'a present.' In consequence of the famine Panammu sought the protection of the Assyrian king, and no doubt had to purchase it by a gift.

L. 7. מלכה Pael pf.; illustrate from 2 K. 24 17. אכן שחת is rendered by DHM *stone of destruction*, cf. Is. 8 14 אכן נגף. Such an expression sounds too rhetorical for an inscription; moreover, אכן is an uncertain reading. מן אצר The sentence may be completed

אֶרֶץ יָאֲדִי [אַלֶּה] *from the treasury of the gods of the land of Ya'di*. The reading אֶרֶץ is better supported by the facsimile than Lidzb.'s אֶלֶה. The passage may be illustrated by 2 K. 16 8; cf. 1 K. 14 26 &c.

L. 8. DHM renders *searched*, and compares מִשְׁפָּט in Targ. and Talm. A better meaning, *suppressed*, may be obtained through the Assy. *pasdsu* (פסס) = 'blot out,' 'extinguish,' esp. of sins. אֶפֶס הרפי Afel pf. of רָפִי, cf. חָרַפָה in Hebr., e.g. Cant. 3 4 אֶחָדָהּ וְלֹא אֶרְפֶּנּוּ Job 27 6. שְׂבִי יָאֲדִי Cf. שְׂבִי מִצְרַיִם Is. 20 4. קָחִילָה Ptcp. pass. plur. fem. The form קָחִיל agrees with the Arab. قَاتَلَ against the Hebr. and Aram. קָטַל; cf. פָּלַט Hebr., Aram. = Arab. قَاتَلَ. The meaning of קָחִיל is unknown.

L. 9. קִרְמָתָהּ Lit. *its former state*; cf. קִרְמָתָהּ Eze. 16 55. 36 11. אִתָּהּ then, or *whatever*; 81 7 n. אֶכְלָה cannot = *food*, for the fem. ending of nouns is ה in this inscr., e.g. חֶמֶה &c. The form seems to be perf. 3 sing. fem. רָשָׁתָהּ if these letters are correct, may be restored רָשָׁתָהּ or וְשָׁתָהּ and *did drink*. The subj. of both verbs is perhaps [יָאֲדִי], though in 81 9 יָאֲדִי is mas., or [אַרְקָא].

L. 10. זָלָה may be explained by the Talm. זָלָה *be cheap*, זָלָה *cheapness*, e.g. Midr. Rab. Qoh. 10 c זָלָה אוֹכֵל בְּזוֹלָה; Bab. Qam. 20 a זָלָה אוֹכֵל בְּזוֹלָה *value of barley at a cheap price*. רָמִי שְׁעוֹרִין בְּזוֹלָה The form is uncertain; DHM explains it as absol. st. of מוכרותא = Hebr. מָכַר Num. 20 19. שָׁמַל The subj. seems to be the king of Assyria. בְּעָלִי may well mean *charioteers*, cf. הָרִכָב וּבְעָלֵי הַפָּרָשִׁים S. 1 6; but בְּעָלִי can hardly mean *villagers, citizens of villages* (see 10 3 n.) in this connexion. To render *lords over chariots, lords over villages*, gives an unusual meaning to בְּעָלִי *owner*, but it may be illustrated by Is. 16 8. The meaning of כְּפִירִי is uncertain; see 81 10 n. חֲשָׁבָהּ Hal. restores וְחֲשָׁבָהּ and *was esteemed* which involves a Nifal form (l. 1 n.); Lidzb. חֲשָׁבָהּ See 81 28 n. The last letter looks like ח or ה in the facsimile; but חֲשָׁבָהּ makes no sense. מְלִכִי כְּבָר 1. 12. כְּבָר may be the name of a place, cf. עִיר כְּבָר Eze. 1 1 &c., or a noun, *might*; cf. the verb כָּבַד l. 4.

L. 11. לוֹ . . . לוֹ *sive . . . sive*; for לוֹ see 81 13 n. It is questionable whether לוֹ could have been written for the negative לֹא, as many take it. The general sense appears to be, 'my father, whatever the state of his exchequer (or, however wealthy he may have been), was prudent enough to seek the patronage of a powerful suzerain.' Cf. 63 10 f. מִי Not *my mouth*, which would be מִי 81 29. Lidzb. takes מ as the conjunction, and reads מִיָּאֶחָד; but the impf. is out of place here, and the facsimile distinctly shows the dividing dot after מִי.

Possibly **מִי** may be an unusual form of the conjunction, = **מֵא** l. 22. **אֲחֻז בְּכִנְיָ** is a figure for seeking alliance and protection, cf. Zech. 8 23. **מֵרָא** From **מֵרָא** 63 3 (constr. st.) with suff., cf. 76 A 7. In later Aram. the 3rd radical disappears before a suff., e. g. in Palm. **מֵרָא** 126 2 &c., though it is retained in the Nab. form **מֵרָאנָא** 81 8 &c., and in the Bibl. Aram. **מֵרָא** Dan. 4 16. 21 Kethib.

L. 12. **מֵרָא** must be regarded as plur. absol., not constr., and as equivalent to the Hebr. **מַלְכֵי** (sing. **מֶלֶךְ**), Assy. *paḥḏi* 'viceroy'; see Schrader *COT* 186. **מֵרָא** Prob. 'members of the royal family, lit. brethren, of Ya'di.' **מֵרָא** is apparently a title like **מֵרָא** l. 3. **מֵרָא** Possibly Pael perf. with suff. 3 sing. mas. from **מֵרָא** = **מֵרָא** *encamp*; 'he gave him a position in the Assyrian camp above the kings of **מֵרָא**.' The suzerain was attended on his campaigns by dependent kings; cf. 1 K. 20 1. 12. 16. But the rendering *caused him to encamp* is uncertain; and as the context in 61 19 hardly admits *I encamped* as the sense of **מֵרָא**, it is perhaps better in both cases to take the forms from **מֵרָא** *be gracious* (DHM), although the **א** is difficult to explain. **מֵרָא** על **מֵרָא** Illustrate from 2 K. 25 28.

L. 13. **מֵרָא** 63 8 the same word as the Hebr. **מֵרָא**, properly the *wheel* of a chariot, Is. 5 28. Jer. 47 3, or the *chariot* itself; illustrate from 1 K. 20 33. 2 K. 10 15. 16. The missing verb was prob. *and he caused me to ride*, or *and I ran* (63 8). **מֵרָא** So written in 2 K. 16 7; elsewhere **מֵרָא** 2 K. 15 29. 16 10; in 63 3. 6 **מֵרָא**. For the history of this warlike and successful king see Schrader *COT* 240 ff. **מֵרָא** Prob. plur. rather than constr. sing. as in ll. 16. 17. The meaning here is *armies* or *campaigns* (DHM) rather than *camps*; cf. Jud. 4 15 f. 1 K. 22 34 &c. **מֵרָא** must be governed by some verb now lost. **מֵרָא** = **מֵרָא**, see 61 5 n. In Hebr. **מֵרָא** is used of the sun rising, Gen. 19 23. Ps. 19 7. For **מֵרָא** . . . **מֵרָא** cf. Ps. 75 7.

L. 14. **מֵרָא** Cf. 63 4 **מֵרָא** (plur. constr.). The latter expression shows that **מֵרָא** (Hebr. **מֵרָא** *one fourth*) is plur. and not sing.; cf. the Assy. *ṣar kibrat irbilli* or *arba'i* 'king of the four quarters,' a title used by Tiglath-pileser and the kings before and after him; *KB* ii 2. 8. 34 &c. **מֵרָא** The allusion is prob. to the transportation of subject nations, a characteristic feature of Assyrian policy. **מֵרָא** may be used figuratively for 'peoples' (cf. 'daughter of Zion'), or simply *women*.

L. 15. The connexion between this and the line before was prob., 'my father rendered him military service, and his lord . . . added to his border cities &c.' (DHM). **מֵרָא** *Gurgum* or *Gamgum*, mentioned

in inscr. of Salmanassar ii, *KB* i 156. 172, a principality to the NE. of Sam'al among the border mountains between Syria and Cilicia, bounded by the districts of Kommagene (Assyr. *Kummuh*) and Melitene (*Milid*) on the NE. In the Annals of Tiglath-pileser iii the name occurs between *Samal* and *Milid*, *KB* ii 30. The chief town was *Marqasi* (CIS ii p. 15) = מַרְקַשׁ = مَرْعَش; we may conclude that the Amanus district round Mar'ash formed the kingdom of Gurgum; Sachau *Sitzungsber. Preuss. Akad.* (1892) pp. 320 ff.

L. 16. שְׁמֵרִי Prob. a pr. n.; cf. שְׁמֵרִי Jud. 5 6, and p. 80 n. וְנָם 61 8 n. בְּלֵרִי By metathesis for בְּרֵנִי; cf. in Mandaic לֵירָא = בְּרֵנִי, אַרְקָא = حَمْدَان scorpion, Nöld. *Mand. Gram.* 74. בְּלֵרִי Lit. at the feet of; cf. for the idiom Jud. 4 10. 1 S. 25 27 &c.

L. 17. וּבְכִיָּה i. e. prob. וּבְכִיָּה Pael pf. 3 sing., cf. 65 5 בְּכֹתִי. The construction of the words following is obscure. אִיחָה, though sing. in form (61 30), must have a plur. meaning; it may be regarded as a sing. collective. DHM takes מְלֹכוֹ as מְלֹכוֹתָא, cf. 61 11; but his royal kinsmen would be מְלֹכוֹ וְאִיחָה. Lidzb. simplifies the difficulty by rendering his kinsmen, the kings; apparently treating the abstract singular form as equivalent to a concrete plur., like אֱלֹהֵי in 61 2 (uncertain). כֹּלָּה The suff. is fem., referring back to וּבְכִיָּה. מִחַנֵּת מ' ביחָה כֹּלָּה 1. 19, cf. 1. 19 ביחָה כֹּלָּה, in Syr. حَمْدَان Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 218, in Hebr. Is. 9 8. Jer. 13 19 &c., in Arab. الْبَيْتُ كُلُّ Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 82 (a); cf. 89 5 n.

L. 18. נִבְשָׁה See 61 17 n. מִשְׁתֵּי i. e. וְהָקֵם. if correct, will = מִשְׁתֵּה feast, a meaning which hardly agrees with . . . וְהָקֵם. Hal. reads מִשְׁכִּי (שָׁכַח), a possible alternative, and compares מִשְׁכִּי Lev. 26 1. Num. 33 52, i. e. a figured stone with an image of a god; this gives a suitable sense. The reading מִבְּכִי a weeping (Sach. &c.) is not that of the facsimile. The passage finds a striking illustration in Gen. 50 7-13. וְהָעֵבֶר אֲבִי מִן דְּמִשְׁק The subj. of the verb is Tiglath-pileser, who was engaged upon the siege of Damascus in 733-2 B.C. After 732 he returned home, and no further expedition to Syria is recorded; see Schrader *COT* 258 f. לְאִשְׁרֵי i. e. prob. to his native place. Panammu would naturally desire to be buried in his own country; cf. Gen. 47 29 f. 50 25. Ex. 13 19. Josh. 24 32.

L. 19. בְּרִכְבִּי A careless spelling of בְּרִכְבִּי. אֲנִי . . . וְהָשִׁבֵּנִי The casus pendens, with the pers. pron. as subject; similarly in Hebr. Gen. 24 27 &c.; Driver *Tenses* § 197 (4). The form אֲנִי (61 1 אֲנִי), a stranger to Aram., is a peculiar feature of this dialect; see

- 6 וּמְרָאִי תִגְלַת־פִּלְסֶר עַל־
 7 כְּרִסָּא אָבִי וּבֵית אָבִי ע
 8 מַל מֶן כָּל וְרִצַּת בְּגִלְגַּל־
 9 מְרָאִי מֶלֶךְ אֲשׁוּר בְּמִצַּע
 10 ת מַלְכָּן רַבְרַבִּין בְּעָלִי כ
 11 סָף וּבְעָלִי זָהָב וְאַחֲזֹת
 12 בֵּית אָבִי וְהִיטְבַּתָּה
 13 מֶן בֵּית חָד מַלְכָּן רַבְרַב
 14 ן וְהִתְנַאֲבוּ אֲחֵי מַלְכֵי
 15 א לָכֵל מָה טַבַּת בֵּיתִי ו
 16 בִּי טַב לִישָׁה לְאַבְהִי מ
 17 לְכִי שִׁמְאָל הָא בֵּית כָּלֻם
 18 ו לָהֶם פָּהָא בֵּית שְׁתּוּא ל
 19 הֶם וְהָא בֵּית כִּי־צָא ו
 20 אָנָה בְּנִית בִּיתָא זָנָה

I am Bar-rekub, ² son of Panammu, king of Sam'al, servant of Tiglath-pileser lord ⁴ of the four parts of the earth. For the righteousness of my father and for my own righteousness ⁶ my lord Rekub-el ⁶ and my lord Tiglath-pileser made me to sit upon ⁷ the throne of my father. And my father's house laboured more than all: and I ran at the wheel ⁹ of my lord, the king of Assyria, in the midst ¹⁰ of mighty kings, possessors of ¹¹ silver and possessors of gold. And I took ¹² the house of my father, and made it better ¹³ than the house of any of the mighty kings ¹⁴; and my brethren the kings coveted (?) ¹⁵ all the prosperity of my house. And ¹⁶ a good house (?) ¹⁷ my fathers, the kings of Sam'al, did not possess; it was a house of ? ¹⁸ to them, and it was their summer house ¹⁹ and it was a winter house; so ²⁰ I built this house.

This inscr. belongs not to a statue, like 61 and 62, but to a building—the new palace built by Bar-rekub. It was found in 1891 on the *Tell* of Zenjirli. On the left side of the inscr. is a figure of the king in Assyrian style carved in relief, holding a lotus flower in his hand. Another fine relief of Bar-rekub has been found at Zenjirli: the king is seated on his throne, with a eunuch behind and a scribe in front of him. On the right, and at the level of the king's crown, is carved the inscr. אנה בררכב בר מנמ [ו]. In the middle of the monument, between the head of the king and that of the eunuch, is the symbol of the lunar deity, a full moon and crescent; at the right of it runs the legend מראי בעלחרן i.e. 'My lord is Ba'al of Harran.' Harran, in N. Mesopotamia, possessed the great temple of Sin, the Assyr. moon-god; and this was no doubt the deity whom Bar-rekub worshipped; see 64 9 n. Halévy *Rev. Séém.* (1895) 392 ff.; Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 213, *Rec.* ii § 40, *Album d'Ant. Or.* Pl. xlv (facsimile).

L. 1. אנה l. 20. 68 1. 78 A 3; contrast אני 61 1. 62 19. The Aram. character of the dialect is more strongly marked in this inscr. than in the two preceding ones. בררכב The same person as the donor of 62; he was reigning prob. in the years 732–727 B. C.

L. 2. מלך שמואל The outline of the history of Sam'al may be traced in Assyr. inscrr. for about 233 years. It is first mentioned, as a country, by Salmanassar ii (860–825 B. C.), who defeated a coalition of N. Syrian kings at the beginning of his reign, *KB* i 156 f.: Sam'al was then an independent state. It is mentioned next by Tiglath-pileser iii in 738 and 734 B. C., as a town, with a king Panammu, *KB* ii 20. 30: at this period it became tributary. Then, in 681 B. C., the provincial governor of Sam'al gave his name to the first year of Asarhaddon (681–668 B. C.), Smith *Eponym. Canon* 68; and in 670 Asarhaddon made Sam'al a halting-place on his return from Egypt. By this time it had become part of the Assyrian empire. Lastly, the name appears in two lists of Syrian towns, temp. Ašurbanipal (668–626 B. C.), which must have been written before the end of his reign, Rawlinson *Cun. Inscrr. of W. Asia* ii 53 1. 43; 53 3 l. 61; Sachau 58 ff. The situation of Sam'al may be inferred from the occurrence of the name in the inscrr. between Gurgum (62 15 n.) and Patin or Hamath (*KB* i 156; ii 20. 30); it lay in the country between the rivers Pyramos on the N. and Orontes on the S., at the foot of the Amanus mountains. The name has a Semitic sound, and perhaps, like the Hebr. שמאל, means *left*, geographically *north*. In this inscr. Bar-rekub, son of Panammu ii, calls himself 'king of Sam'al' and his ancestors 'kings of Sam'al' ll. 2. 16 f., but

Panammu ii is styled 'king of Ya'di' in 62, and likewise Panammu i in 61. The question arises, what is the relation between the two districts or cities? Sam'al, it seems, was ruled by the dynasty of Panammu ii and Bar-rekub; Tiglath-pileser speaks of 'Panammu of Sam'al' (supr.); and we may suppose that Ya'di, which had Panammu i for its king in an earlier generation (see 61 i n.), was attached to the neighbouring state of Sam'al in the time of Panammu ii, perhaps as a reward for his fidelity to the king of Assyria. The fact that a king of Sam'al and a king of Ya'di bore the same name, though belonging to different families, may be merely accidental or due to some previous alliance by marriage (Winckler *Allor. Forsch.* i 15 ff.). It is curious, however, that Bar-rekub, if he ruled over both places, in 62 makes no mention of Sam'al, and in 63 says nothing about Ya'di. Whether Zenjirli belonged to Ya'di or to Sam'al in ancient times is not clear; for both 62 (יאדי) and 63 (שמאל) were found there. The Hadad statue (61), which was found at Gerjin near Zenjirli, was certainly a product of Ya'di. Winckler argues that Zenjirli and Gerjin belonged to Ya'di, and were situated near the southern border of Sam'al, the neighbouring state.

L. 3. עבר תולתפליסר See 62 13 n.; illustrate from 2 K. 16 7.

L. 4. רבעתארק ארקא In 62 14 רבעתארק ארקא is a clear instance of the emphatic state, cf. מלכיא l. 14. ביתא l. 20, and perhaps שחוא, שחוא ll. 18 f. In 61 and 62 this characteristic Aram. usage does not occur.

בצדק אבי Cf. 62 19.

L. 5. רכבאל See 61 2 n.

L. 7. כרסא See 15 2 n. עטל Perf. 3 sing. or ptc., probably *laboured, toiled*, as in Aram., Arab., and late Hebr.; כן will then have a comparative sense. Bar-rekub claims that his family was the most zealous of all the princely houses in the service of the suzerain.

L. 8. ורצת בולל Lit. *I ran at the wheel*, i. e. followed the chariot; cf. 62 13, and contrast 1 S. 8 11 מרכבתו ורצו לפני.

L. 9. במצעת See 61 28 n.

L. 10. מלכן רברבן The form of the plur. is clearly Aram.; see 61 4 n. The reduplicated form of רב is common in the Targ., רברבא; in Syr. ܪܒܪܒܐ. בעלי כסף ונ' Cf. 62 11; בעל in this sense is frequent in the O. T., e. g. Qoh. 5 10. 12 &c.

L. 12. והימבתה Perhaps out of spoils of the campaign; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 103.

L. 13. חר See 61 27 n.

L. 14. ותנאבו is a double reflexive form, Ethnafal, from אבה or

from יאב (i.e. יהנאב), the latter being frequent in Syr. in the Ethpa. ܝܒܐ, in Hebr. Ps. 119 יאבתי. The meaning is prob. *they wished for themselves*, i.e. *coveted*. Hoffm. compares the Assy. Ittanafal form in *ittanabrig* 'flash forth,' and the Ethiop. reflexive with prefixed *lau* (Dillmann *Gram. Äth. Spr.*³ 150). Sachau unnecessarily supposes an error for הוחרבו. מלכיא See l. 4 n.

L. 15. לכל מה The ל is governed by הוחרבו; מה adds a vaguely intensifying force to כל, as the Arab. لا after an indef. noun; in Palm. כלמא 147 i 12. מכת Either sing. מכת or plur. מכות.

L. 16. בי is perhaps for בית, the final ת being dropped; it is difficult to obtain sense if בי is the prep. with suff. ליש i.e. ליש *there was not*, with suff. 3 sing. mas., ליש, without the final ך; cf. קרמוה 85 2 for קרמוהי. ליש is a contracted form of יש לא, cf. the Arab. لَيْسَ (inflected like a verb), Aram. לִיִּשׁ, Mand. יִישׁ, and the Assy. *lā isū* 'is not,' 'has not.' In the second Nêrab inscr. the negative shows the same tendency to assimilate itself to the word following and to lose the א, thus לאחאחו 65 4. לשמו 6. לחרנם 8. אבחי Plur. with suff., cf. אֲבָחֵי Dan. 2 23. For the ה inserted cf. שִׁמְחָה from שִׂמְחָה Ezr. 5 4, and 9 3 n.

L. 17. בית in this and the foll. lines means *palace* more naturally than *mausoleum*. כלמו Perhaps = Assy. *kaldmu* 'all,' 'of every kind.' 'A house of totality' will then mean 'a single house' or 'a house for everything'; it was the only palace which Bar-rekub's ancestors possessed. Another possible explanation is that כלמו stands by metathesis for מלכות = מלכו 'a royal palace,' see 62 17 n.; so Hoffm., Cl.-Gan., Lidzb.(?).

L. 18. להם with the suff. הם for הן; so in Egypt. Aram., e.g. במנהם 76 A 1; in Nab., e.g. להם 85 2. בניחם 89 5; in B. Aram., e.g. Jer. 10 11 and Ezr. (by the side of הן, but Dan. has only הן); and in Targ. Ps.-Jon. שחוא = Arab. شِئَاء, Hebr. סחיו Cant. 2 11.

L. 19. כיצא = קיצא, cf. ימלוק = ימלוק 64 11. קרצי = כרצי 75 2; similarly the Arab. كَرِض = Hebr. צחק, Mand. כושמא = Hebr. קשט. For the winter and summer palace cf. Am. 3 15 בית החרף, בית הקיץ, and Jer. 36 22. כיצא = Aram. קיצא, Arab. كَيْض.

L. 20. ביתא See l. 4 n.

Additional note on the dialect of the Zenjirli inscriptions.

There can be no doubt that this dialect belongs to the Aramaic, rather than to any other branch of the Semitic family. Thus the words אברו, רברבן, קרם, פם, מרא, מעע(ח), כרסא, חר, בר, ארק, אנה

64. Nêrab 1. Prob. vii cent. B. C. Louvre.

| | | |
|---------------------------|---------|----|
| ששנורבן | כמר | 1 |
| שהר | בנרב מת | 2 |
| חנה | צלמה | 3 |
| ואר | צתה | 4 |
| מן | את | 5 |
| תהנס | צלמא | 6 |
| זנה | וארצתא | 7 |
| מן | אשרה | 8 |
| שהר ושמש ונכל ונשך יסחו | | 9 |
| שמך ואשרך מן חין ומות לחה | | 10 |
| יכטלוך ויהאבדו זרעך והן | | 11 |
| תנצד צלמא וארצתא זא | | 12 |
| אחרה | ינצד | 13 |
| זי לך | | 14 |

Of Sin-zir-ban, priest ² of Sahar in Nêrab, deceased. ³ And this is his image ⁴ and his couch. ⁵ Whosoever thou art ⁶ that shalt plunder this image ⁷ and couch ⁸ from its place, ⁹ may Sahar and Shamash and Nikal and Nusk pluck ¹⁰ thy name and thy place out of life, and with a ? death ¹¹ kill thee, and cause thy seed to perish ! But if ¹² thou shalt protect this image and couch, ¹³ may another protect ¹⁴ thine !

The two inscr. 64 and 65 were found in 1891 at Nêrab, a small village SE. of Aleppo. They accompany the bas-reliefs of two priests of the local sanctuary, finely executed in the Assyrian manner and singularly well preserved. No. 64 represents the priest Sin-zir-ban, with hands raised and joined in prayer; the upper part of the inscr. surrounds the head and hands, the lower part is written across the robe. The writing is not so archaic and rigid as that of the Zenjirli

inscr., while it belongs to an earlier stage than that of the inscr. from Têma (69. 70). An indication of date is afforded by the names of the deities mentioned. They are clearly Assyrian; and 'the moon-god at Nêrab,' the chief deity of the place, can be none other than the Assyrian Sin, whose great temple was at Harran. The worship of Sin had already made its way from Harran to N. Syria in the time of Bar-rekub, before 727 B.C. (see p. 182); and from the same quarter it found a home at Nêrab. The temple at Harran was destroyed by the Medes in 605 and restored by Nabonid in 552. Cl.-Ganneau, with much plausibility, dates these monuments from this period. He suggests that after the catastrophe of 605, Nêrab offered the hospitality of a shrine to the moon-god and his allied divinities (*Ét.* ii 222).

L. 1. ששנורבן The first letter is not distinctly cut, but the traces are clear enough to justify the reading (Lidzb., Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 106 f.). This ש must be the relative and sign of the genitive; cf. 65 1, and similarly in Phoen., at the head of an inscr., 39 2 n. In Aram. we should expect וי at this period (e. g. כספא וי CIS ii 70); but the usage here is perhaps influenced by the Assy. *Ja* (possessive). שנורבן The name is Assy., *Sin-sir-ban* 'Sin has created a son,' a suitable name for a priest of שר = Sin, the moon-god; cf. *Marduk-sir-bāni* CIS ii 18 end. כמר 65 1. 69 23. b 2; Nab. 98 4; Syr. ܦܫܡܝܢ; NPun. 55 7 (see n.). The כמר may be connected with the Assy. *ka-māru* 'lay prostrate,' hence כמר *priest*, lit. 'one who prostrates himself.'

L. 2. שחר i. e. *the moon*; Aram. סחר, סחר, סחר; Arab. شهر; cf. Hebr. שְׁחָרִים 'moon-shaped ornaments,' Jud. 8 21. 26. Is. 3 18; see further on l. 9. שחר הנר the moon-god at Nêrab 65 1. For the expression see 24 2 n.; it implies that the deity was imported from elsewhere. נר is still called النير. Three places of this name were known to antiquity, this one near Aleppo, another near Sermin (27½ m. SE. of Aleppo), and a third near Damascus. Nireb is mentioned in the list of Thothmes iii, *Rec. of the Past*, new ser., v 33; and Stephanus Byz. s. v. Νήραβος gives πόλις Συρίας, possibly, but not certainly, referring to the Nêrab here. It is not unlikely that Nêrab acknowledged the suzerainty of Assyria at this period, judging from the strongly marked impress of Assyrian influence on these inscriptions.

L. 3. נה See add. note ii p. 26.

L. 4. ארצתה l. 7 ארצתא = ערשתא (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 196, Lidzb.) lit. *couch*, here *sarcophagus* 65 8, cf. Dt. 3 11 ערש ברזל; Palm. ערשא = *αλίνη*, Inscr. of Tayyibe, p. 296 n. 1. For the orthography cf. *عسقلان* = *אשקלון*, Inscr. of Athar (عثر) is *holy* CIS ii 312 (Hoffm. *ZA* xi 2 11), and in

Mand. אַמטא = עטמא = עצם, Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 58 n. For צ = ש cf. יצחק and יצחק.

L. 5 f. את תהנס Cf. 65 8, the indefinite rel. מן as in Nab. 94 5 מן כל די, and in Palm. 147 ii a 34. 45 ff. מן די. Cl.-Gan. finds a similar construction in 4 3 מן אדם אש תפס; but see note in loc. The general sense of תהנס 65 8. 9 is clear from the context, but the etymology is uncertain. The form may be explained as the Hafel, or rather Peal, impf. of תהנס = אַמס *carry off by force, rob*, a root frequent in the Targums, the ת being written for א as הִיך for אִיך for חָלוּ, אִיך for חָלוּ, אִיך for חָלוּ; so Hoffm. 212. Or it may be the Hafel impf. apocopated of נָסא = נָסא (cf. 5 5) treated as a לָח verb, with the ת retained in Hafil as in תִּאכְרוּ l. 11 (Cl.-Gan. 197 f.). The first explanation is perhaps preferable.

L. 8. אַשר Cf. 61 27 n. Note that ש, as in the dialect of Zenjirli, here = Aram. ת = Arab. ت; see p. 185.

L. 9. שחר ושמש ותכל ונשך 65 9. Sahar (l. 2 n.) is the Aram. equivalent of the Assy. Sin, the moon-god (שַׁחַר mas.) of Ḥarran. Not only Sahar, but the other gods of Nērab are Assyrian in origin. Thus Sin, Shamash, [Nergal], Nusku are invoked along with other deities, and in this order, by Salmanassar ii and frequently by Ašurbanipal, e. g. *KB* i 130. ii 154 f. 176 ff. 210. 216 ff. &c. In the cylinder from Abū-Habba (Sippar) Nabonid, 555-538 B.C., records how he rebuilt I-ḥul-ḥul, the temple of Sin at Ḥarran, which had been founded by Salmanassar ii and refounded by Ašurbanipal. In connexion with his work of restoration, Nabonid calls upon these same gods in the order Sin, Ningal (instead of Nergal), Shamash, [Ishtar], Nusku; *KB* iii 2 100 f. We may conclude, therefore, that along with Sin, these other deities, associated with the moon-god, were imported from Ḥarran. The god Shamash has been found already at Zenjirli, see 61 2 n. Nikal is no doubt the same as Ningal mentioned by Nabonid, the n being assimilated, and the k interchanged with g, as in *Tukulti* = תַּנְלִי in תַּנְלִי; moreover Jensen (*ZA* xi 296 f.) shows that the Sumerian NIN-GAL would be pronounced by the Assyrians *Nikal* or *Nikkal*. This form actually occurs as the name of the goddess, 𐎶𐎵𐎶, worshipped at Ḥarran in *The Doctrine of Addai*, ed. Phillips 24 l. 17; and the same passage enumerates the other gods, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 the eagle, prob. a copyist's misreading of נִשְׁך in the original, 𐎶𐎵𐎶 the moon-god, and 𐎶𐎵𐎶 the sun-god. In the inscr. of Nabonid, l. c., Ningal (= Nikal) is said to be the consort of Sin, and 'the mother of the great gods.' Nusku, the son of Sin, was a fire-god, the messenger of Bel; Jensen l. c. 295, Jastrow *Rel. of*

Bab. and Assy. 220 f. The above argument is clearly stated by Cl.-Gan. 211-221. יסחו From נסח *tear out*, cf. יסחו ורעה ושמו. 69 14 (optative). Ezr. 6 11; in Hebr. Pr. 2 22. Ps. 52 7 &c. For the impf. 3 plur. in *l* for *ln* cf. יהאברו l. 11. 65 9, and see 61 4 n.

L. 10. מן חין *from life* rather than *from the living*, the plur. being in the absol. state, and having an abstract sense, like זקנים &c.; cf. וסוח and unto life CIS ii 163 d. ארכה בחין Dan. 7 12. לחה A second accus. of manner after the direct obj. in יכטלוך l. 11; cf. Mal. 3 24 והכיתי את הארץ חרם. Ps. 64 8 חץ חץ. The meaning of לחה is unknown. Various explanations are possible: thus, a *destructive death*, Syr. *ܠܚܐ* *destroy*; a *death in full vigour*, Hebr. לח *fresh*, cf. חבא לח אלי קבר *Ber. Rab. § 79*; an *ignominious death*, Arab. *ملحى* *ignominious*. The general sense must be the same as יהבאשו ממתתה 65 9 f.

L. 11. With כ for p cf. כיצא 68 19, נשח = *ܢܫܚ* *archer* &c., Wright *Comp. Gr.* 50. ויהאברו For the ה retained in Hafel impf. cf. יהבאשו 65 9. [הנ] 69 21, and the usage in B. Aram., יהשפל Dan. 7 24. יהנן Ezr. 4 13. The Peal of אבר occurs in 65 10.

L. 12. תנצר As in the Zenzirli inscr., צ = Hebr. צ = Aram. ט = Arab. ط; cf. כיצא 68 19, and see p. 185. The נ is not assimilated; cf. Ps. 61 8 &c., יסחווי 69 14, and contrast יסחו l. 9.

L. 13. אחרה 65 8 a curious form, not easy to account for. Hoffm., 213 ff., points it *אֲחֶרָה*, an older form of *אֲחֶרֶן*, with ה- added to the root as in *רָעָה* (from *רָעָה*), *לִבְנָה*, *אִשָּׁה*; then, he says, to this *ohoré* was added the nominal ending ך. The addition ה- to a triliteral root is, however, a very rare occurrence, and it is doubtful whether it would be attached to such a common word as *אחר*. It seems much more likely that *אחרה* is merely the emphatic form, with ה for א, *אחרה* being an early form of the usual *אחורנא*, *ܐܚܪܢܐ*.

65. Nêrab 2. Prob. same date as 64. Louvre.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| שאגבר כמר שהר בנרב | 1 |
| זנה צלמה בצדקתי קדמה | 2 |
| שמני שם טב והארך יומי | 3 |
| ביום מתת פמי לאתאחז מן מלן | 4 |
| ובעיני מחזה אנה בני רבע בכונ | 5 |

6 י והום אתהמו ולשמו עמי מאן
 7 כסף ונחש עם לבשי שמוני למען
 8 לאחרה לטהנס ארצתי מן את תעשק
 9 ותהנסני שהר ונכל ונשך יהבאשו
 10 ממתתה ואחרתה תאבד

Of Agbar, priest of Sahar in Nêrab: ²this is his image. For my righteousness before him ³he gave me a good name and prolonged my days. ⁴In the day that I died my mouth was not closed from words; ⁵and with my eyes what do I see? Children of the fourth generation! They wept ⁶for me, and were utterly distracted (?). And they did not lay with me any vessel ⁷of silver or bronze; with my shroud they laid me, so that ⁸for another(?) thou shouldest not plunder my couch. Whosoever thou art that shalt injure ⁹and plunder me—may Sahar and Nikal and Nusk make his death miserable, ¹⁰and may his posterity perish!

The priest Agbar is represented sitting, in the act of offering a libation before an altar. Facing him from behind the altar stands an attendant, holding a fan. The treatment of the scene recalls an Egyptian funeral rite, but the style of the figures is thoroughly Assyrian.

L. 1. שאבבר For ש see 64 1 n. The name *Agbaru* occurs in an Assy.-Aram. inscr., CIS ii 42 end; cf. the name of a chief in the Amanus district, *Gabbari*, *KB* i 162. The title as in 64 1.

L. 2. בצדקתי See 62 19 n. 3 9. קדמו before him, 62 21; or the suff. cf. אבחו 62 2. 1 n., Palm. Vogüé 21. 80 4.

L. 3. שם נעם Cf. שם נעם 6. חארך יומי Cf. 3 9.

L. 4. מותח Prob. perf. 1 sing., מִתְחַ. If the form were a noun, the suff. 1 sing. would be needed. לאתאחז In this inscr. ל is written for לא לשמו l. 6. לתהנס l. 8. 63 16 n. אתאחז is the Ethpeal of אחז = Syr. ܐܚܝܐ (see p. 185) to be closed, hindered from . . . , e. g. ܐܚܝܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ Eze. 33 22, sometimes followed by ܐܚܝܐ, as here. The general sense may be illustrated by Deut. 34 7.

L. 5. מוחה אנה Oratio directa: 'מ' = קח what? or how? For the abbreviation cf. ממו 61 3. 4. 22. חוח is the ptc. = קִיּוּחַ. רבע = Hebr. רבעים Ex. 20 5. 34 7 &c. בכתי i. e. פִּכְתִּי Pael perf. 3 plur.

with suff.; cf. בכיה 62 17. The perf. 3 plur. in this dialect ends in *4*, not *4n*, e. g. שמו 1. 6, cf. קמו 61 2. נחנו ib. 20; read, therefore, בכתי, not בכן. Before the suff. the *ן* of the 3 plur. reappears, e. g. שמוני 1. 7. Hoffm. (l. c. 224) reads בכן as = בכתי; but in this inscr. the suff. is always written.

L. 6. ורום אחרמו Lidzb.'s explanation of these difficult words may be accepted provisionally (*Eph.* i 193). He takes רום as an abstr. noun used as infin. abs., and אחרמו as Ethpe. pf. 3 plur. of רום lit. *murmur, discomfit*, fig. *be distracted*, as in Hebr. e. g. Ps. 55 3. Hoffm. suggests ירום מאחרמו בכן 'they wept for me—Oh woe!—the hundred of them,' taking ירום as = ירום, Heb. רווי, Syr. ܪܘܝܐ, ܪܘܝܐ, and מאחרמו as = מאחרמו (cf. חלקתהון Dan. 3 23); the form of the suff. is unusual, and must be treated as a case of the separate pron. הומו (76 B 4) being used as a suff., cf. Hebr. אלהיך Eze. 40 16. 1 11. 78 B 2; Kautzsch *Lehrg.* ii 447. ורשמו i. e. ורשמו. Cf. Dan. 5 5. 4 5 n. 5 5.

L. 7. למען = Hebr. לְמַעַן *in order that*.

L. 8. לאחר לחאם The construction gives difficulty. It is natural to suppose that אחרה and לחאם are the same forms as in 64 6. 13. Taking the ל with both words as the negative, repeated for emphasis, we may render: 'in order that thou—other one—shouldst not plunder.' But such a construction is almost intolerably harsh; the ל with אחרה may be the prep., *for another* (dat. commodi). כן אח See 64 5 n.

L. 9. For the gods see 64 9 n. הרבאש The Hafel as in 64 11 n. The √ באש occurs in all the cognate languages, Aram. ܒܐܝܫ, be evil, cf. באיש 75 2; Arab. باس ib.; Assy. ܒܝܫ 'evil'; Hebr. באש stink.

L. 10. ממתח *his manner of death*; the change of persons after את 1. 8 is curious. For the meaning cf. מרצה *manner of running* 2 S. 18 27, and for the form cf. Targ. מְמַח, מְמַח; here the fem. ending is added to the root מוח. מוח אחרה In Nab. אחר (Arab. أَخْرَ) is used in the sense of *posterity*, e. g. 79 2. 82 3 &c.; illustrate from Num. 24 20 ערי אֶבְרָם. The vivid style of the inscr. is noticeable, and recalls passages in 4, 5, 61, where similar imprecations are to be found.

BABYLONIA

66. Nineveh. CIS ii 1. End of viii cent. B.C. Brit. Mus.

א מנן - וו ב זי ארקא *a*

ווו ווו ווו ווו ווו ווו ווו ווו *b*

חמשת עשר מנין [ב ז] מלך *c*

a 15 double(?) minas of the country.

b 15.

c Fifteen double(?) minas of the king.

The inscr. is written upon one of the bronze lion-weights found at Nineveh; CIS ii 1-14. Twelve of these weights have Assyrian as well as Aram. inscr., and bear the names of Salmanassar, Sargon, and Sennacherib; they belong, therefore, to the viii-vii cent.

a. מנן In Babyl. written ideographically MA.NA, of Sumerian, but possibly Semitic, origin; Hebr. מְנִיָּם from מִנָּה Eze. 45 12 &c., מִנָּה. The *mina* was the unit in the Babylonian system of weights, which was based on the sexagesimal principle; hence 60 shekels = one mina, and 60 minas = one talent. ב Prob. a symbol for *double*; CIS ii 2. 3. 4. In the Babyl. system there was a double series of weights, a heavy and a light one. The heavy mina = 982.4 grammes = 15160 grains, circ. 2½ lb. avoirdupois; the light mina was half the weight, i.e. 491.2 grammes = 7580 grains, circ. 1¼ lb. avoirdupois. The present weight weighs a little over 32 lb. 14 oz.; when new it prob. weighed about 33 lb. 6 oz.; its value, therefore, is that of the heavy standard. These lion-weights belong some to the one class, some to the other; the light weights sometimes have the shape of a duck. See Kennedy, art. *Weights and Measures*, Hastings' *Dict. Bibl.*; Benzinger *Hebr. Arch.* 180 ff.; Nowack *Lehrb. Hebr. Arch.* i 206 ff. זי Sign of the genit.; 61 1 n. ארקא 61 5 n.

c. מלך In Aram. מלכא would be usual; the form is prob. due to Assyrian influence (Corp.). The 'minas of the king' corresponds to the Assyrian *mana ša šarri*, cf. Hebr. מִנֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ 2 S. 14 26 (prob. a post-exilic addition, giving the weight by the Persian standard). These weights were found among the foundations of a royal palace, underneath a colossal winged bull; most of them bear the king's name in the Assyrian versions of the inscriptions.

ASIA MINOR

67. Abydos. CIS ii 108. vi-v cent. B.C. Brit. Mus.

אמפרן לקבל סתריא זי כספא *a*

Α *b*

a Correct (?) according to the commissioners (?) of money.

This lion-weight, found at Abydos in Asia Minor, belongs to the Persian period, as the form of the letters shows. At this period Asia Minor was subject to Persian rule, and the Persian satraps used Aramaic in intercourse with the subject races in the west of the empire (cf. 71 *n.*). This was a trade weight officially certified to be of full standard. It weighs 25.657 grammes, i.e. originally 26 grammes = about 56 lb.; hence it appears that the standard was not the Babylonian one (60), nor the Persian silver talent of 33.6 kilogrs., but the Persian-Euboean gold talent of 25.92 kilogrs. On the back of the lion is the mark Α, apparently from the Archaic Gk. alphabet; it seems to indicate that the weight was used in commerce with the Greeks.

a. אמפרן is best explained as an Iranian word *uspuṛn* 'completeness,' 'whole' (Marti *Bibl.-Aram. Gr. Gloss.*), consequently the meaning here will be 'of full standard'; in Ezr. 5 8 &c. אֲסֻפְרָא 'completely,' 'with exactness.' A different explanation is suggested by Hoffmann, *ZA* xi 235 f. He regards אמפרן as an Aram. form of אֲפֵרן *nail*, with א prefixed as in אֲצַבֵּעַ, and with פ=צ as in סֻפָּא 13 = מִצָּה; and compares the use of *supur* 'nail-sign' in Assy., e.g. 'instead of their seal they have made their nail-sign' (*supurṣunu*), *KB* iv 104. The Persian etymology, however, seems more likely in view of the date and origin of the inscr. לקבל Lit. *to meet, so before*, cp. in Palm. 147 i 10. סתריא Prob.= 'officials,' but the precise meaning is uncertain. Vogüé renders 'guardians' from סתר *hide*, a questionable use of the root; Levy renders 'satraps'; Geiger 'stateres,' 'correct in accordance with the silver stater' (Cook *Aram. Gloss.* 23); but the weight of the lion shows that the standard was the gold talent, as Meyer points out, *Entstehung d. Judenth.* 11 *n.* The proper expression for 'officials in charge of the money' would be עֲלֵי כֶסֶף (Halévy); the Aramaic of these Persian commissioners was perhaps not very correct.

68. Cilicia. v-iv cent. B. C. In situ.

- 1 אנה ושונש בר
 2 אפוש בר ברה זי
 3 ושונש ואמי
 4 אשולכרתי וכוי
 5 צירא עבר אנה תנה
 6 ובאתרא זנה משתרה אנה

I am wšwnš, son ² of 'fwšr, grandson of ³ wšwnš, and my mother is ⁴ 'šwlkrti; and while ⁵ I am hunting here, ⁶ it is in this place that I am making my meal.

The inscr. is carved upon a rock SE. of Sara'din, in the valley of the river Lamas, in the SE. of Cilicia. A facsimile is given by Nöld. l. c. infra.

L. 1. ושונש This and the other pr. nn. appear to be non-Semitic, perhaps Persian; but the forms are uncertain because the ו may be read י. Halévy reads י in each case, and takes ושונש as = Ξυγγής, a dialectical form of Ξυγγής (ש=ξ), אפוש l. 2 = 'Απάξιος; *Rev. Sép.* i (1893) 183 ff. Nöldeke reads ו, *ZA* vii (1892) 350 ff.

L. 2. ברה בר Cf. 8 1. For י in Cilicia = רי cf. 149 A 6 and p. 185 n.

L. 4. אשולכרתי is explained by Halévy *Ashgal the Cretan, or of Cretopolis* (in Pisidia); for אשנל he compares שגל Ps. 45 10 &c., and takes כרתי as an ethnic form. כוי when, cf. Palm. 121 3 הוא כרי תנן and l. 4. כוי, כרי more often mean *as*, e. g. 76 C 3. 94 4 &c.

L. 5. צירא עבר Lit. *doing a hunt*; עבר ptc. active. תנה i. e. תנה here = לנה, as the Bibl. Aram. תנה = לנה.

L. 6. אתרא Contrast אשרה 64 8. משתרה reading ר rather than ר; the form is Ethpa. ptc. from שרה, and, like שרה = ἀριστῶν in the N.T., e. g. John 21 12. 15, means *breaking (my) fast* (Nöldeke l. c.). The reading משתרה can only mean *I was cast down*, not 'je me repose' (Halévy).

ARABIA

69. Téma. CIS ii 113. Date prob. v cent. B. C. Louvre.

a

- בשת Z || 1
 .. בתימ]א צלם [זי מחרם ושנגלא 2
 ואש]ירא אלהי תימא לצלם זי 3
 [הגם ...] שמה ביומא זן [בתי]מא 4
 זי 5
 6
 7
 א א להן 8
 זי [הקי]ם צלמשוב בר פטסרי 9
 [בבית צ]לם זי הגם להן אלהי 10
 תימא צ[רק]ו לצלמשוב בר פטסרי 11
 ולזרעה בבית צלם זי הגם וגבר 12
 זי יחבל סותא זא אלהי תימא 13
 ינסחוהי זרעה ושמה מן אנפי 14
 תימא והא זא צדקתא זי י'הבו] 15
 צלם זי מחרם ושנגלא ואשירא 16
 אלהי תימא לצלם זי הגם א . 17
 מן חקלא דקלן — ||| ומן שימתא 18
 זי מלכא דקלן ||| || כל דקלן 19
 Z .. שנה בשנה ואלהן ואנש 20
 לא יהנ[פק] צלמשוב בר פטסרי 21
 מן ביתא זנה ול[זר]עה ושמה 22
 כמ[ריא בב]יתא זנה [לעלמא] 23

δ

צלמשזב

כמרא

α. . . . in the 22nd year . . . ² [in Têma] a, Šalm of Maḥram and Shingala ³ and Ashîra, the gods of Têma, to Šalm of ⁴ [Hajam] . . appointed him on this day [in Tê]ma ⁵ which ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ therefore ⁹ which Šalm-shezeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, set up ¹⁰ [in the temple of Š]alm of Hajam, therefore the gods of ¹¹ Têma ma[de gra]nts to Šalm-shezeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, ¹² and to his seed in the temple of Šalm of Hajam. And any man ¹³ who shall destroy this pillar, may the gods of Têma ¹⁴ pluck out him and his seed and his name from before ¹⁵ Têma! And this is the grant which ¹⁶ Šalm of Maḥram and Shingala and Ashîra, ¹⁷ the gods of Têma, have g[iven] to Šalm of Hajam . . : ¹⁸ from the field 16 palms, and from the treasure (?) ¹⁹ of the king 5 palms, in all ²⁰ 21 palms . . year by year. And neither gods nor men ²¹ shall bri[ng out] Šalm-shezeb, son of Peṭ-osiri, ²² from this temple, neither his se[ed] nor his name, (who are) ²³ prie[sts in] this temple [for ever].

δ. Šalm-shezeb the priest.

The characters exhibit some archaic forms, e. g. י and י'; but as a whole they belong to the early part of the middle period of Aramaic writing. Like 61-63 the inscr. is carved in relief. It records how a new deity, Šalm of Hajam, was introduced into Têma by the priest Šalm-shezeb, who further provided an endowment for the new temple, and founded an hereditary priesthood. On one side of the stone the god Šalm of Hajam is represented in Assyrian fashion, and below him a priest stands before an altar, with the inscr. δ underneath.

L. 1. בשח See 6 1 n. שח is in the constr. st. before the numeral as in 71 3, and often in Nab. and Palm., e. g. 78 4. 110 5.

L. 2. צלם 70 3 perhaps connected with √צלם *be dark* (cf. Assy. *kakkabu šalmu* = the planet Kêwân or Saturn, and the pr. n. *Šalmu-aḥî*, *KB* iv 150; see *Am.* 5 26), rather than abbreviated from בעל צלם *image of B.*; see 38 2 n. Šalm appears to have been an Aramaic or

N. Semitic deity, and not native to Arabia. Like בעל, he is given a local designation, ll. 10. 16. The names of the gods are here restored from l. 16.

L. 3. חִימָא Cf. 81 2 = חִימָא Gen. 25 15 = 1 Chr. 1 30 a descendant of Ishmael, Is. 21 14. Jer. 25 23. The town, now called حِمَا, is situated in N. Arabia (El-Hejaz) in an oasis famous, even in ancient times, for its abundant and inexhaustible spring. Caravans (Job 6 19) on their way to Egypt or Assyria halted here; and the influence of commerce with these two countries is evident in this stone: the name of the priest's father is Egyptian, the figures of the god and his minister are Assyrian. [לְעֵלָם וְלְחַיִּים] is governed by some verb denoting that the local gods had sanctioned the admission of this stranger deity; the Corp. suggests צָדִיק (l. 11) at the beginning of l. 2.

L. 4. שִׁמָּה Prob. pf. 3 sing. m. with suff. = שִׁמָּה; the subj. will be the priest, the obj. the god.

L. 8. לָהֶן l. 10 = לָהֶן if + ל, then, therefore; Dan. 2 6. 9 &c.

L. 9. צִלְמִישׁוּב i.e. *Ṣalm has delivered*; cf. the Assy. *Ṣalm-muṣiṣub*, *Nabû-Ṣisibanni* Schrader *COT* 421, and the Hebr. מְשִׁיבָא Neh. 3 4 (*Cook Aram. Gl.* s. v.); שׁוּב, in Targ. שׁוּב, Syr. شَوِّف, is Shafel of יוֹב, 101 12 f. מְטַסְרִי 74 A 4 i.e. *he whom Osiris gave*, cf. the Egypt. *P'-dy-'st* 'he whom Isis gave,' *P'-dy-'Imn* 'he whom Ammon gave,' and the Bibl. מוֹטִי מַרְע, מוֹטִיפֶר i.e. *P'-dy-p'-R* 'he whom the Ra gave'; see Driver, art. Potiphar, *DB* iv 23.

L. 10. חַנָּה Prob. the name of a place where Ṣalm was worshipped; cf. *الحنيم* Yāḫūt ii 886 (ed. Wüstenfeld), in Yemen.

L. 11. צָדִיק Pael; cf. the meaning of the noun צָדִיקָא l. 15 *gift, endowment*, Dan. 4 24 LXX ἐλεημοσύνη, Matt. 6 1 δακαιοσύνη; Arab. مَدَنَة *alms*.

L. 12. וּבֵר וּנָו See 64 and 65 for the adjurations.

L. 13. יִחַבֵּל Pael, *destroy*; the root is found with this meaning in all the Semitic languages. סוּחָא Perhaps the same word as מוֹיָה lit. *an elevation of land, a stone which indicates the road*, in pl. *tomb*, with ס = צ; see note on אֲמַרְן 67 (Hoffm.). In the Corp. the form is connected with the Syr. *ܠܬܝܝܢ* *found, make firm*, *ܠܬܝܝܢ* *stabilitas*; but no derivative of this root is actually used in the sense of *monument*. Winckler considers that it = the Assy. *asumitu* 'inscribed stele,' *Allor. Forsch.* ii 76 f. (in Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* s. v. וֹסֵם), a plausible derivation.

L. 14. יִנְחֹחֵי See 64 9 n.; for נ retained cf. יִנְחֹק l. 21. תִּנְצֵר 64 12 n. שִׁמָּה l. 22. In Hebr. שִׁמָּה is found with almost the same

meaning, *posterity*, e.g. Dt. 25 7. Ruth 4 5. 10 &c. Cf. מן אנפי
1 K. 9 7 (מעל פני). Dt. 28 63 (מעל, with נסח).

L. 15. Fem. of מָא = Arab. مَاء, Syr. ܡܝܐ, Targ. מֵיָא. צדקתא
See l. 11 n. Winckler, however, regards this as a Babyl. loan-word =
sathuku 'the regular dues or income of a temple' (Delitzsch *Assyr.*
HWB 513), e.g. *KB* iii 2 32 l. 13. This is at any rate a plausible
explanation, for the influence of Babylonia upon Têma, especially
in religious matters, was certainly strong. See *Allor. Forsch.* i 183.

L. 16. מְזִרָם No doubt the name of a place, like הַנֶּם. It is
apparently preserved in the Arab. مِزْم near Jebel Selma, which is
in the neighbourhood of Têma, Yāḩūt iv 425. שְׁנִלָּא A deity
otherwise unknown; possibly the נ is the fem. ending. The name
has been compared (Corp.) with that of a Babylonian goddess שְׁנִל,
mentioned in the lexicon of Bar Bahlul, and stated to be the Chaldaean
equivalent of Aphrodite, Lagarde *Gesam. Abhandl.* 17. Another sug-
gestion is that Singala (*Sin-gala*) is the moon-god, Neubauer *St. Bibl.*
i 224 n. Cf. the Palm. שְׁנִל pr. n. fem. 143 12. אֲשִׁירָא l. 3. Halévy
suggests that אֲשִׁירָא = אֲסִירָא (with ש for ס as in שִׁמְתָא l. 18), a form
which occurs in the name of a Palm. deity רַב־אֲסִירָא 'Ραβασιρη (prob.
Rab-osiris) 147 i 10. But it is possible that אֲשִׁירָא in spite of the י—
is the goddess *Ashêra*, who was certainly known in Arabia; see 10 4 n.
and Lagrange *RB* x 549.

L. 17. . א The Corp. restores מ, with the sense *scilicet*.

L. 18. חֲקֵלָא Emph. st., Targ. חֲקֵלָא, Syr. ܡܫܬܐ *field*; cf. CIS ii 24.
27 חֲקֵלָא *record* or *tablet of the field*. This may well have been
the land with which the temple was endowed, or 'the land of the
priests'; see Gen. 47 22 and Lagrange *RB* x 219 who cites in illus-
tration the Nab. חֲרֵם, 79 8 n. חֲקֵל Cf. Targ. Ex. 15 27 חֲקֵלִין
(at Elim). In the present day the value of land at Têma is reckoned
by the number of palms on it; the price of a tree is said to be 20
francs. שִׁמְתָא *treasury* = שִׁמְתָא, ܫܡܬܐ. Winckler explains the
word by the Babyl. *šmtu* 'a fixing' or 'fixed portion,' so מִלְכָּא ש'
'the king's crown estates,' *Allor. Forsch.* i 184. The Babyl. *šmtu* does
not appear to be used exactly in this sense; at the same time it must
be admitted that 'treasury' is not a suitable word for what was clearly
landed property consisting of date-palms.

L. 19. For the prince's contribution to the sanctuary cf. Eze. 45 17;
in many Nab. inscr. the fine for violating a tomb is ordered to be
divided between the god and the king, e.g. 80 8 n. 81 7 f. &c.

L. 20. After the numerical symbol the Corp. restores הָא
or מָא. 76 C 7. There is no need to render 'divine

persons' i.e. members of the royal family (Halévy, Neubauer l.c. 212 n.).

L. 21. יהנפס For the ה retained in Hafel cf. ויהאברו 64 11 n., and for the נ cf. in Nab. ינפס 79 2. 80 5 &c., and see l. 14 n. The form here exactly resembles יהנזק Targ. Jon. Ex. 11 7; Dalman *Gr.* 241.

L. 23. כמריא See 64 1 n.

70. Têma. CIS ii 114. Circ. iv cent. B.C. Louvre.

- 1 [מ]יתבא וי קר
2 [ב] מענן בר עמ
3 [ר]ן לצלם אלה
4 א לחיי נפשה

The seat which Ma'nan, son of 'Imran, offered to the god Şalm, for the life of his soul.

The characters belong to a period late in the middle stage of Aram. writing. They are almost all of the same size, and written as it were between straight lines, like CIS ii 72 from Chaldaea; the Chaldaean manner, exemplified in the latter inscr., has perhaps influenced this style of writing (cf. 69 3 n.). The י and י are archaic in form, p is almost Nabataean, ע is shaped like a V, and מ has the curious shape +, מ is written with the two down strokes equal in length.

L. 1. מיתבא Cf. מותב 80 4, here a *seat* on which the image of the god was placed on certain days, the Lat. *pulvinar deorum*; cf. Palm. ערשא in the inscr. from et-Tayyibe p. 296 n.1, and ארכתא (Nab.) p. 255 n. 1.

L. 2. מענן Cf. the Nab. pr. n. מענא CIS ii 294, Euting *Nab. Inscr.* 19, and the Palm. מענא מרראוס, e.g. Vogt 27 4 &c. It is found in composition, e.g. מענאלהי CIS ii 118, and perhaps lies behind *Movimos*, the name of a deity associated with the sun-god at Edessa; cf. the pr. nn. معن الله (Hejra) and مَحْنَة / مَحْن (a king of Edessa). עמרן = Εμραν' *Emranos* from Hauran; cf. the Sinaitic עמר עמר Eut. *Sin. Inscr.* 72, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 213; and עמרם (?) at Safâ, Dussaud et Macler *Safâ* no. 68. The root עמר, עמר = *live*, e.g. עמר באלח Eut. *Sin. Inscr.* 551; the Arab. has also the meaning *worship*. Both pr. names have the ending *an*, apparently usual among the Aramaeans of Arabia.

L. 3. צלם אלה See 69 2 n.

L. 4. לחיי נפשה A favourite formula (with variations) in Palm. inscr.; cf. 29 11.

EGYPT

71. Memphis. CIS ii 122. Date 482 B.C. Berlin Museum.

a

1 בריך אבה בר חור ואחתבו ברת עדיה כל ׀ ׀ [זי?] חסתמה קרבנתא
 2 קדם אוסרי אלהא אבסלי בר אבה אמה אחתבו
 3 כן אמר בשנת ׀׀׀׀ ירח מחיר חשיארש מלכא זי מן [לכיא]
 4 ביד פמן...

חכנא δ

מ c

a. Blessed be Abbā, son of Hôr, and Aḥatbû, daughter of 'Adayā, both assisted by divine favour(?)! The approach² before the god Osiris. Abseli, son of Abbā, his mother (being) Aḥatbû, ³spake thus in the 4th year, (in) the month Meḥîr, of Xerxes king of kings. ⁴By the hand of Pamen...

δ. Ḥakna.

The inscr. is written upon the base of a tablet carved with a representation of an Egyptian funeral scene. In the uppermost panel Osiris sits, attended by Isis and Nephthys; the parents of Abseli approach the deity with outstretched arms. Certain details, such as the clipped hair of the figures, betray the foreign nationality of the donor; the hieroglyphic inscr.¹ in the upper part of the tablet is evidently written by an unskilful hand. In general appearance the stone resembles 75. It belongs to the period when Egypt formed a part of the Persian empire (B.C. 525–332); and we learn from it that the Aram. settlers used their own language, which was also the language of the Persian government (cf. 67 *n.*), and at the same time adapted themselves to the religion of the country.

L. 1. בריך 75 1; the plur. would be more correct here. אבה
 Prob. = the Aram. אבא. חור Cf. the common Nab. pr. n. חורו
 (=חור) 87 8. 90 5 &c., and the O.T. חור Ex. 17 10. Num.

¹ 'Offering made to Osiris, prince of Amenti, the great god, the lord of Abydos, that he may give good sepulture to (the spirit of) Aḥitobu, the matron faithful before the great god'; and behind the figure of Abba, 'the foreigner, surnamed Hitop.'

31 8. Perhaps = אַחַת אֵלֶּיָּהּ *sister of her father*, cf. the biblical אחאב and the Aram. אחמה (i.e. אִמְהָתָא) ? *mother's brother*, Levy *Sieg. u. Gemmen* p. 14 no. 20. Lidzb. illustrates from Talm. B. *Baba Bathra* 110 a לאחי האם 'most sons are like the brothers of the mother.' עריה Prob. the same name as the Arab. *Adi, Adiya*, عَدِيَّة, عَدِيَّة; the root means *to pass, run, transgress*, cf. the O.T. עָרַיָה 2 K. 22 1 'Yah passes by.' But the word may be read עריה. The numerical symbols must refer to the parents of the donor. חסחמה The meaning is obscure. If the word is compounded of the Egypt. *hes, hestu* and *ameh*, it will mean *favoured by the god, faithful*; cf. 75 4 חסיה plur. *those favoured* (by Osiris); in the Egypt. inscr. (p. 200 n. 1) *ameh* is rendered 'faithful.' It is an expression taken from the terminology of the Egypt. funeral rites. The form חסח is found on a wooden sarcophagus of the Ptolemaic period in the Cairo Museum, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 11. קרבתא The confused way in which the word is written on the stone, with ב superadded, shows that the scribe was uncertain about the form. It is probably a noun, with the sense of a 'nomen actionis,' *a drawing near*, cf. 72 1 קרבת and Ps. 73 28 טוב אלי מן אלהים; at any rate the word denotes the 'accession' to Osiris after death. According to Egyptian belief the departed soul, if judged pure, did not merely go to Osiris, but actually became Osiris.

L. 2. אבסלי The second part of the compound resembles סלי Neh. 11 8. סלי ib. 12 7; the סלח = *to weigh*. In inscr. b the Egyptian name is given, חכנא *Hakna*.

L. 3. סחיר The name of the sixth month, Jan. 26–Feb. 24, in Egyptian, in Coptic *mechir*; see Brightman *Liturgies* i. 582. חשיארש = the old Persian *Hshaydrshd* = אֲחִישֶׁרֶשׁ Esth. 1 1 &c., in Greek *Ἀέφης*; he reigned from 485 to 465 B.C. מלכא וי מלכיא A common title of the Persian kings; see 5 18 n., and Driver *Introd.* 546.

L. 4. ביר introduces the name of the scribe or sculptor, an Egyptian, פמן = *Pa-amen* 'who belongs to the god Amen'; again in CIS ii 148 3.

72. Memphis. CIS ii 123. Date v–iv cent. B.C. Louvre.

- 1 חתמי לקרבת בנת לאום
- 2 רי חמי עבר אביטב בר
- 3 בנת כהי עבר קדם אום
- 4 חרי חמי

Offering for the approach of Banith to Osiris²-Apis made by Abithab, son ³ of Banith. Thus (?) he made it before Osiris⁴-Apis.

The inscr. is written on an oblong vessel used for libations; it was found in the Serapaeum at Memphis.

L. 1. חתמי Prob. an Egypt. word *hotpit*, later *hotpi* = 'oblation.' לקרבח See 71 1 n. בנת An Egypt. pr. n., found again in CIS ii 148 3. The meaning is uncertain; *Pa-neit*, i. e. 'belonging to the goddess Neit,' has been suggested,' but it is questionable whether the Semitic ב is ever used to transcribe the Egypt. *p*. Maspero explains *Banith* as='leaping' in Egyptian (Corp.).

L. 2. אוסרי חמי Osiris-Apis, called by the Greeks Serapis, specially honoured at Memphis; חמי = Egypt. *Hapi*. It is probable that חף is to be read in Jer. 46 15 MT אֲפִי־רִיף, which many moderns correct to אֲפִי־רִיף, after the LXX (26 15) διὰ τὴ ἐφυγεν ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ Ἄπης; ὁ μόσχος ὁ ἐκλεκτός σου κ.τ.λ. אביטב = the Hebr. אביטב 1 Chr. 8 11.

L. 3. כחי The context suggests the rendering *thus*; but there is no exact parallel for the form. It may be an abbreviation of חאי (Bab.-Aram. = *this*) + כ; see Dalman 81, Wright *Comp. Gr.* 109. The word has been rendered 'a piece of bread,' i. e. a second offering, after a Coptic noun which it somewhat resembles; but this is not probable (Corp.).

78. Elephantina. CIS ii 137. iv cent. B. C. Berlin Museum.

| B | A |
|--------------|-----------------|
| כען הן צבתי | כען הלו חלם 1 |
| כל תובניהמו | חזית ומן 2 |
| יאבלו יאנקיא | עדנא הו אנה 3 |
| הלו לא | חמם שגא 4 |
| שאר | [א]תחזי חז[ן] 5 |
| קטין | מלוהי 6 |
| | שלם 7 |

A. Now behold, the 1st dream I saw, and from that time I was very hot; there appeared an apparition; its words (were), 'Hail'! B. Now if ornaments (?) of all kinds thou sellest, the infants shall eat; behold, there is not a small remainder.

The above texts are written with a reed pen in Egyptian-Aram. characters on either side of a fragment of pottery. They are evidently complete in themselves, for the sentences are not broken off, but squeezed into the shape of the potsherd; the two texts form a single narrative. It was the custom to write down brief descriptions of dreams, and bring them to the temple to be interpreted.

A. L. 1. כען = כען *now* in Bibl. Aram. אלו Cf. אלו in Dan. חלם Cf. τὸ πρῶτον ἐνύπνιον on a Gk. papyrus (Corp.).

L. 4. חסם = חסם, חסם. שנה is an adverb = שנה Dan. 2 12 &c.

L. 5. תחוי Prob. an error for אתחוי Ethpeal pf. (Corp.), 147 i 7. חוי i.e. חוי cf. חוי חוי Targ. Job 20 8.

L. 7. שלם i.e. שלם cf. Ἀπολλώνιον εἶδον προσπορεύεται μοι λέγει Χαῖρε, from the papyrus quoted above (Corp.).

B. L. 1. צבתי Plur. constr. before כל, cf. בבורי כל Eze. 44 30. The meaning is prob. *ornaments*, Targ. צבתי, צבתי *finery*; cf. in Palm. 119 4 תצביחהן *their ornaments*. Hoffmann (ZA xi 223) renders *bundles*, cf. Hebr. צבתי Ru. 2 16; a less suitable sense.

L. 2. תובניהכו Pael impf. 2 mas. or 3 fem. sing. For the suff. הכו see 65 6 n.

L. 3. יאכלו Impf. 3 plur. without nun; see 61 4 n.

Ll. 4-6. לא שאר קמין The meaning seems to be 'there is plenty left.' שאר Prob. a noun = Hebr. שאר, cf. Nab. שאריה 94 3. For לא before a noun-clause cf. לא דומיה לי Ps. 22 3. לא איש כמותי Job 9 32 &c.

74. Elephantina. CIS ii 138. iv cent. Brit. Mus. no. 14219.

B

A

| | | |
|-------------------------|------------------|---|
| צחא בר חברטין | פעל אסמן בר | 1 |
| [י]תנן והן אמרו ס[הדיא] | באלו מנחמן זי הו | 2 |
| חרתבא ובגטף חברטין[ס] | ידניה גשוריא מ | 3 |

| | | |
|---|------------------|-------------------|
| 4 | שאל על פטוסרי... | ן לן על פוחדך אמר |
| 5 | שחומו באלו ש... | אבתם לה סרן ו |
| 6 | ושאל על חנ... | לא יהב לן |
| 7 | פטחרפחרט... | מלכיה סרן |
| 8 | בר כומן כ... | [פ]טנתר בר |
| 9 | מ... | יגלף |

A

- ¹ Isimen, son of . . made
² for these comforters (?), whom
 he
³ and Geshuria (?) shall judge
 him . . .
⁴ and he asked about Peṭosiris . . .
⁵ Šeḥumu for these
⁶ and he asked about
⁷ Peṭharpohrates . . .
⁸ son of Kaumen
⁹

B

- . . . Šeḥo, son of ḤBRTISN
 . . . they will give (?), and if the
 w[itnesses ?] have said
 . . . ḤRTB' and BGTF; ḤBRTI[SN]
 . . to us against PUḤDK. He said
 ? to him our prince (?), and
 he did not give us
 of kings, our prince (?)
 Peṭenutir, son of
 shall carve (?)

The above texts are written with ink on either side of a potsherd;
 they probably formed part of a legal document.

A. L. 1. אסמן An Egypt. pr. n., perhaps *Isi-men* = 'Isis is firm.'

L. 2. אלו 1. 5 = אלו in the Mishnah, Hebr. אלה; here preceding the
 noun, as אלו in Dan. 2 44. 7 17 and חלן in the Pal. Talmud, see
 Dalman *Gram.* 82. מנחמן Perhaps = מנחמן *comforters* in the
 sense of supporters or witnesses in a legal action.

L. 3. וירניה Prob. = וירניה. גשוריא It is not certain whether
 this is a pr. n. or a noun.

L. 4. פטוסרי See 69 9 n.

L. 5. שחומו Pr. n. with ending י' as in Nab.

L. 7. פטחרפחרט An Egypt. pr. n. = 'he whom the god Harpocrates
 gave,' Περσαρποχράτης; again in CIS ii 147 11. The ḥ is used to
 transcribe the softer and harder aspirate (like the Arab. ح and خ)
 in Egyptian.

L. 8. כומן An Egypt. pr. n. *Kamen, Kaumenu*.

B. L. 1. צחא 77 A 4 = the Egypt. *Zeha*, in Gk. Τέως or
 Ταχώς. חברמיס Perhaps a Persian name (Corp.).

L. 5. ל. 7 is explained as = שרנא *our prince*. For the suff. cf. Palm. מרן 128 3; Nab. מראנא 81 8.

L. 6. לָ = לנא *to us*.

L. 7. מלכיה Seems to be written for מלכיא, and to be part of the phrase מלך מלכיא, the usual title of the Persian kings, 71 3 and Dan. 2 37 (of Nebuchadnezzar).

L. 8. [פ]מנחר = the Egypt. *Peḥenuṯtru* 'devoted to the gods.'

L. 9. ינלף Apparently from the Aram. גלף *to engrave on stone*; the reference is not clear.

75. Egypt; the Carpentras Stele. CIS ii 141. v-iv cent. B.C.
Museum of Carpentras (S. France).

1 בריכה תבא ברת תחפי תמנחא זי אוסרי אלהא
2 מנרעם באיש לא עבדת וכרצי איש לא אמרת תמה
3 קדם אוסרי בריכה הוי מן קדם אוסרי מין קחי
4 הוי פלחה נמעתי ובין חסיה

Blessed be Taba, daughter of Tahapi, devoted worshipper of the god Osiris. ² Aught of evil thou hast not done, and calumny against any man thou hast never (?) spoken. ³ Before Osiris be thou blessed! From before Osiris take thou water! ⁴ Be thou a worshipper, my pleasant one (?), and among the favoured

Above the inscr. an Egyptian funeral scene is carved; cf. 71. The characters belong to a somewhat later type than those of the latter inscr.; some of them, ב, ר, ר, ע, ו, י, ש, ח, א, illustrate very clearly the transition from the archaic to the square alphabet. See Driver *Samuel* xviii-xxi.

L. 1. בריכה Cf. 71 1. תבא Egypt. pr. n. f., *ta-bai* 'she who is of the spirit.' תחפי Also Egypt., 'she who is of the god Hapi'; the mas. *Pahapi* is a common name. תמנחא i. e. מנחא *Monh* in Egypt. = 'pious,' 'perfect'; cf. the mas. מנחא זי אוסרי CIS ii 142. אוסרי אלהא Cf. 71 2.

L. 2. מנרעם i. e. מנרעם, so in Nab. 94 5, cf. Mand. מינראם (Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 186); in Palm. מרען 147 i 5 and מרעם (א) ib. 8; in Targums מרעם and Talm. מרעם (Dalman *Gr.* 90); in Syr. مَرَعَم. The word is

compounded of קרע = קרע and מא, lit. *scibile quid*; the various forms are corruptions of this (Wright *Comp. Gr.* 126). באיש See 65 9 n. אמרת כרצי איש and עברת 2 or 3 fem. sing. Prob. a variation of the idiom 'מל' i. e. *he calumniated*, cf. Dan. 3 8. 6 25. With כרצי (so in Mand.) = קרצי lit. *morsels* cf. Syr. ܩܪܥܝ = Hebr. קרע, Mand. כרשא = Hebr. קרע. חמה i. e. חמה may mean *there, yonder*, cf. Ezr. 5 17. 6 1, i. e. on the earth, speaking from the other world (so Nöld., Lidzb.), a somewhat artificial explanation. Lagarde suggests that חמה = Syr. ܡܚܡܐ (from ܡܚܡܐ), *ever*. The word cannot mean *perfect*; in Aram. this would be not חמה but חמימה, as is the rule with adjectives from ע'ע verbs.

L. 3. מין קחי Egypt. monuments and papyri frequently mention water as a last offering to the dead; illustrate from CIG 6562 εὐχεται, καταρία, δό(η) σοι δ' Ὀσίρις δὲ νεκρῶν ψυχή. 6717. Note the Hebraism קחי, cf. איש 1. 2.

L. 4. נמנתי may be the name of an Egypt. deity, which פלח seems to require; or it is an error for נעמתי, cf. 2 Sam. 1 26. Cant. 7 7. חסיה Perhaps the Egypt. *hosiou* 'favoured (by Osiris),' cf. חסתמה 71 1 n. It is also explained as = ܡܚܡܐ *pious* (plur.); but this would be written חסימא. The line prob. ended הוּי שְׁלִימָה.

76. Saqqara; Papyri Blacasiani. CIS ii 145. End of v cent. B.C. Brit. Mus.

A (recto)

| | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| ... ולא ימלא בטנהם לח[ם] | 1 |
| ... איש כיבי אלהיהם | 2 |
| ... קימיהם עד יבנון קר[יה] | 3 |
| ... וביומן אחרנן יאכל | 4 |
| ... צדקה לאבוהי ויוב[ן] | 5 |
| ... ויתקלנהי בלבה ויקטל איש ל[בני] | 6 |
| ... מראה וישרה בני מראה | 7 |
| ... לחם ויתכנשן אלהי מצרין | 8 |
| ... שגן 33 ווו וח | 9 |

B (verso)

- 1 לבני על תסהרא זי מלכא ושמע . . .
 2 בר פונש הו אחר ענה מלכא
 3 בר פונש מליא זי מלכא אמר וע[נה] . . .
 4 [ק]טלת המו תהך בחרב חילך וח
 5 ף יחלף לך ושביא זי שבית בוא שנתא
 6 באלך וגרמיך לא יחתון שאול וטללך
 7 [בר פונ]ש על אלפי מלכא במנצ

C (recto)

- 1 מלכא חעק ומשח
 2 זנה זי קרא
 3 [ת]תלנהי כן כוי עבדת לבנוהי . . .
 4 לולא באתר ים יקטל
 5 שעתרם בתמאי ומנח[ם] . . .
 6 ך תהך ותשלה
 7 ה עם אלהן ולחש עוזר
 8 ' ב

D (verso)

- 1 זי ינתן לה אבוהי
 2 שו אלהי מצרין זי
 3 [מצ]רין ויהוון
 4 מה ותאבד צדקתא ואי
 5 בו ואתנפק איש
 6 עלך בר כבוה ז[']
 7 [יב]רכון לקברה ול
 8 ויאמרון לה צערי
 9 נתה בפלג תלך ול

A

¹ . . . nor may their belly be filled with bread . . . ² . . . each the pains (?) of their gods . . . ³ . . . their agreements, until they build the ci[ty] . . . ⁴ . . . and in later days he shall eat . . . ⁵ . . . righteousness to his father, and he shall sell . . . ⁶ . . . and let him weigh it in his heart, and let some one slay the s[ons] . . . ⁷ . . . his lord, and let some one release the sons of his lord . . . ⁸ . . . bread, and may the gods of Egypt assemble . . . ⁹ . . . 43 years . . .

B

¹ . . . for my sons, according to the testimony of the king, and he heard . . . ² . . . son of Punsh, he delayed (?). The king answered . . . ³ . . . son of Punsh the words which the king said; and he answered . . . ⁴ . . . thou didst kill them. Thou shalt go with the sword of thy might and . . . ⁵ . . . shall be changed (?) for thee, and the captives which thou hast taken this year . . . ⁶ . . . in these; and thy bones shall not go down to Sheol, and thy shadow . . . ⁷ . . . [son of Pun]sh, upon the thousands (?) of the king . . .

C

¹ . . . the king, and he cried and anointing-oil . . . ² . . . this which he called . . . ³ . . . thou shalt hang him even as thou didst to his sons . . . ⁴ . . . unless in the place where the sea is he kill . . . ⁵ . . . Sha'atram (?) in Tamai (?) and Menah[em] . . . ⁶ . . . thou shalt go and be at ease . . . ⁷ . . . with the gods, and he whispered (?), Help! (?) . . . ⁸ . . .

D

¹ . . . which his father will give him . . . ² . . . gods of Egypt, who . . . ³ . . . [of Eg]ypt, and they will be . . . ⁴ . . . and righteousness perish, and . . . ⁵ . . . and the man was brought out . . . ⁶ . . . 'LK, son of KBWH, who . . . ⁷ . . . [may they b]less his grave . . . ⁸ . . . and say to him, my (?) distress . . . ⁹ . . . in the midst . . .

The above texts, being written upon papyrus, do not properly come under the title of inscriptions, but they are included because they illustrate the language and writing used by Aramaic-speaking settlers in Egypt during the same period as the engraved texts of this group. The writing is of a similar type to that of 75, but of a more cursive form, and a stage nearer to the square character; see Driver *Sam.* xxi (with facsimile). As in 75, the language contains some marked Hebraisms. These stray leaves are too mutilated to enable us to make out their general purport; it has been suggested that they give an account of a plot against the government of the Persian king in Egypt.

A. L. 1. ימלא בטנהם Cf. Job 15 2. 20 23. The 3 plur. m. suff. ends in הֶם, e.g. אלהיהם l. 2. כימיהם l. 3; so regularly in Nab., e.g. נמשחם 80 2. בניהם 102 4; Targ. Ps.-Jon. בִּיתְהוֹם (also הֶם); Bibl. Aram. רִאשֵׁיהֶם Ezr. 5 10 (also הוֹן), cf. אֱלֹהֵיהֶם 7 17. In Palm. the form is הֶן.

L. 2. אִישׁ A Hebraism, cf. 75 2. כִּיבִי Perhaps = Targ. פִּיקָא, Syr. ܟܝܒܐ, Hebr. קָאָב; but what 'the pains of their gods' can mean is not clear.

L. 3. קימיהם Apparently plur. of קימא, Syr. ܩܝܡܐ.

L. 4. אחרני Plur. of אחרן, Syr. ܐܚܪܢܐ next, following, plur. ܐܚܪܢܐ; cf. Dan. 2 11 אחרן another.

L. 5. ויזבן i.e. ויזבן, cf. in Nab. 79 6 &c.

L. 6. יתקלנהו i.e. יתקלנהו, cf. תחלנהו C 3. For the suff. with nun energetic cf. the Bibl. Aram. יתקלנהו, Pal. Aram. יעברניהו (Dalman *Gr.* 308); and for the 3 sing. m. suff. in הֶי cf. the Syr. ܠܗܝ with the impf., and the Palm. יתחיהו 145 6. The Hebr. forms יתקלנהו Deut. 32 10. יעברנהו Jer. 5 22 are similar (Ges.-Kau. § 58 א). [ל' בני] So Corp., cf. בני מראה l. 7.

L. 7. מראה See 62 11 n.

L. 8. ויתכנשן for ויתכנשן, cf. 147 ii c 33. מצרין The dual is written with י, but the plur. without י, e.g. יומן אחרני l. 4. שן l. 9.

B. L. 1. תסודרא = סְהוּדָא witness.

L. 2. מוש An Egyptian pr. n. אחר Apparently perf. 3 sing. m. ענה מלכא Cf. Dan. 2 5. 8. 20 &c.

L. 4. תהך Here accus. eos, as in Ezr. 4 10. 23, in Dan. המון. הֶךָ C 6, i.e. הֶךָ impf. of הִלֵּךְ; similarly in Targ. and Bibl. Aram., e.g. יִהְיֶה Ezr. 5 5.

L. 5. יחלף לך The last letter of each word is uncertain. חא Cf. 61. 18. 69 13.

L. 6. באלך Cf. Dan. 3 12 &c. Ezr. 4 21 &c. (אלך). Pe. ירתח
impf. of נחח.

L. 7. אלפי Instead of אלפי thousands, the word may be pointed אלפי chiefs, lit. chiliarchs, specially an Edomite term, Gen. 36 15 ff.

C. L. 1. משה may be a verb and he anointed, or a noun anointing-oil as in CIS ii 44, in Palm. 147 ii a 27. משהא 122 3.

L. 2. זנה Cf. 69 22.

L. 3. תתלנהי Prob. impf. 2 sing. m. from תלה, i. e. תתלנהי; for the suff. see A 6 n. כרי = כרי sicut in Nab. 80 7. 86 6, Bibl. Aram. Dan. 2 43, Targ. כר.

L. 4. לולא Dalman reads לולא, like the Pal. Aram. אילול = אילו = איל (if), Gr. 189.

L. 5. שעתרים The form may be incomplete; a pr. n. תמאי is said to mean in Egypt. a cat.

L. 6. תשלה Apparently impf. of שלח to rest.

L. 7. אלהן Plur., cf. 69 20, and contrast אלהי 62 23. לחש
Pael, as in Aram. and Hebr.; cf. Is. 26 16 (noun). עור = עור?
imperat. The scriptio plena is remarkable.

D. L. 1. יתן So in Nab. 79 3, in Bibl. Aram. יתן.

L. 3. ויהון i. e. ויהון.

L. 5. ואחנפס Ethp. perf.; in the Targum the Ittafal is used, e. g. אהנפס Eze. 24 6. מיתפס Onk. Gen. 38 25 (with נ assimilated).

L. 6. כבוח . . עלך Pr. nn.; the first is perhaps incomplete.

L. 8. צערי The י may be the suff. or sign of the plur. constr.; Targ. צערי, Syr. حزين.

L. 9. בפלג Lit. in the division; but the form may be mutilated.

77. Papyrus Luparensis. CIS ii 146. iv cent. B.C. Louvre.

A

- 1 ... [בירח] פאפי זי מת[כ]תב נפקתה בירח פאפי
2 ... [חמר] מצרין קלבי ו ב ו לפאפי לשרתא חמר צידן קלבי ו
מצרין [קלול ו]
3 ... [מצר]ין קלול ו קלבי ו ב ו לפאפי לשרתא מצרין קלול ו
קלבי ו

| | |
|---|----|
| היב לצחא בר פמת חמר מצרין מאנן ווו וו ו... | 4 |
| בגנף קלולן וו קלבין ווו עליך זער שר... | 5 |
| ב...ל עליך קדם עחר מ[צר]ין קלול ו | 6 |
| מצרין קלול ו | 7 |
| [ב]ל[ני]לא מצרין קלבי ו | 8 |
| זי בצ.נה מצרין קלול ו | 9 |
| [ב]...לפאפי לשרתא חמר צידן קלבי ו מצרין [קלול ו] | 10 |
| [ל]...בר פחה מצרין קלול ו | 11 |
| ל[שרתא] מ[צרין] קלו[ל] ו | 12 |

B

| | |
|--|----|
| ב זווו לשרתא קלול ו קלבי ו | 1 |
| ב זווו ו לבגור ו קלבין וו | 2 |
| לנקה קדם אפתו אלהא רבא קלבי ו | 3 |
| לנקה קדם אפי רבתי קלבי ו | 4 |
| לשרתא חמר צידן קלבו ו | 5 |
| התח ז | 5 |
| ב זווו ו לכיחד זי הו יום לנדר לשרתא קלולן וו | 6 |
| ב זווו וו קדם א[וסרי].... | 7 |
| קלבי ו | 7 |
| עליך אנומי.... | 8 |
| ב זווו וו ו ל.... | 9 |
| ב זווו וו וו ו ל.... | 10 |
| עחרנפי ה.... | 11 |
| פינתא | 11 |
| לב...א.... | 12 |
| ל | 13 |

A

¹ . . . [in the month] of Paophi, which is written out. ² . . . [wine] of Egypt, qelbi 1. ³ . . . [Egypt]ian, qelul 1, qelbin 2.

¹ Outgoings in the month of Paophi. ² On the 1st of Paophi, for the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1, Egyptian, [qelul 1]. ³ On the 2nd of Paophi, for the meal, Egyptian, qelul 1, qelbin 2. ⁴ Given to Şəḥo, son of Pamut, wine of Egypt, ma'nin 5 and . . . ⁵ For each person, qelulin 2, qelbin 3; on your account, a small (?) . . . ⁶ . . . on your account, before 'Aḥor (?), E[gypt]ian, qelul 1. ⁷ . . . Egyptian, qelul 1. ⁸ . . . [at] night, Egyptian, qelbi 1. ⁹ . . . which is in . . . Egyptian, qelul 1. ¹⁰ [On the . . . of Paophi], for the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1, Egyptian, [qelul 1]. ¹¹ [To] . . . son of Peḥa (?), Egyptian, qelul 1. ¹² . . . for [the meal], E[gyptian, qelul] 1.

B

¹ On the 23rd, for the meal, qelul 1, qelbi 1. ² On the 24th, for ? 1, qelbin 2. ³ For the libation before Apuaitu (?), the great god, qelbi 1. ⁴ For the libation before the lady Isis, qelbi 1. ⁵ For the meal, wine of Sidon, qelbi 1. ⁶ On the 25th of Koiḥak, which is a day for vows, for the meal, qelulin 2. ⁷ On the 26th, before O[siris] . . . ⁸ On your account ? . . . ⁹ On the 28th, for . . . ¹⁰ On the 29th, for . . . ¹¹ 'Aḥor-nufi (?)

These texts are fragments of daily accounts kept by a steward, to be submitted to the master of the house. They were probably written during the Persian rule, and belong to a rather later date than 76.

A. L. 1. פאפי The 2nd month of the Egyptian year, Sept. 28th–Oct. 27th; Copt. Paōpi (see Brightman *Liturgies* 168), Gk. Παωφί, Arab. بَابِ. נפֿקתא A noun fem. sing. in the emph. st., or perhaps with suff. 3 sing.; cf. נפֿקתא Ezr. 6 4 and נפֿקתא=τὴν δαπάνην Lk. 14 28.

L. 2. קלבי An Egypt. fluid measure; the derivation is unknown, cf. Arab. كَلْب a mould. The Corp. renders *lagena*. לשרת ll. 3. 10 &c. for the feast; Targ. שיריתא, e.g. Onk. Gen. 43 16, Syr. ܡܫܪܬܐ;

from שרה lit. *to loose*, cf. משהרה 68 6. חמר צידן l. 10. B 5. Wine from Phoenicia (e.g. Beirut, Byblus) and Syria was specially esteemed in antiquity; cf. Athenaeus *Deipnosoph.* i 52 ὡς ἄριστος ἔφην πάντων Φοινίκιος οἶνος. מצרין Lit. *Egypt*, here *Egyptian wine*; see Gen. 40 9-11, Strabo 687 (ed. Müll.) οἶνόν τε οὐκ ἄλλῃον ἐκφέρει (nome of Arsinoë), ib. 679 ὁ Μαριώτης οἶνος &c., Pliny *Nat. Hist.* xiv 9.

L. 3. קליל It is suggested that this is the Egypt. *qerel*, *qelet* 'vessel,' Copt. *kelwal* a *small vessel*. But in Aram. are found קלל Talm. *Para* 79 b, a stone vessel for receiving the ashes of the sin-offering, קלל, plur. קלל; whence the Arab. قلال an earthen *water-jug* (Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw. in Arab.* 170 f.). The קלל was clearly a fluid measure; Corp. *amphora*.

L. 4. יהיב=יהיב Ptcp. of יהב; cf. CIS ii 147 B 2 &c. צחא Cf. 74 B 1. מצח Egypt., of the goddess *Mut*. מצח Lit. *vessels* here *measures*; Corp. *dolia*, i.e. large wine-jars.

L. 5. נף Apparently=נפס *body, corpse*. בנף is taken to mean *for each, individually*; what seems to be the full expression occurs in CIS ii 147 1 בנפס נפס, cf. in Gk. papyri τὸ κατ' ἄνδρα τῶν σωματῶν. עליך וער The meaning perhaps is *for you* (i.e. the master) a *small* (measure of some kind).

L. 6. עחר Prob. the name of an Egypt. deity to whom the libation was offered; cf. B 11. CIS ii 136 לעחר.

L. 9. נה בצ. Restore בעצנה i.e. in the city of *Tanis*, צען Ps. 78 12. 43 &c.

L. 11. פחה Probably an Egypt. pr. n. *Paḥa*.

B. L. 1. After the numeral the name of the month is to be understood; see l. 6.

L. 2. לבנור ? meaning. If it is a pr. n., instead of the numeral we must read 1 as part of the name לבנורי.

L. 3. נקיה Prob.=נקיה, נקיה libation. אפיתו The name of a deity, perhaps Apuaitu (a form of Anubis), though this would be transliterated אפיתו.

L. 4. אסי רבתי See 8 2 n.

L. 6. כיהך The 4th month of the civil year, Egypt. *Kahika*, Arab. كيهك.

L. 8. אנומי ? pr. n.

L. 11. פיתא If the form is complete, the meaning may be *angle, corner*, Targ. פיתא, פיתא, Hebr. פנה.

עחרנפי Perhaps=the Egypt. *Ahor-nufi* (for *-nufir*) 'Ahor is good'; cf. A 6.

NABATAEAN

NORTH ARABIA

78. El-'Öla. CIS ii 332; Eut. 1. B. C. 9. At Strassburg.

- 1 דא נפשא די אב. בר
- 2 מקימו בר מקימאל די בנה
- 3 לה אבוהי בירח אלול
- 4 שנת 1 לחרתת מלך נבמו

This is the monument of Ab., son ² of Moqîmu, son of Moqîm-el, which ³ his father built for him in the month Elul, ⁴ the 1st year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans.

This inscr. comes from El-'Öla (أَلْعَلَى), a little to the S. of El-Hejra (الْحِجْر), where a large number of Nab. inscrs. have been found (79-93). Both places are in N. Arabia, in the Hejaz, S. of Têma (69 3 n.), and not far from the coast of the Red Sea; they are situated in what was the southernmost end of the Nab. kingdom ¹.

L. 1. דא See add. note p. 26. נפשא In Nab. either fem., as here and in CIS ii 194 f. &c., or mas., 159 דנה נפש 192 &c., frequently used of a *monument* set up over a grave; so in Aram., CIS ii 115 f.; in Palm. נפשא דה Vog. 31 1. 146 נפשא דנה 1. Perhaps the word conveyed the idea of the personality ('נ lit. *soul*) of the deceased; a *nefesh* was erected for each of the persons buried in a tomb, cf. תרתי נפשות 96 1. This idea is prob. symbolized by the pyramid standing upon a cube, such as was sometimes carved upon the rock over the inscr.; see the illustration in Vogüé *Syr. Centr.* 90. The *nefesh* is mentioned in the Talm., e.g. *Shegalim* 5 א נפש לו בתין קברו; cf. also נפשא in Syr., e.g. 1 Macc. 13 28 *ܢܦܫܐ ܡܢ ܡܢܗ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܥܡܪܐܢ ܕܥܡܪܐܢ ܕܥܡܪܐܢ*, referring to the monument built by Simon at Modin (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 190 f.). אב. Probably אב.

L. 2. מקימו = مقيم CIS ii 215. 233; a common name in Palm., 110 f. &c.; in Gk. *Mokēimos*, *Mokimos*. In Nab. pr. nn. frequently end in ʾ, the equivalent of the Arab. ـة. מקימאל Compounded of מקימו and אל; cf. in Pun. מקמאל (ם) CIS i 261, and for the form, מריב

¹ The texts of 78-93, before they appeared in the Corp., were published in the valuable edition of Euting, enriched with notes by Nöldeke, *Nabatäische Inschriften* (1885).

ל בעל Chr. 9 40. סחיסבאל Neh. 6 10 &c. חח So 99 1, cf. חח
CIS ii 224 4; but בנא 333 2 and in Palm. 122 5.

L. 3. אלל Aug.-Sept., Neh. 6 15; one of the names of the
Babyl. months borrowed by the Jews after the exile. See Schrader
COT 380.

L. 4. חרתת i.e. Aretas iv, δ Περραιὸς βασιλεὺς (Jos. Ant. xviii 5 1),
who reigned from B.C. 9 to A.D. 40; inscriptions (CIS ii 214 f.) and coins
are dated in his 48th year. After his accession he secured the favour
of Augustus, and was recognized as king (Jos. ib. xvi 10 9). Herod
Antipas married his daughter (see 95 3 n.), but subsequently set her
aside for Herodias, and thus gave Aretas a pretext to punish his
son-in-law for this and other grievances (Jos. ib. xviii 5 1). At a later
time, circ. A.D. 38, when St. Paul was persecuted by his ethnarch (2 Cor.
11 32), Aretas was master of Damascus; it is conjectured that the town
had been made over to him by Caligula as a peace-offering¹. He is
mentioned in 20 inscr. from El-Hejra (CIS ii 197-217), in the second
inscr. from Petra 95, in the inscr. of Medeba 96, of Sidon CIS ii 160,
of Puteoli 102, and frequently on coins. In the inscr. he is surnamed
רחם עמם = Φιλόπατρις, a title which asserts his claim to independence,
in contrast to such titles as Φιλορώμαιος, Φιλοκαῖσαρ, adopted by subject
kings. חרתת = Gk. 'Aretas for 'Aretas, perhaps under the influence of
ἀρετή. נבט The kingdom of the Nabataeans was centred at
Petra, the former Edomite stronghold of Sela'; hence the name of
the country, 'Αραβία ἡ πρὸς τῇ Πέτρᾳ i.e. Arabia Petraea. From this
centre it extended northwards, at times even to Damascus (in B.C. 85
and A.D. 34-65 circ.), and southwards into N. Arabia, as far as
the NE. shore of the Red Sea, 'omnis regio ab Euphrate usque
ad mare Rubrum,' says St. Jerome (infr.). From the language of the
inscriptions it appears that the Nabataeans were of Arab race and spoke
Arabic, but used Aramaic for the purposes of writing and commerce;
Nöldeke in Eut. Nab. Inschr. 78. Before the Hellenistic period little,
or nothing, is known of them. It is probable that the Na-ba-ai-ti,
frequently named along with other Arab tribes² in the Rassam
Cylinder of Ašurbanipal (KB ii 216-222), were the Nabataeans.
Whether the latter are the same as the Arab tribe called נביות in
the O.T. is not altogether certain; the identification is as old as

¹ The Roman Damascene coins end with Tiberius, A.D. 34, and begin again with
Nero, A.D. 62-3; in the interval Dam. was under the Nab. kings. So Gutschmidt
in Eut. Nab. Inschr. 85; Schürer *Gesch. jüd. Volk.* 3 i 737.

² E.g. the *Kid-ra-ai* i.e. קד, KB ii 222; cf. נבח and קד Gen. 25 13 &c.,
Nabataei and Cedrei in Pliny *Hist. Nat.* v 12.

Josephus (*Ant.* i 12 4 Ναβαιώθης—Ναβατηνήν χώραν), who is followed by Jerome (*Quaest.* in Gen. 25 13 ed. Vallar. tom. iii 345) and most moderns. נְבִיִּי looks like a fem. plur. (cf. נְבִיִּיָּה from נָבִי Neh. 12 47 &c.), and may possibly come from the Arab. نَبَاةٌ *lofty place, eminence*; its resemblance to נָבִי is thus not very close, although there are analogies for the interchange of נ and ב, e. g. נָבִי and מָבִי, 62 8 n.¹ In the Hellenistic period the Nabataeans first appear in the time of Antigonos, 312 B.C., who sent two expeditions against them, Diod. xix 94–100. Their first known ruler was the Aretas of 2 Macc. 5 8 (τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων τύραννον), with whom Jason sought asylum in 169 B.C., for the Nabataeans were friendly to the Maccabaeian family, 1 Macc. 5 25. 9 35. With the decay of the Gk. kingdoms of Syria and Egypt their power increased, and towards the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. they were consolidated under a vigorous king named Erotimus, who was perhaps the founder of the Nab. dynasty (see Jos. *Ant.* xiii 13 3. 5. 15 1. 2. *Wars* i 4 4. 8 &c.)². In B.C. 85 Aretas iii was master of Damascus, and struck coins there with the legend βασιλεύς Ἀρέτου Φιλέλληγος. Shortly after this the Nabataeans for the first time came into collision with the Romans under Pompey and Scourus, Jos. *Ant.* xiv 1 4–2 3. 5 1. *Wars* i 8 1; and in the subsequent period were sometimes reduced to tributaries, sometimes allowed a measure of independence, until finally in A.D. 106, when Cornelius Palma was governor of Syria, the Nab. kingdom was absorbed into the Empire and became a Roman province³.

The following list of Nab. kings, based upon Schürer *Gesch. Jud. Volk.*⁴ i 726–744, will be convenient for reference:

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Aretas i reigning in 169 B.C. | Aretas iv 9 B.C.–40 A.D. 78–91. |
| Erotimus „ 110–100 B.C. | 95. 96. |
| Aretas ii „ 96 B.C. | Abias. |
| Obedas i „ 90 B.C. | Malchus ii circ. 48–71 A.D. 92*. |
| Aretas iii circ. 85–60 B.C. | 93. 99. |
| Malchus i circ. 50–28 B.C. 100*. | Rabel circ. 71–106 (?) A.D. 97*. |
| 102. | 101. |
| Obedas ii circ. 28–9 B.C. 95*. | End of the Nab. kingdom 106 A.D. |

Under the numbers marked by an asterisk further particulars will be found.

¹ The Gk. Ναβαταῖοι = Aram. נְבַתָּי, Lagarde *Bild. Nom.* 52.

² Justinus xxxix 5, cited by Schürer ib. 731. Bevan *House of Seleucus* li 257.

³ Dio. Cass. lxxviii 14, cited by Schürer ib. 743.

79. El-Hejra. CIS ii 197; Eut. 2. B. C. I. In situ.

- 1 דנה קברא די עבר עידו בר כהילו בר
- 2 אלכסי לנפשה וילדה ואחרה ולמן די ינפק בידה
- 3 כתב תקף מן יד עידו קים לה ולמן די ינתן ויקבר בה
- 4 עידו בחיוהי בירח ניסן שנת תשע לחרתת מלך
- 5 נבטו רחם עמה ולענו דושרא ומנותו וקישא
- 6 כל מן די יובן כפרא דנה או יובן או ירהן או ינתן או
- 7 יוגר או יתאלף עלוהי כתב כלה או יקבר בה אנוש
- 8 להן למן די עלא כתיב וכפרא וכתבה דנה חרם
- 9 כחליקת חרם נבטו ושלמו לעלם עלמין

This is the sepulchre which 'Aidu, son of Kohailu, son ² of Elqasi, made for himself and his children and his posterity, and for whomsoever shall produce in his hand ³ a warrant from the hand of 'Aidu: it shall hold good for him and for whomsoever 'Aidu during his life-time shall give leave to bury in it: ⁴ in the month Nisan, the ninth year of Harethath, king ⁵ of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. And may Dûshara and Manûthu and Qaishah curse ⁶ every one who shall sell this tomb, or buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or ⁷ let it, or frame for it any (other) writ, or bury any one in it ⁸ except those who are written above! And the tomb and this its inscription are inviolable things, ⁹ after the manner of what is held inviolable by the Nabataeans and Shalamians, for ever and ever.

L. 1. עידו 98 i i.e. عائد, 'Aedûs Wadd. 2034 &c. כהילו i.e. كاهيل; in Palm. 141 2.

L. 2. אלכסי Prob. = 'Αλέξιος. ילדה ואחרה Both words are always in sing., with collect. sense. For אחר see 65 10 n.

L. 3. כתב תקף 87 3 &c. lit. a document of confirmation, תִּקְּף = be strong; cf. Esth. 9 29 (תִּקְּף). קים Ptcp. קים. ינתן ויקבר For the construction cf. the use of the subjunct. with ַנ in Arab., Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii 30 f.; the impf. (or juss.) with ך in Hebr., e.g. 2 S. 16 11

הַנְּחֹז לֹא וְיִסְלַל. Is. 43 9 &c., cf. Job 19 23, Driver *Tenses* § 62; in Bibl. Aram. cf. Dan. 5 2 וַיִּשְׁתַּח וַיִּשְׁתַּח . . . אֲמַר, though the pf. with ו is more usual, Dan. 5 29 &c., as in Syr., Nöld. *Syr. Gr.*² § 334 B.

L. 4. נִסָּן The 1st month, Mar. 22 to April 20, Neh. 2 1. Esth. 3 7; see 78 3 n. לַחֲרַת See 78 4 n.

L. 5. וְלַעֲנֹ 81 4 &c. = Arab. لَعْن. The perf. is used similarly in Arab. for prayers and imprecations, e.g. لَعَنَكَ اللَّهُ, Wright l.c. 3. דְּוִשְׂרָא The chief god of the Nabataeans, worshipped throughout N. Arabia, especially at Petra, and in Ḥauran at Adra'a (אֲדְרַעִי) and Bostra. In Arab. the name is written ذو الشرى i.e. ذو lit. *owner, possessor* (cf. בעל) and الشرى, prob. the name of a place¹. Wellhausen enumerates three places called Sharâ, and described by Arab. writers as remarkable either for swampy ground, or for lions, or for water, trees, and jungle. Such localities were esteemed specially suitable for a *himd* or *temenos* of a god, and Shara, wherever it may have been, was prob. a place of this kind; *Reste Ar. Heidenth.* 48 ff. Thus Dhu-sharâ lit. *owner of Sharâ* is only an appellation of the god: his actual name (p. 239 n. 1) was not used; cf. Dhu ʾ Halaṣa (Arab., 105 n.), Dhu Shamâwi (Sab., 9 1 n.), בעלת נבל (= עשחרת) (= בעל צר, (מלקרת) = 3 2 n. In Sabaeen both the name and title of a god are sometimes used in full, e.g. 'Athtar Dhu Gaufat (CIS iv 40 4. 41 2 f.), Almaqah Dhu Hirrân (Mordtmann u. Müller *Sab. Denkm.* 6). Dusares was worshipped at Petra under the form of a black rectangular stone², a sort of Petraean Ka'aba; and Epiphanius describes a feast held at Petra on Dec. 25th in honour of 'Χααβον [χααμου ed. Dind. ii 484] i.e. virgin, and her offspring Δουσάρης i.e. the only son of the lord' (*Haer.* 51)³. By Gk. and Lat. writers Dusares was identified with Dionysos-Bacchus: Δουσάρην τὸν Διόνυσον Ναβαταῖοι ὡς φησὶν Ἰσιδωρος (Hesych. s.v.); but, as Wellhausen justly remarks, the god of a nomad race of Arabs, living in the desert, could hardly have been worshipped originally under the character of Dionysos, for Dionysos (בעל) is the

¹ Acc. to Steph. Byz. s.v. Δουσάρη, a mountain, σέπτελος καὶ κορυφὴ ὑψηλοτάτη 'Αραβίας' εἰρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δουσάρου. Hence, he says, the Nabs. called themselves Δουσάρηνοί.

² Suidas *Lex.* s.v. Θεὸς Ἀρης.

³ If the reading is right Χααβον prob. = כעב lit. *a die, cube*, i.e. the sacred stone, either of Dusares himself, or of a goddess-consort (such as Allât); see on the passage Röscher *ZDMG* xxxviii 643 ff. Rob. Smith holds that the Petraeans worshipped Mother and Son, each under the form of a stone (*Kinslip* 292 f.; *Rel. of Sem.* 57 n.); Wellhausen (l.c. 50), that they conceived of Dusares as born from his *baetylion*. In his account of the cult, Epiph. may have been unconsciously influenced by Christian ideas of the Parthenogenesis.

god of agricultural, settled life. No doubt in time, under the influence of Canaanite and Aramaic civilization, Dusares assimilated the attributes of Ba'al-Dionysos¹; and if, as there is some evidence for believing, Dusares was originally a solar deity (see Baethgen *Beitr.* 95 f.), the assimilation is not difficult to imagine. מנורו 80 4. 8. Note the ending י', not elsewhere in Nab. with fem. nouns, as in Arabic a pr. n. ending in *i* does not take tanwīn. מנורו is the Arab. goddess مَنَاة, mentioned in the Qurān, 53 20. Wellhausen, l. c. 28, explains the form as a plur. *manawdūn* and the name as = Fate, lit. *portion, lot* (as מנחם in Aram.), Τύχη, cf. Gad. The chief centre of the cult of Manāth was in the Hejaz, at the water of Quda'id, a station on the pilgrim-road between Medina and Mekka. קישא 80 4. קישא 80 9. This is the only instance known of the emph. st. in י'. As in the case of מנורו, nothing definite as to the character of this deity has been preserved. Eut. quotes the pr. nn. امرؤ القيس, عبد القيس; possibly *Ka-ūš-ma-la-ka*, a king of Edom mentioned by Tiglath-pileser (*KB* ii 20), contains the name of the deity.

L. 6. יבן . . יבן Peal . . Pael, 80 4 f. 81 5. כפרא 80 1 &c., according to D. H. Müller a word imported from the Lihyan dialect preserved in inscr. from El-'Ölā, *Epigr. Denkm. aus Arab.* p. 65, nos. 9. 25. 27. 29. In any case the Arab. كَفَرٌ, usually *village*, also means *tomb*, as in Nab. The statement of Strabo (p. 667 ed. Müll.) that the Nabs. ἵσα κοπρίαὶ ἡγοῦνται τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα . . . διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς κοπρώνας κατορύττουσι καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς is cleverly explained by Cl.-Gan. as due to a misunderstanding of the Nab. כפרא, which suggested κοπρία, κοπρών to Gk. ears, *Ét.* i 146 ff. ידון 80 5 &c. = دهن, *give in pledge*.

L. 7. ימר 81 6 &c., also ימר CIS ii 220 4, Afel impf. of ימר. יתאלף CIS ii 217 10 &c. = Arab. اَلَّفَ lit. *join*, so *compose* (books), a different sense from that of the Aram. ילף, ילף *teach, learn*. מנש The form as in Hebr. and BAram. Dan. 4 13 Kt. The word is used in this dialect, as also in BAram. (מנש), with an indeterminate sense, *every man, no man, any one*, *tis*, e. g. 80 6. 80 5. 90 3. 94 5; similarly in Targ. Onk., e. g. Lev. 13 2. 18. 24; cf. Palm. מנש 147 i 11.

L. 8. לחן i. e. לְחַן = לֶחָן *except* 88 3. 94 5. Dan. 2 11. 3 28 &c.; cf. יהוא לחן די יהוא 90 4. עלא Cf. עֲלֵא מְנוּחַן Dan. 6 3 and עילא in Pal.

¹ Thus coins of Bostra (iii cent. B. C.) bear the figure of a wine-press, and the legend Ἀστία Δουσάρια or Δουσάρια alone; see further Mordtmann *ZDMG* xxix 104 f.

Aram., for the usual . חרם has the suff. 3 sing. m. חרם 81 3. 86 2. 94 3-5, Af. ptcp. מחרם 86 3, hence מחרמתא 102 1 f. chapel; in Palm. חרמן 112 4 = ἀναθήματα; in Sabaean חרמת = sanctuary (Sab. Denkm. 70), similarly מחרם CIS iv 74 15. The conveys the idea of a sacred thing prohibited to human use, hence sanctuary; see 1 17 n., p. 68, and Lagrange *Rel. Séim.* 181-187.

L. 9. חלקת 81 3. 86 2 &c. = nature, character. שלמו 81 4. 86 3 &c., a people nearly related to the Nabataeans; Steph. Byz. s.v. Σαλάμιοι ἔθνος Ἀράβιον σάλαμα δὲ ἡ εἰρήνη ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑνσπονδοῦ γένεσθαι τοῖς Ναβαταίοις. In the Talm. they are mentioned together, e.g. Jer. *Shebi'ith* vi fol. 36 b ערביא שלמייא נבטייא; see Neubauer *Géogr. du Talm.* 427 for other references. In the Targ. שלמאח = שלמיני, e.g. Onk. Num. 24 21 f., &c.

80. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 198; Eut. 3. B. C. or A. D. I. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבדו כמכם ברת ואלת ברת חרמו
- 2 וכליבת בריתה לנפשהם ואחרהם בירח טבת שנת
- 3 תשע לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה וילען דושרא
- 4 ומותבה ואלת מן עמנד ומנותו וקיששה מן יובן
- 5 כפרא דנה או מן יובן או ירהן או ינתן יתה או ינפק
- 6 מנה גת או שלו או מן יקבר בה עיר כמכם וברתה
- 7 ואחרהם ומן די לא יעבר כדי עלא כתיב פאיתי עמה
- 8 לדושרא והבלו ולמנותו שמדין 3 ולאפכלא קנס
- 9 סלעין אלף חרתי בלעד מן די ינפק בידה כתב מן יד
- 10 כמכם או כליבת בריתה בכפרא הו פקים כתבא הו
- 11 והבאלהי בר עברעבדת
- 12 עבד

This is the tomb which Kamkām, daughter of Wāilat, daughter of Hāramu, ² and Kulaibat her daughter made for themselves and their posterity: in the month Ṭebeth, the ninth year ³ of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. And may Dūshara ⁴ and his throne (?), and Allāt

of 'Amnad, and Manûthu, and Qaishah curse him who shall sell ⁶ this tomb, or who shall buy it, or mortgage it, or give it away, or take out ⁶ from it body or limb, or who shall bury in it any other than Kamkâm and her daughter ⁷ and their posterity; and any one who shall not do according to what is written above, he shall be charged ⁸ from Dûshara and Hubalu and from Manûthu with 5 curses, and to the magician (?) with a fine ⁹ of a thousand *sela's* Harethite; saving him who shall produce in his hand a writ from the hand ¹⁰ of Kamkâm or Kulaibat her daughter concerning the said tomb; and the said writ shall hold good. ¹¹ Wahb-allâhi, son of 'Abd-'obedath, ¹² did the work.

L. 1. עברו The mas. form is used in 3 plur. pf. and impf., though the subj. is fem., cf. 85 1. יחברון 98 2. כמכם Pr. n. fem. = כְּמַכָּם an Arab. gum, Sab. כמכם (*Sab. Denkm.* 83), κάγκαμον. The genealogy is here reckoned through the mother and grandfather (חרמו), and the grave is set apart by a mother and daughter for themselves and their children, the family *sacra*, with the exclusive right of burial, being thus transmitted through women independently of their husbands; cf. 85. From 91 it appears that married women could hold property and bequeath it on their own account. Sometimes it is the father who provides for the burial rights of his daughters and their children, e. g. 81. 90; but as a rule the family grave descends in the male line, e. g. 79, esp. 89. These facts point to the independent position held by women among the Nabataeans, testified further by the Nab. coins, upon which women figure prominently; and to the survival of the old rule of female kinship, along with the later system of transmission through males (Nöld. in *Eut. Nab. Inschr.* 79 f., Rob. Smith *Kinship* 313 ff.). 90 2 i. e. וְאֵלֶּה fem., Οὐαελαθη Wadd. 2055; in Sin. the name is mas., *Eut.* 504 &c. חרמו i. e. חָרָם, cf. חָרִים.

L. 2. כלִיבַת i. e. כְּלִיבָה fem. of כְּלִיבָה. לנפשות The suff. חם is mas. and fem. in Nab.; see 78 A 1 n. מִבַּת i. e. מִבַּת the 10th month, Dec. 17-Jan. 15, Assy. *Tibituv*, 78 3 n.; *Esth.* 2 15. Thus in the 9th year of Aretas iv the first half of Tebeth fell in B.C. 1, the second in A.D. 1.

L. 3. וילע Impf. 86 8; pf. 79 5.

L. 4. מותבה 94 3 f. (after דושרא) = מוֹתְבָה his throne, מוֹתְבָה = מוֹתְבָה,

70 1 (סִיחְבָּא, see *n.*), cf. Apoc. 12 5. The *throne* of D. has been explained as the platform on which his shrine was built; Cl.-Gan. identifies it with his altar, and thinks that the altar-throne was none other than the black squared stone worshipped at Petra (p. 218), *Rec.* iv 247-250¹. It seems, however, more likely that the explanation of the term is to be found in the ritual scenes depicted on Bab.-Assyr. tablets, where the god is seated in his shrine facing the altar; e.g. the tablet of Nabû-pal-iddina illustrated in the Brit. Mus. *Guide to Bab. and Assy. Ant.* (1900) Pl. xxii. Thus מִסְחָבָה is practically the same as *his shrine*; see 94 3 *n.* מֶלֶךְ i.e. אֱלֹהִים *Allāh*, the chief goddess of the ancient Arabs; cf. CIS ii 185 מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים. She is mentioned with Al-'Uzza and Manāt in Qur. 53 20. Arab writers say that her *himd* (79 5 *n.*) was the rich valley in which the town of Tāif lay, 60 miles SE. of Mekka; while the inscrs. show that her worship extended northwards to Ḥejra, Ḥauran (98. 99), as far as Palmyra (117); it reached also to Carthage and the Pun. settlements, see 60 3 *n.* The name מֶלֶךְ with a final long vowel due to contraction (not the fem. ending), means *goddess*, and is prob. contracted from אֱלֹהִים (fem. of אֱלֹהִים = אֱלֹהִים) — אֱלֹהִים — אֱלֹהִים, the middle stage of the contraction appearing in the 'Αλιλάτ of Herod. iii 8. The expression מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים *A. their goddess* in 99 1 seems to show that the original meaning of the name was in time forgotten. As to the character of the deity, there is some reason to think that she was a sun-goddess (so Wellh. *Reste Ar. Heid.* 33); in Sabaeen *Ildhat of Hamdān* אֱלֹהִים had solar attributes, *Sab. Denkm.* 66 f. But in Palm. 117 6 she is distinct from שֶׁשׁ; by Herod. (l.c.) and others she is called Οὐρανίη²; and in Ḥauran and at Palmyra her Gk. equivalent was 'Αθήνη³. This rather implies that she was an astral or sky deity, possibly the moon-goddess beside Dūshara the sun-god, if such was his original character (79 5 *n.*). In ancient Babylon Allatu was goddess of the nether regions (Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and Assy.* 104 &c.), but

¹ On some early Gk. vases the god is represented seated on his altar. Cl.-Gan. quotes Gk. inscriptions from Shēḥ Barakāt near Aleppo (*Et.* ii § 4) to Ζεὺς Μαδβαχός = מֶלֶךְ (1) מֶלֶךְ = Ζεὺς βασιλεύς on an inscr. lately found in the same district, *Rec.* iv § 28. The evidence is hardly convincing enough to support the far-reaching identification above.

² Herod. says, the Arabs ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον 'Οροτάλ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην 'Αλιλάτ. Origen *contr. Cels.* v 37 οἱ Ἀράβιοι τὴν Οὐρανίαν καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον μόνους ἡγοῦνται θεούς. Arrian *Exp. Alex.* vii 20 Ἀραβας δύο μόνον τιμᾶν θεούς, τὸν Οὐρανόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

³ 'Αθήνη in Gk. inscrs. from Ḥauran = מֶלֶךְ, Wadd. 2208, 2308 &c. The son of Zenobia, ἡρώδης, was called in Gk. 'Αθηρόδωρος.

there is no evidence that אלת had this character in Phoen. or Arab. religion (see 50 i n.). עמנר or מן עמנר The name of a place; cf. 99 אלת די בצלחד i f.

L. 6. עיר . . שלו . . נת Arab. words: جَنْتَ corpse, شَلُو member of the body, غَيْرٌ another.

L. 7. פאיתי עלהי i. e. פאיתי עמה 81 7 i. e. פאיתי עלהי CIS ii 217 7. The first letter is the Arab. conj. כ, cf. פקים i. 10 and often.

L. 8. הבלו Though the prep. is absent, this is prob. the ancient god מבל, cf. בנהבל 102 5 (?); for the omission of the prep. cf. 1. 2. לנשהם ואחרהם Perhaps to be connected with חַמַּם which sometimes = to curse, the Aram. equivalent of the Arab. لعن; cf. CIS ii 211 8 לענת iii four curses. לאפכלא Possibly the name of some religious or secular institution, Lidzb. 145 n. Nöld. suggests that the form is an error for לאכפלא in double (amount); cf. פאיתי עלהי כפל CIS ii 217 7. The word has been found recently in a Palm. inscr. following the name of a person אלהא די עיוזא אפכלא די עיוזא אלהא where it is clearly a priestly title, perhaps (after the Assy. *Abkallu*) = 'magician' (see p. 295 n. 1), and in the Minaean (?) inscr. from Warka אפכל = أفكل in the same position, Hommel *Süd-Arab. Chrest.* 113. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 203, proposes doubtfully the rendering *administrator*. קנס 80 8 = fine, as in Targ., e. g. Ps.-Jon. Ex. 21 30 קנסא דסמונא. The resemblance to κῆνος, census, is prob. only accidental; census does not = fine, and a Lat. word is not likely to have become naturalized in this connexion (Nöld.).

L. 9. סלעא In Targ. סלעא = Heb. שקל, e. g. Onk. Ex. 30 13 סילעא חרתי, Syr. سَلْعَا, Gk. στατήρ; here silver drachmae. An indeclinable adj. formed from חרתי, حَارْتِي, 'authorized, issued by Aretas.' The coins of Aretas iii, Obodas, and Aretas iv (at the beginning of his reign) are heavier in weight than those of the later kings. This double threat of divine curses and a fine in money is a peculiar feature of the El-Hejra inscr.; cf. 60 19 n. Lidzb., p. 143, has pointed out the remarkable parallel afforded by a number of Gk. sepulchral inscr. from W. Asia Minor, especially by those from Lycia¹. The custom of specifying a fine for violating a tomb spread widely from Lycia over the Roman Empire, and in this way may have reached the Nabataeans.

¹ See Hirschfeld in *Königsberger Studien* i (1887, 83-144). The foll. is a specimen, from Pinara, circ. 3 cent. B.C. (Hirschfeld, p. 107) ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσῃ, ἀμαρτωλὸς | ἔστω θεῶν πάντων καὶ Ἀητοῦς | καὶ τῶν τέκνων καὶ προ-|ποτεισάτων τάλαστων ἀργυρίου | καὶ ἐξίστω τῶν βουλομένων | ἐγδικάζεσθαι περὶ τούτων.

L. 10. בכפרא הו Eut. renders (*who are*) in the said grave; but it is better to refer the prep. to כתב a writing . . . in connexion with &c.

L. 11. והבאלהי 93 7 i.e. رَبُّ اللَّهِ, the name of the sculptor; the ׳ is the sign of the genit. עברעברת Compounded with the name of king Obodas; cf. עברמלכו 97 ii. עברחרת 82 5. CIS ii 304. The origin of these names may have been due to the deification of kings after death (see 95 1 n.); in some cases, perhaps, the second name belonged to a venerated ancestor, or to a tribe (cf. Arab. Abd-Ablihi), Wellhausen *Reste* 4.

81. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 199; Eut. 4. A. D. 4. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא ובססא וכוּנא די עבד חושבו בר
- 2 כפיו בר אלקוף תימניא לנפשה וילדה וחבו אמה
- 3 ורופו ואפתיו אחותה וילדהם חרם כחליקת חרם
- 4 נבמו ושלמו לעלם ולען דושרא כל מן די יקבר בכפרא דנה
- 5 עיר מן די עלא כתיב או יזבן או יזבן או ימשכן או
- 6 יוגר או יהב או יאנא ומן די יעבד כעיר מה די עלא
- 7 כתיב פאיתי עמה לדושרא אלהא בחרמא די עלא
- 8 לדמי מגמר סלעין אלף חרתי ולמראנא חרתת מלכא כות
- 9 בירה שבט שנת עשר ותלת לחרתת מלך נבמו רחם
- 10 עמה

This is the tomb and the base and the foundation (?) which Ḥūshabu, son ² of Kafiyu, son of Alkūf, the Tēmanite, made for himself and his children and Ḥabu his mother, ³ and Rūfu and Aftiyu his sisters and their children, an inviolable place, after the manner of what is held inviolable ⁴ by the Nabataeans and Shalamians, for ever. And may Dūshara curse every one who shall bury in this tomb ⁵ any other than those written above, or shall sell it, or buy it, or pledge it, or ⁶ let it, or give it away, or lend it temporarily! And any one who shall do otherwise than what is above ⁷ written, he shall be charged

to the god Dūshara, in connexion with the above inviolable place, * at the full price of a thousand *sela's* Harethite, and to our lord the king Harethath the same amount. * In the month Shebat, the thirteenth year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of ¹⁰ his people.

L. 1. בסמא = βόσις, Syr. ²ܚܫܡܐ, ³ܚܫܡܐ, in Targ. ⁴ܚܫܡܐ. כנא Some part of the building, but the exact meaning is unknown. If taken from ⁵ܚܫܡܐ (ܚܫܡܐ) would mean something 'straight', 'fixed'; but the word may be Gk., hardly, however, ⁶χώνη *melting-pot, funnel*, as proposed in Corp. A good many terms connected with building and sculpture were introduced into Aram. from Gk., e.g. ⁷ܚܫܡܐ *θλαρον* CIS ii 163 2, Palm. בסלקא 110 3. ⁸ܚܫܡܐ i. e. ⁹ܚܫܡܐ.

L. 2. כפיו Cf. Arab. ¹⁰كفي *equal, sufficient*. Corp. suggests a compound of אל and [כף] כפה, 'incline, O El.' From חמיניא In חבו 85 2 n. as ¹¹ܚܫܡܐ from ¹²ܚܫܡܐ (Nöld.); cf. 85 2 n. In Arab. perhaps ¹³حُبب *love*, cf. 83 3 ¹⁴ܚܫܡܐ.

L. 3. רופו Nöld. compares ¹⁵رأف *to pity*; but ? רופו. 93 אמתי 3 is not otherwise known. The Corp. compares פרחא *to be wide, open*. Plur. with suff. 3 sing. m.; cf. 85 3 and in Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 150 8 (as here). See 79 8. 9 n. חרם כחליקת

L. 4. נבטו ושלמו See 79 9 n.

L. 5. ימסכן 86 4 &c.; Syr. ¹⁶ܚܫܡܐ *to pawn or mortgage*; in 79 6 &c. ירחץ.

L. 6. יתב i. e. יתב, יתב; the rarely used impf. of יתב; in 79 6 &c. יתן. Prob. a verb from ¹⁷ܚܫܡܐ *time* (Nöld.).

L. 8. לדמי מנמר Lit. 'according to a price of totality.' is plur. constr., for Aram. uses only the plur., ¹⁸ܚܫܡܐ, ¹⁹ܚܫܡܐ; cf. CIS ii 217 7 *double the price of this place*. מנמר is prob. a noun from ²⁰ܚܫܡܐ *to unite, collect, reckon up*, rather than a pass. ptcp. ²¹ܚܫܡܐ, which would not agree with the plur. דמי. See סלעין 80 9 n. מראנא See 82 11 n. חרתת מלכא The regular order in Nab., 85 10. 92 4 &c., as in BAram. Dan. 3 1. 5 1 &c., and late Hebr. Dan. 1 21. 1 Chr. 29 29.

L. 9. עשר שבת i. e. ²²ܚܫܡܐ Zech. 1 7, the 11th month, Assy. *šabatu*; 78 3 n. עשר וחלת This is the usual order in Nab. (with a fem. noun), cf. 82 4. 93 6. 99 3; similarly in Palm. 147 ii b 20 *עשר ושח*, in Mandaic (Nöld. *Mand. Gr.* 189), and in Phoen. 5 1 and NPun. In Syr. the ten follows the unit.

82. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 201; Eut. 5. A. D. 8. In situ.

דנה כפרא די עבר מלכין פתורא 1
 על חנינו הפסתין כלירכא אבוהי 2
 ולנפשה וילדה ואחרה אצדק באצדק בירח ניסן 3
 שנת עשר ושבע למראנא חרתת מלך 4
 נבטו רחם עמה עבדחרתת פסלא 5
 בר עברעברת עבר 6

This is the tomb which Malkiōn Pathōra made ² over Ḥunaiṇu Hephaestiōn the chiliarch his father, ³ and for himself and his children and his posterity, each legal kinsman: in the month Nisan, ⁴ the seventeenth year of our lord Ḥarethath, king ⁵ of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. 'Abd-ḥarethath the mason, ⁶ son of 'Abd-'obedath, did the work.

L. 1. מלכין = Μαλχίων Wadd. 1910 &c. פתורא Cognomen of the father, = *table* in Aram., e. g. Targ. Onk. Ex. 25 23. D. H. Müller suggests that the name = *τραπεζίτης*; but this would be פתוריא (Nöld.).

L. 2. על 91 2, instead of the usual ל, implies that the father was already dead. חנינו 95 1 חנינו = 'Ovaînos Wadd. 2048 &c. הפסתין i. e. 'Ηφαιστίων. כלירכא = χιλίαρχος.

L. 3. אצדק באצדק A legal phrase frequently occurring in these inscr., 86 2. 88 2 &c. In form אצדק is an adj. with the elative א (أَصْدَقُ), though without the significance of the elative in Arab. (compar., superl.); the ב is distributive, as in שנה בשנה Dt. 15 20. חרש בחרש 1 Chr. 27 1. Literally, אצדק may be rendered *authorized*; it conveys the idea of *legal right*, perhaps also of *kinship*; Nöld. is inclined to give the latter as the original sense, and compares the Syr. ܐܘܬܪܝܬܐ *relatives, kinsmen* (Payne Smith *Thes.* col. 1085). At any rate in usage the phrase denotes 'haeres quisque in vice suâ,' 'jure haereditatis' (Corp.), 'all who have claims as kindred'; thus אחרה ואצדקה CIS ii 220 1 f. לילדהם ואצדקהם. 215 2. די יתקברון בה א' בא' כל 219 2 f. אנוש אצדק וירת 86 3.

L. 5. עבדחרתת See 80 11 n. פסלא 88 9 &c. i. e. פסלא, or פסלא, فسلأ.

83. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 202; Eut. 6. A. D. 15. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא ואונא די
 2 עבד מנעת בר אביין לנפשה
 3 ובנוהי פבנתה וילדהם בשנת
 4 עשרין וארבע לחרתת מלך
 5 נבטו רחם עמה

This is the tomb and habitation which ² Mun'ath, son of Abyas, made for himself ³ and his sons and his daughters and their children: in the ⁴ twenty-fourth year of Ḥarethath, king ⁵ of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. אונא = Syr. מו'ל' a lodging, inn, so mansion, abode, e. g. Jn. 14 2 ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶ ⁴⁶⁷ ⁴⁶⁸ ⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ ⁴⁷¹ ⁴⁷² ⁴⁷³ ⁴⁷⁴ ⁴⁷⁵ ⁴⁷⁶ ⁴⁷⁷ ⁴⁷⁸ ⁴⁷⁹ ⁴⁸⁰ ⁴⁸¹ ⁴⁸² ⁴⁸³ ⁴⁸⁴ ⁴⁸⁵ ⁴⁸⁶ ⁴⁸⁷ ⁴⁸⁸ ⁴⁸⁹ ⁴⁹⁰ ⁴⁹¹ ⁴⁹² ⁴⁹³ ⁴⁹⁴ ⁴⁹⁵ ⁴⁹⁶ ⁴⁹⁷ ⁴⁹⁸ ⁴⁹⁹ ⁵⁰⁰ ⁵⁰¹ ⁵⁰² ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁰⁴ ⁵⁰⁵ ⁵⁰⁶ ⁵⁰⁷ ⁵⁰⁸ ⁵⁰⁹ ⁵¹⁰ ⁵¹¹ ⁵¹² ⁵¹³ ⁵¹⁴ ⁵¹⁵ ⁵¹⁶ ⁵¹⁷ ⁵¹⁸ ⁵¹⁹ ⁵²⁰ ⁵²¹ ⁵²² ⁵²³ ⁵²⁴ ⁵²⁵ ⁵²⁶ ⁵²⁷ ⁵²⁸ ⁵²⁹ ⁵³⁰ ⁵³¹ ⁵³² ⁵³³ ⁵³⁴ ⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁶ ⁵³⁷ ⁵³⁸ ⁵³⁹ ⁵⁴⁰ ⁵⁴¹ ⁵⁴² ⁵⁴³ ⁵⁴⁴ ⁵⁴⁵ ⁵⁴⁶ ⁵⁴⁷ ⁵⁴⁸ ⁵⁴⁹ ⁵⁵⁰ ⁵⁵¹ ⁵⁵² ⁵⁵³ ⁵⁵⁴ ⁵⁵⁵ ⁵⁵⁶ ⁵⁵⁷ ⁵⁵⁸ ⁵⁵⁹ ⁵⁶⁰ ⁵⁶¹ ⁵⁶² ⁵⁶³ ⁵⁶⁴ ⁵⁶⁵ ⁵⁶⁶ ⁵⁶⁷ ⁵⁶⁸ ⁵⁶⁹ ⁵⁷⁰ ⁵⁷¹ ⁵⁷² ⁵⁷³ ⁵⁷⁴ ⁵⁷⁵ ⁵⁷⁶ ⁵⁷⁷ ⁵⁷⁸ ⁵⁷⁹ ⁵⁸⁰ ⁵⁸¹ ⁵⁸² ⁵⁸³ ⁵⁸⁴ ⁵⁸⁵ ⁵⁸⁶ ⁵⁸⁷ ⁵⁸⁸ ⁵⁸⁹ ⁵⁹⁰ ⁵⁹¹ ⁵⁹² ⁵⁹³ ⁵⁹⁴ ⁵⁹⁵ ⁵⁹⁶ ⁵⁹⁷ ⁵⁹⁸ ⁵⁹⁹ ⁶⁰⁰ ⁶⁰¹ ⁶⁰² ⁶⁰³ ⁶⁰⁴ ⁶⁰⁵ ⁶⁰⁶ ⁶⁰⁷ ⁶⁰⁸ ⁶⁰⁹ ⁶¹⁰ ⁶¹¹ ⁶¹² ⁶¹³ ⁶¹⁴ ⁶¹⁵ ⁶¹⁶ ⁶¹⁷ ⁶¹⁸ ⁶¹⁹ ⁶²⁰ ⁶²¹ ⁶²² ⁶²³ ⁶²⁴ ⁶²⁵ ⁶²⁶ ⁶²⁷ ⁶²⁸ ⁶²⁹ ⁶³⁰ ⁶³¹ ⁶³² ⁶³³ ⁶³⁴ ⁶³⁵ ⁶³⁶ ⁶³⁷ ⁶³⁸ ⁶³⁹ ⁶⁴⁰ ⁶⁴¹ ⁶⁴² ⁶⁴³ ⁶⁴⁴ ⁶⁴⁵ ⁶⁴⁶ ⁶⁴⁷ ⁶⁴⁸ ⁶⁴⁹ ⁶⁵⁰ ⁶⁵¹ ⁶⁵² ⁶⁵³ ⁶⁵⁴ ⁶⁵⁵ ⁶⁵⁶ ⁶⁵⁷ ⁶⁵⁸ ⁶⁵⁹ ⁶⁶⁰ ⁶⁶¹ ⁶⁶² ⁶⁶³ ⁶⁶⁴ ⁶⁶⁵ ⁶⁶⁶ ⁶⁶⁷ ⁶⁶⁸ ⁶⁶⁹ ⁶⁷⁰ ⁶⁷¹ ⁶⁷² ⁶⁷³ ⁶⁷⁴ ⁶⁷⁵ ⁶⁷⁶ ⁶⁷⁷ ⁶⁷⁸ ⁶⁷⁹ ⁶⁸⁰ ⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² ⁶⁸³ ⁶⁸⁴ ⁶⁸⁵ ⁶⁸⁶ ⁶⁸⁷ ⁶⁸⁸ ⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰ ⁶⁹¹ ⁶⁹² ⁶⁹³ ⁶⁹⁴ ⁶⁹⁵ ⁶⁹⁶ ⁶⁹⁷ ⁶⁹⁸ ⁶⁹⁹ ⁷⁰⁰ ⁷⁰¹ ⁷⁰² ⁷⁰³ ⁷⁰⁴ ⁷⁰⁵ ⁷⁰⁶ ⁷⁰⁷ ⁷⁰⁸ ⁷⁰⁹ ⁷¹⁰ ⁷¹¹ ⁷¹² ⁷¹³ ⁷¹⁴ ⁷¹⁵ ⁷¹⁶ ⁷¹⁷ ⁷¹⁸ ⁷¹⁹ ⁷²⁰ ⁷²¹ ⁷²² ⁷²³ ⁷²⁴ ⁷²⁵ ⁷²⁶ ⁷²⁷ ⁷²⁸ ⁷²⁹ ⁷³⁰ ⁷³¹ ⁷³² ⁷³³ ⁷³⁴ ⁷³⁵ ⁷³⁶ ⁷³⁷ ⁷³⁸ ⁷³⁹ ⁷⁴⁰ ⁷⁴¹ ⁷⁴² ⁷⁴³ ⁷⁴⁴ ⁷⁴⁵ ⁷⁴⁶ ⁷⁴⁷ ⁷⁴⁸ ⁷⁴⁹ ⁷⁵⁰ ⁷⁵¹ ⁷⁵² ⁷⁵³ ⁷⁵⁴ ⁷⁵⁵ ⁷⁵⁶ ⁷⁵⁷ ⁷⁵⁸ ⁷⁵⁹ ⁷⁶⁰ ⁷⁶¹ ⁷⁶² ⁷⁶³ ⁷⁶⁴ ⁷⁶⁵ ⁷⁶⁶ ⁷⁶⁷ ⁷⁶⁸ ⁷⁶⁹ ⁷⁷⁰ ⁷⁷¹ ⁷⁷² ⁷⁷³ ⁷⁷⁴ ⁷⁷⁵ ⁷⁷⁶ ⁷⁷⁷ ⁷⁷⁸ ⁷⁷⁹ ⁷⁸⁰ ⁷⁸¹ ⁷⁸² ⁷⁸³ ⁷⁸⁴ ⁷⁸⁵ ⁷⁸⁶ ⁷⁸⁷ ⁷⁸⁸ ⁷⁸⁹ ⁷⁹⁰ ⁷⁹¹ ⁷⁹² ⁷⁹³ ⁷⁹⁴ ⁷⁹⁵ ⁷⁹⁶ ⁷⁹⁷ ⁷⁹⁸ ⁷⁹⁹ ⁸⁰⁰ ⁸⁰¹ ⁸⁰² ⁸⁰³ ⁸⁰⁴ ⁸⁰⁵ ⁸⁰⁶ ⁸⁰⁷ ⁸⁰⁸ ⁸⁰⁹ ⁸¹⁰ ⁸¹¹ ⁸¹² ⁸¹³ ⁸¹⁴ ⁸¹⁵ ⁸¹⁶ ⁸¹⁷ ⁸¹⁸ ⁸¹⁹ ⁸²⁰ ⁸²¹ ⁸²² ⁸²³ ⁸²⁴ ⁸²⁵ ⁸²⁶ ⁸²⁷ ⁸²⁸ ⁸²⁹ ⁸³⁰ ⁸³¹ ⁸³² ⁸³³ ⁸³⁴ ⁸³⁵ ⁸³⁶ ⁸³⁷ ⁸³⁸ ⁸³⁹ ⁸⁴⁰ ⁸⁴¹ ⁸⁴² ⁸⁴³ ⁸⁴⁴ ⁸⁴⁵ ⁸⁴⁶ ⁸⁴⁷ ⁸⁴⁸ ⁸⁴⁹ ⁸⁵⁰ ⁸⁵¹ ⁸⁵² ⁸⁵³ ⁸⁵⁴ ⁸⁵⁵ ⁸⁵⁶ ⁸⁵⁷ ⁸⁵⁸ ⁸⁵⁹ ⁸⁶⁰ ⁸⁶¹ ⁸⁶² ⁸⁶³ ⁸⁶⁴ ⁸⁶⁵ ⁸⁶⁶ ⁸⁶⁷ ⁸⁶⁸ ⁸⁶⁹ ⁸⁷⁰ ⁸⁷¹ ⁸⁷² ⁸⁷³ ⁸⁷⁴ ⁸⁷⁵ ⁸⁷⁶ ⁸⁷⁷ ⁸⁷⁸ ⁸⁷⁹ ⁸⁸⁰ ⁸⁸¹ ⁸⁸² ⁸⁸³ ⁸⁸⁴ ⁸⁸⁵ ⁸⁸⁶ ⁸⁸⁷ ⁸⁸⁸ ⁸⁸⁹ ⁸⁹⁰ ⁸⁹¹ ⁸⁹² ⁸⁹³ ⁸⁹⁴ ⁸⁹⁵ ⁸⁹⁶ ⁸⁹⁷ ⁸⁹⁸ ⁸⁹⁹ ⁹⁰⁰ ⁹⁰¹ ⁹⁰² ⁹⁰³ ⁹⁰⁴ ⁹⁰⁵ ⁹⁰⁶ ⁹⁰⁷ ⁹⁰⁸ ⁹⁰⁹ ⁹¹⁰ ⁹¹¹ ⁹¹² ⁹¹³ ⁹¹⁴ ⁹¹⁵ ⁹¹⁶ ⁹¹⁷ ⁹¹⁸ ⁹¹⁹ ⁹²⁰ ⁹²¹ ⁹²² ⁹²³ ⁹²⁴ ⁹²⁵ ⁹²⁶ ⁹²⁷ ⁹²⁸ ⁹²⁹ ⁹³⁰ ⁹³¹ ⁹³² ⁹³³ ⁹³⁴ ⁹³⁵ ⁹³⁶ ⁹³⁷ ⁹³⁸ ⁹³⁹ ⁹⁴⁰ ⁹⁴¹ ⁹⁴² ⁹⁴³ ⁹⁴⁴ ⁹⁴⁵ ⁹⁴⁶ ⁹⁴⁷ ⁹⁴⁸ ⁹⁴⁹ ⁹⁵⁰ ⁹⁵¹ ⁹⁵² ⁹⁵³ ⁹⁵⁴ ⁹⁵⁵ ⁹⁵⁶ ⁹⁵⁷ ⁹⁵⁸ ⁹⁵⁹ ⁹⁶⁰ ⁹⁶¹ ⁹⁶² ⁹⁶³ ⁹⁶⁴ ⁹⁶⁵ ⁹⁶⁶ ⁹⁶⁷ ⁹⁶⁸ ⁹⁶⁹ ⁹⁷⁰ ⁹⁷¹ ⁹⁷² ⁹⁷³ ⁹⁷⁴ ⁹⁷⁵ ⁹⁷⁶ ⁹⁷⁷ ⁹⁷⁸ ⁹⁷⁹ ⁹⁸⁰ ⁹⁸¹ ⁹⁸² ⁹⁸³ ⁹⁸⁴ ⁹⁸⁵ ⁹⁸⁶ ⁹⁸⁷ ⁹⁸⁸ ⁹⁸⁹ ⁹⁹⁰ ⁹⁹¹ ⁹⁹² ⁹⁹³ ⁹⁹⁴ ⁹⁹⁵ ⁹⁹⁶ ⁹⁹⁷ ⁹⁹⁸ ⁹⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰⁰ ¹⁰⁰¹ ¹⁰⁰² ¹⁰⁰³ ¹⁰⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁰⁹ ¹⁰¹⁰ ¹⁰¹¹ ¹⁰¹² ¹⁰¹³ ¹⁰¹⁴ ¹⁰¹⁵ ¹⁰¹⁶ ¹⁰¹⁷ ¹⁰¹⁸ ¹⁰¹⁹ ¹⁰²⁰ ¹⁰²¹ ¹⁰²² ¹⁰²³ ¹⁰²⁴ ¹⁰²⁵ ¹⁰²⁶ ¹⁰²⁷ ¹⁰²⁸ ¹⁰²⁹ ¹⁰³⁰ ¹⁰³¹ ¹⁰³² ¹⁰³³ ¹⁰³⁴ ¹⁰³⁵ ¹⁰³⁶ ¹⁰³⁷ ¹⁰³⁸ ¹⁰³⁹ ¹⁰⁴⁰ ¹⁰⁴¹ ¹⁰⁴² ¹⁰⁴³ ¹⁰⁴⁴ ¹⁰⁴⁵ ¹⁰⁴⁶ ¹⁰⁴⁷ ¹⁰⁴⁸ ¹⁰⁴⁹ ¹⁰⁵⁰ ¹⁰⁵¹ ¹⁰⁵² ¹⁰⁵³ ¹⁰⁵⁴ ¹⁰⁵⁵ ¹⁰⁵⁶ ¹⁰⁵⁷ ¹⁰⁵⁸ ¹⁰⁵⁹ ¹⁰⁶⁰ ¹⁰⁶¹ ¹⁰⁶² ¹⁰⁶³ ¹⁰⁶⁴ ¹⁰⁶⁵ ¹⁰⁶⁶ ¹⁰⁶⁷ ¹⁰⁶⁸ ¹⁰⁶⁹ ¹⁰⁷⁰ ¹⁰⁷¹ ¹⁰⁷² ¹⁰⁷³ ¹⁰⁷⁴ ¹⁰⁷⁵ ¹⁰⁷⁶ ¹⁰⁷⁷ ¹⁰⁷⁸ ¹⁰⁷⁹ ¹⁰⁸⁰ ¹⁰⁸¹ ¹⁰⁸² ¹⁰⁸³ ¹⁰⁸⁴ ¹⁰⁸⁵ ¹⁰⁸⁶ ¹⁰⁸⁷ ¹⁰⁸⁸ ¹⁰⁸⁹ ¹⁰⁹⁰ ¹⁰⁹¹ ¹⁰⁹² ¹⁰⁹³ ¹⁰⁹⁴ ¹⁰⁹⁵ ¹⁰⁹⁶ ¹⁰⁹⁷ ¹⁰⁹⁸ ¹⁰⁹⁹ ¹¹⁰⁰ ¹¹⁰¹ ¹¹⁰² ¹¹⁰³ ¹¹⁰⁴ ¹¹⁰⁵ ¹¹⁰⁶ ¹¹⁰⁷ ¹¹⁰⁸ ¹¹⁰⁹ ¹¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹¹ ¹¹¹² ¹¹¹³ ¹¹¹⁴ ¹¹¹⁵ ¹¹¹⁶ ¹¹¹⁷ ¹¹¹⁸ ¹¹¹⁹ ¹¹²⁰ ¹¹²¹ ¹¹²² ¹¹²³ ¹¹²⁴ ¹¹²⁵ ¹¹²⁶ ¹¹²⁷ ¹¹²⁸ ¹¹²⁹ ¹¹³⁰ ¹¹³¹ ¹¹³² ¹¹³³ ¹¹³⁴ ¹¹³⁵ ¹¹³⁶ ¹¹³⁷ ¹¹³⁸ ¹¹³⁹ ¹¹⁴⁰ ¹¹⁴¹ ¹¹⁴² ¹¹⁴³ ¹¹⁴⁴ ¹¹⁴⁵ ¹¹⁴⁶ ¹¹⁴⁷ ¹¹⁴⁸ ¹¹⁴⁹ ¹¹⁵⁰ ¹¹⁵¹ ¹¹⁵² ¹¹⁵³ ¹¹⁵⁴ ¹¹⁵⁵ ¹¹⁵⁶ ¹¹⁵⁷ ¹¹⁵⁸ ¹¹⁵⁹ ¹¹⁶⁰ ¹¹⁶¹ ¹¹⁶² ¹¹⁶³ ¹¹⁶⁴ ¹¹⁶⁵ ¹¹⁶⁶ ¹¹⁶⁷ ¹¹⁶⁸ ¹¹⁶⁹ ¹¹⁷⁰ ¹¹⁷¹ ¹¹⁷² ¹¹⁷³ ¹¹⁷⁴ ¹¹⁷⁵ ¹¹⁷⁶ ¹¹⁷⁷ ¹¹⁷⁸ ¹¹⁷⁹ ¹¹⁸⁰ ¹¹⁸¹ ¹¹⁸² ¹¹⁸³ ¹¹⁸⁴ ¹¹⁸⁵ ¹¹⁸⁶ ¹¹⁸⁷ ¹¹⁸⁸ ¹¹⁸⁹ ¹¹⁹⁰ ¹¹⁹¹ ¹¹⁹² ¹¹⁹³ ¹¹⁹⁴ ¹¹⁹⁵ ¹¹⁹⁶ ¹¹⁹⁷ ¹¹⁹⁸ ¹¹⁹⁹ ¹²⁰⁰ ¹²⁰¹ ¹²⁰² ¹²⁰³ ¹²⁰⁴ ¹²⁰⁵ ¹²⁰⁶ ¹²⁰⁷ ¹²⁰⁸ ¹²⁰⁹ ¹²¹⁰ ¹²¹¹ ¹²¹² ¹²¹³ ¹²¹⁴ ¹²¹⁵ ¹²¹⁶ ¹²¹⁷ ¹²¹⁸ ¹²¹⁹ ¹²²⁰ ¹²²¹ ¹²²² ¹²²³ ¹²²⁴ ¹²²⁵ ¹²²⁶ ¹²²⁷ ¹²²⁸ ¹²²⁹ ¹²³⁰ ¹²³¹ ¹²³² ¹²³³ ¹²³⁴ ¹²³⁵ ¹²³⁶ ¹²³⁷ ¹²³⁸ ¹²³⁹ ¹²⁴⁰ ¹²⁴¹ ¹²⁴² ¹²⁴³ ¹²⁴⁴ ¹²⁴⁵ ¹²⁴⁶ ¹²⁴⁷ ¹²⁴⁸ ¹²⁴⁹ ¹²⁵⁰ ¹²⁵¹ ¹²⁵² ¹²⁵³ ¹²⁵⁴ ¹²⁵⁵ ¹²⁵⁶ ¹²⁵⁷ ¹²⁵⁸ ¹²⁵⁹ ¹²⁶⁰ ¹²⁶¹ ¹²⁶² ¹²⁶³ ¹²⁶⁴ ¹²⁶⁵ ¹²⁶⁶ ¹²⁶⁷ ¹²⁶⁸ ¹²⁶⁹ ¹²⁷⁰ ¹²⁷¹ ¹²⁷² ¹²⁷³ ¹²⁷⁴ ¹²⁷⁵ ¹²⁷⁶ ¹²⁷⁷ ¹²⁷⁸ ¹²⁷⁹ ¹²⁸⁰ ¹²⁸¹ ¹²⁸² ¹²⁸³ ¹²⁸⁴ ¹²⁸⁵ ¹²⁸⁶ ¹²⁸⁷ ¹²⁸⁸ ¹²⁸⁹ ¹²⁹⁰ ¹²⁹¹ ¹²⁹² ¹²⁹³ ¹²⁹⁴ ¹²⁹⁵ ¹²⁹⁶ ¹²⁹⁷ ¹²⁹⁸ ¹²⁹⁹ ¹³⁰⁰ ¹³⁰¹

L. 1. חִטְמָלְהִי i. e. $\text{ḥṭm} \text{ ʾallāh}$ *slave of Allah*, $\Theta\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ (gen.) Wadd. 2020; frequent in Sin., e. g. 108.

L. 2. חִמְלַת Mas., 87 2 ff. fem., = $\text{ḥm} \text{ ʾl}$ or $\text{ḥm} \text{ ʾl}$ (*sword-belt*, $\text{ḥm} \text{ ʾl}$ *to carry*); cf. ʾAmélabos Wadd. 2393 &c.

L. 3. אֲנַתְחָ From אֲנַתְחָ (= אֲנַשָּׁת, Syr. ʾall-thā) with suff. 3 sing. m.; contrast אֲנַתְחָ CIS ii 194. In Palm. the forms are אֲנַתְחָ, emph. אֲנַתְחָ, with suff. אֲנַתְחָ; in Pal. Aram. אֲנַתְחָ &c., with suff. אֲנַתְחָ and אֲנַתְחָ, plur. נִשְׂיָא, נִשְׂיָא (cf. נִשְׂיָא 62 8); Dalm. Gr. 159. 93 5. שְׂמֵר Cf. the name of the Arab tribe $\text{šm} \text{ ʾr}$. 94 4, Palm. 147 i 8, the usual Aram. word for a *bill* or *bond*, e. g. שְׂמֵר *a bill of debt*, hence the NHebr. $\text{šm} \text{ ʾr}$.

L. 4. תַּצְבָּא 87 5. 147 ii c 50. For the form תַּצְבָּא cf. יְהוּא 90 4.

L. 5. אֲב The 5th month; see 78 3 n.

85. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 205; Eut. 8. A. D. 25. In situ.

1 דְּנָה כִפְרָא דִּי עֲבָדוּ וְשָׂתִי בְּרַת בְּגֶרֶת
2 וְקִינוּ וְנִשְׁנִבְיָה בְּנָתָה תִּמְנִיתָא לְהֶם כְּלָה
3 כְּלָה וְלִשְׁמִית וְעִשְׂפָּא אַחֻתָּהֶם בְּנָת
4 וְשָׂתִי ו כְּלָה דִּי יִתְקַבְּרוּן דְּנָה
5 דִּי עֵלָא כְּלָה בְּכִפְרָא דְּנָה פְּקִים עַל
6 וְשָׂתִי בְּנָתָה
7 תַּאֲיִן
8
9 פִּאֲיִתִי עִמָּה לְאַלְהִי סִלְעִין מֵאָה חֲרָתִי
10 וְלִמְרָאנָא חֲרָתִי מִלְכָּא כּוֹת בִּירַח אִיר שְׁנָת
11 3 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ לְחֲרָתִי מִלְכָּא נִבְטוּ רַחֵם עִמָּה

This is the tomb which Washti, daughter of Bagarath, ² and Qainu and Nashankiyah (?) her daughters, the Tēmanites, made for themselves, each ³ one of them, and for Shamiyath and . . . their sisters, daughters ⁴ of Washti . . . that they be buried . . . this ⁵ who are above . . . in this tomb; and it shall hold good for ⁶ Washti, her daughters . . . ⁷ and he

shall be charged to my god a hundred *sela's* Harethite,¹⁰ and our lord Harethath the king the same amount: in the month Iyar, the ¹¹ 34th year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. וּשְׁתִּי The name is read distinctly in l. 4. It can hardly be the same as the O.T. וּשְׁתִּי, which is of Persian (Zend) origin. בְּנִת 87 ii i. c. *بَجَرُ*, *بَجَرُ* *corpulent*, *Báyparos* Wadd. 2562.

L. 2. קִינוּ 87 2 fem., in Sin. mas., e. g. Eut. 4. 557 &c.; in Arab. قَيْن is the name of a tribe, Hebr. צִין Num. 24 22. Jud. 4 11. נִשְׁכִּיחַ Similarly in Sin., e. g. Eut. 51. 190 &c. (mas.); cf. Eut. 162. בְּנִת Plur.; cf. 80, where the grave is provided by a mother and her daughter. Here the sisters of the foundresses are to have the use of the tomb; see 80 1 n. חִימִיתִי i. c. חִימִיתִי; see 81 2 n. כֻּלָּה are distributive.

L. 6. The illegible lines no doubt contained the usual imprecations.

L. 9. אֱלֹהֵי Either plur. or sing., with suff. מֵאֵז The smallness of the fine is remarkable; contrast 81 8. Eut. suggests that a metal plate, specifying a heavier penalty, was attached to the inscr. subsequently. In some cases traces of such tablets are still to be seen.

L. 10. אִיר 86 9 &c., i. e. Apr.-May; Assyr. *airu*, Palm. אִיר, Syr. اير, Rabb. אִיר; see 78 3 n.

86. El-Hejra. CIS ii 206; Eut. 9. A. D. 26. In situ. Plate VII.

1 דְּנָה קְבֵרָא דִּי עֵבֶד כְּהֵלֶן אִסְיָא בֵּר וְאֵלֶן לִנְפֶשָׁה וִילְדָה וְאַחֲרָה
2 אֶצְדֵּק בְּאֶצְדֵּק עַד עֵלָם וְאִיתִי קְבֵרָא דְּנָה חֶרֶם כְּחִלְקָת חֶרֶם
3 מִחֶרֶם לְדוּשְׂרָא בְּנִבְטוּ וְשִׁלְמוּ עַל כָּל אִנְשׁ אֶצְדֵּק וִירַת דִּי לֹא
4 יִזְבֵּן קְבֵרָא דְּנָה וְלֹא יִמְשֹׁכֵן וְלֹא יוֹגֵר וְלֹא יִשְׁאַל וְלֹא יִכְתֹּב
5 בְּקְבֵרָא דְּנָה כְּתֹב כְּלָה עַד עֵלָם וְכָל אִנְשׁ דִּי יִנְפֹּק בִּידוֹ כְּתֹב מִן כְּהֵלֶן
6 פָּקִים הוּ כְּדִי בָהּ וְכָל אִנְשׁ דִּי יִכְתֹּב בְּקְבֵרָא דְּנָה כְּתֹב מִן כָּל דִּי עֵלָה
7 פְּאִיתִי עֵמָה לְדוּשְׂרָא כֶּסֶף סִלְעִין אֶלְפִין תְּלַת חֲרָתִי וְלִמְרָאנָא
8 חֲרָתָה מִלְכָּא כּוֹת וִילְעֵן דּוּשְׂרָא וּמְנוֹתוֹ כָּל מִן דִּי יַעֲיֵר מִן כָּל
9 דִּי עֵלָה בִּירַח אִיר שְׁנַת תְּלָתִין וְחֲמִשׁ לְחֲרָתָה מִלְךְ נִבְטוּ רַחֵם עֵמָה
10 אַפְתָּה בֵּר עֵבֶדְעִבְדָּה וְחִלְפָּאֵלְהִי בֵּר חִמְלָה פְּסִלִּיא עֵבְדוּ

87. El-Hejra. CIS ii 207; Eut. 10. A. D. 27. In situ.

- 1 דנה קברא די עבד ארום בר פרון לנפשה ולפרון אבוהי
 2 הפרכא ולקיננו אנתתה ולחטבת וחמלת בנתהם וילד חטבת
 3 וחמלת אלה ולכל מן די ינפק בידה תקף מן ארום דנה או
 4 חטבת וחמלת אח[ו]תה בנת פרון הפרכא
 5 די יתקבר בקברא דנה או יקבר מן די יצבא
 6 בתקפא די בידה כדי בכתבא הו או אצדק באצדק
 7 בי[ר]ח ניסן שנת תלתין ושת לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה
 8 אפתח בר עברעברת ווהבו בר אפצא וחורו בר אחיו פסליא
 9 עב[ר]ד[ו]

This is the sepulchre which Arûs, son of Farwân, made for himself and for Farwân his father ² the eparch, and for Qainu his wife, and for Ḥaṭibath and Ḥamilath their daughters, and the children of the said Ḥaṭibath ³ and Ḥamilath, and for every one who shall produce in his hand a warrant from the said Arûs, or ⁴ Ḥaṭibath and Ḥamilath his sisters, daughters of Farwân the eparch, ⁵ to be buried in this sepulchre, or to bury whom he pleases, ⁶ in virtue of the warrant which is in his hand, according to what is in that writ, or each legal kinsman. ⁷ In the month Nisan, the thirty-sixth year of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. ⁸ Aṣṭaḥ, son of 'Abd-'obedath, and Wahbu, son of Afṣa, and Ḥûru, son of Uḥayyu, the masons, ⁹ did the work.

L. 1. ארום The termination perhaps indicates a Gk. name. פרון i. e. فَرْوَان. Arab. words in فَرْوَان do not take tanwîn, hence this name does not end in ʾ.

L. 2. הפרכא 83 1 = ἑπαρχος, cf. Sin. הפרכיה = ἑπαρχία 107, the ḥ as in Syr. ܡܪܝܢܐ, ܡܪܝܢܐ. 85 2 n. אנתתה i. e. the wife of Farwân, and step-mother of Arûs. חטבת i. e. ܡܪܝܢܐ, ܡܪܝܢܐ (84 2 n.).

L. 3. אלה 84 3 prob. אלה, plur. of רנה, רמ; see add. note p. 26. תקף 79 3 n.

L. 4. אחתה An error for the plur. אחותה. Other errors in this inscr. are לבח l. 7. עבו l. 9.

L. 8. אפתח 86 10 n. וְחָבִי i.e. وَحَبَّ. אַמְצָא 93 8 i.e. أَمِزَّ; the name occurs in the Lihyan dialect, Müller *Ep. Denk. aus Ar.* nos. 30. 32. חורו 90 5 i.e. حُور, Hebr. חור Ex. 17 10 &c., Gk. Ὀϊρος Wadd. 2270 &c. אחיו i.e. أَخِي dimin., little brother.

88. El-Hajra. CIS ii 208; Eut. 11. A.D. 27 (?). In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבד שלי בר רצוא
- 2 לנפשה וילדה ואחרה אצדק באצדק
- 3 ודי לא יתקבר בכפרא דנה להן אצדק
- 4 באצדק ודי לא יתובן ולא יתרהן כפרא
- 5 דנה ומן די יעבד כעיר די עלא פאיתי
- 6 עמה לדושרא אלה מראנא [כסף סלעין] אלף
- 7 חרתי בירח ניסן שנת 3 ... 1
- 8 לחרתת מלך נבטו רחם עמה אפתח
- 9 פסלא עבד

This is the tomb which Shullai, son of Raḏwa, made ² for himself and his children and his posterity, each legal kinsman; ³ and that no one is to be buried in this tomb except each legal ⁴ kinsman, and that this tomb is not to be sold or mortgaged. ⁵ And whoever does otherwise than is above, he shall be ⁶ charged to Dûshara, the god of our lord, [in money] a thousand [sela's] ⁷ Harethite. In the month Nisan, the ... year ⁸ of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. Aftah ⁹ the mason did the work.

L. 1. שלי 93 4 probably = Σουλλαῖος (ὁ τῶν Ναβαταίων ἐπίτροπος Strabo 663 ed. Müll.). This presupposes a form سُلَى or سُ, from سَلَّ, which, however, is not known. Prop. nn. of the form فَعَلَى are fem., e.g. سَلَى; Nöld. prefers a form سَلَا. رَضَوُا = رَضُوا; in which case, though not known in Arab., it will be one of the few mas.

names of the form أَنْتَل , fem. of أَنْتَل (Nöld.). Wellhausen takes it as = أَنْتَل , the name of an ancient Arab deity, and compares the Palm. names أَنْتَل 115 חים רצו Vog. 84 3; *Reste Ar. Heid.* 58 f. Cf. perhaps *Risul* (?) (= أَنْتَل) CIL v 4920.

L. 3. לֹחַן 79 8 n.

L. 4. יתובן Ethpa. This unusual form (for ירובן) appears to have been current; cf. מִתּוֹבְנָא ptc. fem. 147 ii c 33 and 94 4 n.

L. 6. אלה if it qualified דושרא, would be אלהא; see 61 29 n.

L. 7. Eut. fills the lacuna with س i. e. 15, making a total of 36. The Corp. would add two or three strokes, making 38 or 39.

89. El-Hejra. CIS ii 209; Eut. 12. A. D. 31. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבר חלפו בר קסנתן לנפשה ולשעידו ברה
2 ואחוהי מה די יתילד לחלפו דנה מן דכרין ולבניהם ואחרהם
3 אצדק באצדק עד עלם ודי יתקברון בכפרא דנה ו... שעידו דנה
4 ומנועת וכו'נשת וריבמת ואמית ושלמת בנת חלפו דנה ולא רשי
5 אנוש כלה מן שעידו ואחוהי דכרין ובניהם ואחרהם די יובן כפרא דנה
6 או יכתב מוהבה או עירה לאנוש כלה בלעדן יכתב חד מנהם
לאנתתה
7 או לבנתה או לנשיב או לחתן כתב למקבר בלחד ומן יעבר כעיר
דנה פאיתי
8 עמה קנס לדושרא אלה מן[אנא כס]ף סלעין חמש מאה חרתי
9 ולמראנא כות כנסחת דנה יהיב בבית קישא בירח ניסן שנת ארבעין
10 לחרתת מלך נבמו רחם עמה רומא ועברעברת פסליא

This is the tomb which Ḥalafu, son of Qos-nathan, made for himself and for Sha'Idu his son ² and his brothers, as many male children as shall be born to the said Ḥalafu, and for their sons and their posterity, ³ each legal kinsman, for ever; and that there be buried in this tomb... the said Sha'Idu, ⁴ and Manū'ath and Kenūshath(?) and Ribamath(?) and Umayyath

and Shalimath, daughters of the said Ḥalafu. And no man shall be allowed, ⁵ either Sha'īdu, or his brothers male, or their sons, or their posterity, to sell this tomb, ⁶ or write a (deed of) gift or anything else to any man, with the sole exception that one of them write for his wife, ⁷ or for his daughters, or for a kinsman, or for a son-in-law, a deed of burial. And whoever does otherwise than this, he shall be ⁸ charged with a fine to Dūshara, the god of [our] lord, [in mon]ey five hundred *sela's* Ḥarethite, ⁹ and to our lord the same amount, according to the copy hereof deposited in the temple of Qaisha. In the month Nisan, the fortieth year ¹⁰ of Ḥarethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. Rauma and 'Abd-'obedath, the masons.

L. 1. חלמו i.e. حَلَمُو 86 10 n. קסנון = *Qos gives*, cf. Κοσναταρος in a Gk. inscr. from Memphis (200–150 B.C.), where Κοσνηκος, Κοσβατος, Κοσμολαχος &c. also occur; Miller *Rev. Archéol.* (1870) 109 ff. כס was apparently the name of an Edomite deity, cf. Kaušmalaka, Kaušgabri, Edomite kings, Schrader *COT* 150; and the Edomite Κοσρόβατος Jos. *Ant.* xv 7 9 f. In Sin. the name קוסעור is found, Eut. 423, though the reading is not quite certain; and in Hebr. ברוסוס Ezr. 2 53. It is natural to compare קישא l. 9 (79 5 n.), but Nöld. is against the identification, *ZDMG* xli 714. שעיור i.e. سَعِيْر *Fortunatus*, cf. שער (سَعْد) Sin. 106, Palm. 127 3, and שערות 95 3.

L. 2. מן דכרין An Arabism, cf. l. 5 שעיור מן and 86 6 n. מן . . מן = من . . من; Wright *Ar. Gr.* ii § 48 g.

L. 4. מנועת Cf. مَنِيعَةٌ pr. n. fem. = *defended*, and מנעה 83 2. The two names which follow are uncertain. אמית Prob. dimin.

שליט i.e. سَلِيْمَةٌ, cf. שלמו (fem.) CIS ii 210 2. רשי i.e. رَشِي 90 3; Targ., Talm. רשאי *one to whom something is allowed*.

L. 5. מנוש כלח 94 5 i.e. מְנוּשׁ = *every one*; cf. מְנוּשׁ CIS ii 219 5, and מְנוּשׁ מְנוּשׁ Nöld. *Syr. Gr.*² § 218; see 82 17 n.

L. 6. או עירחא = *or (any deed) other than it*. בלערהו Lit. *except if*; 80 9.

L. 7. נשיב i.e. نَسِيبٌ = *kinsman* in the male line; but as these would naturally have the right of burial, the meaning here may be a descendant in the female line, a daughter's child; Rob. Smith

Kinship 315 f. בלחד In CIS ii 215 6 בלחד, Targ. בְּלַחֹד *only*, *alone*, to be taken with בלעדון; cf. 90 6.

L. 8. קם 80 8.

L. 9. נסחח See p. 189, = نَسَخَ; Assy. *nishu* 'excerpt' (*ZA* iv 267); cf. the late Rabbin. נוסחא *a variant, another reading*. The word appears to be of N. Semitic origin, rather than native to Arab., the fem. ending in نَسَخَ being equivalent to the Aram. emph. st.; see Fränkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 251.

יחיב For קישא See 79 5 n.

L. 10. רומא 91 2 perhaps رُوماء, or abbrev. from رُومَانُ, a common name.

90. El-Hejra. CIS ii 212; Eut. 14. A.D. 35. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבר עברעברדת בר אריבם לנפשה
- 2 ולואלת בריתה ולבני ואלת דא ובנתה וילדהם די יתקברון בקברא הו
- 3 ולא רשין ואלת ובניה די יובנן או ימשכנן או יונרן כפרא דנה או
- 4 יכתבון בכפרא הו כתב כלה לכל אלוש לעלם להן די יהוא כפרא
- הו לואלת ולבניה
- 5 ובנתה וילדהם קים לעלם וקם על ואלת ובניה די הן יהוא חורו
- אח עברעברדת
- 6 דנה בחגרא ויהוא בה חלף מות די יקברון יתה בקברא דנה לחודוהי
- 7 ולא ינפק יתה אנוש ומן די יעיר ולא יעבר כרי עלא כתיב
- 8 פאיתי עמה למראנא כסף סלעין אלפין תרין חרתי בירח
- 9 טבת שנת ארבעין וארבע לחרתת מלך נבמו רחם עמה
- 10 אפתח בר עברעברדת פסלא עבר

This is the tomb which 'Abd-'obedath, son of Arības, made for himself, ² and for Wa'ilath his daughter, and for the sons of this Wa'ilath and her daughters and their children, that they may be buried in the said sepulchre; ³ and neither Wa'ilath nor her sons shall be allowed to sell or pledge or let this tomb, or ⁴ write in respect of this tomb any deed for any man, for ever; but that the said tomb shall hold good for Wa'ilath and for her sons ⁵ and her daughters and for their

children for ever. And it is incumbent upon Wa'ilath and her sons, if Hûru, brother of this 'Abd-'obedath, be ⁶ in Hejra, and the fate of death befall him, to bury him, and none but him, in this sepulchre; ⁷ and no man shall take him out. And whoever shall change (this provision), and not do according to what is above written, ⁸ he shall be charged to our lord in money two thousand *sela's* Harethite. In the month ⁹ Tebeth, the forty-fourth year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people. ¹⁰ Aftah, son of 'Abd-'obedath, the mason, did the work.

L. 1. אריכס Hardly an Aram. name; possibly 'Αρύβας.

L. 2. ואלת See 80 i n.

L. 3. רשין 89 4 n.

L. 4. אלש An error for אגש. לחן 79 8 n.

L. 5. קים The ptc. goes with יהוא l. 4. חורו Perhaps a merchant who was often absent from home (Nöld.).

L. 6. חגרא = الحجرة, the emph. st. in Aram. representing the Arab. art., lit. 'the guarded, forbidden place.' In the Targg. and Talm. חגרא occurs as a name of various places; the חגרא mentioned in *Jebamoth* 116a as the home of a Jew living at Neharde'a (Babyl.) may be El-Hejra (Nöld.). A good many Jews were settled in the N. of the Hejaz. חלף מוח Lit. 'a mortal change.' לחורחי Lit. *he alone*; cf. בלחר 89 7.

91. El-Hejra. CIS ii 213; Eut. 15. A. D. 36. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עברו ענמו בר גזיאת וארסכסה
- 2 ברת תימו אסרתנא על רומא וכלבא
- 3 אחיה פלענמו תלת כפרא וצריחא דנה
- 4 ולארסכסה תלתין תרין מן כפרא וצריחא
- 5 וחלקה מן גוחיא מדרנחא וגוחיא
- 6 ולענמו חלקה מן גוחיא מדר[נ]ח ימינא
- 7 וגוחיא די בה להם ולילדהם אצדק באצדק
- 8 בי[ר]ח טבת שנת 333 לחרתת מלך נבטו
- 9 רחם עמה אפתח בר [עברעבדת] פסלא עבר

This is the tomb which 'Ānimu, son of Guzayath, and Arisoxe, ² daughter of Taimu the *stratēgos*, made over Rauma and Kalba ³ her brothers;—and to 'Ānimu (belongs) the third part of this tomb and vault, ⁴ and to Arisoxe two-thirds of the tomb and vault; ⁵ and her portion of the niches is the east side and the niches (there); ⁶ and 'Ānimu has his portion of the niches on the south-east, ⁷ and the niches which are in it;—for them and for their children, each legal kinsman. ⁸ In the month Tebeth, the 45th year of Harethath, king of the Nabataeans, ⁹ lover of his people. Aftah, son [of 'Abd-'obedath], the mason, did the work.

L. 1. ענמו 140 B 1. Arab. names like غَانِمٌ, غَانِمٌ are suggested as equivalents. 'Avamos, common in Hauran, prob. stands for 'אָנִם = אָנִם (CIS ii 191 1) rather than for ענמו. The Arab. would be جَزَيْمٌ or جَزَيْمٌ; the mas. form occurs, جَزَيْ. Nöld. suggests that this is an abbreviation, 'Απιστοξή for 'Απιστοξήν; for the omission of τ cf. אֶסְרִחָא l. 2; the Corp. merely transliterates *Arsaxa*. She was the wife of 'Ānimu; note in this inscr. the predominance of the woman (80 1 n.).

L. 2. חַיִּס = חַיִּס, CIS ii 203 1 &c. על 82 2 n. רומא 89
10. כלבא An Aram. name = כלבא, cf. Phoen. כלבא CIS i 52
1; see 92 2 n.

L. 3. אַחֲזִיָּה i. e. אַחֲזִיָּה; the suff. refers to אֶרְסִכְסָה. 94 1 = צִרְיָה lit. *excavation*, so *underground chamber*, in poetry *a grave*; the vb. = 'to dig a grave.' Cf. in Hebr. צִרְיָה Jud. 9 46. 49 (see Moore in loc.). 1 S. 13 6, and the use of מַעְרָה in Gen. 23 9. 20. For the arrangement of an ancient Arab tomb see Wellhausen *Reste* 179.

L. 4. חֲלָחִין חֲרִין Cf. רִבְעֵי שְׁלִישִׁת three-quarters 42 11.

L. 5. נַחֲיָה Sing. נַחֲיָה CIS ii 211 1 ff., plur. נַחֲיָה 94 1 = *loculus* or *niche* for a corpse. In Palm. the form is נַחֲיָה 145 3. נַחֲיָה 144 7, which suggests the Assyr. *kimahhu* 'grave,' 'coffin' (Winckler *AF* ii 61, Del. *Assyr. HWB* 587); hence the word is prob. of foreign origin. For the quiescence of the ה cf. אֶרְיָה and the Aram. אֶרְיָה, אֶרְיָה i. e. מַדְנָה, from מַדְנָה, *to rise*, of the sun; in Heb. מַדְנָה. For the interchange of נ and ר cf. מַדְנָה and מַדְנָה, נבוכדראצר &c.; Wright *Comp. Gr.* 67. The Arab. ذَرِيْع (Wellh. *Reste* 65), prob. the god of the rising sun, comes from this root.

L. 6. מַדְנָה An error for מַדְנָה; other errors are בִּיחַ for בִּיחַ l. 8, בִּר for עֲבֹדָה (?) l. 9.

92. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 218; Eut. 21. A.D. 39. In situ.

- 1 דנה מסגרא די עבר
 2 שכוחו בר תורא לאערא
 3 די בבצרא אלה רבאל בירח
 4 ניסן שנת חדה למלכו מלכא

This is the cippus which ²Shakuḥu, son of Thôra, made to A'ra ³who is at Boşra, the god of Rabel. In the month ⁴Nisan, the first year of Málíku the king.

L. 1. דנה מסגרא So usually, but CIS ii 176 דא מ' $\sqrt{\text{سجد}}$ = *to prostrate oneself*; as used in Nab., מסגרא means, not 'the place where one prostrates' (مسجد *mosque*), but 'an object before which one prostrates'; the verbs used with it are די עבר (frequently), די קרב, 101, די הקים, 97, די בנה ועבר, CIS ii 188 (corr. by Dussaud et Macler *Voy. Arch.* no. 30). The *mesgida* was, in fact, a votive stele or column, in this case carved in relief under a canopy upon the face of the rock, but sometimes standing by itself in the sacred enclosure; thus 97 is a hexagonal column ornamented with busts, fillets, &c., CIS ii 185 is a square pillar with a moulding and plinth, 190 a pillar 6 ft. high. In the case of 188 the *mesgida* is a squared stone now serving as the abacus of a pillar in the narthex of an ancient church, and still the object of local veneration; see Dussaud et Macler l. c. 161 f. The *mesgida* was more than a memorial stone, it was dedicated to a deity, as here to A'ra, 101 to Dûshara and A'ra, CIS ii 190 to Dûshara. Perhaps it was regarded as a kind of votive altar, not, however, intended for sacrifice; 97 is shaped very much like a Gk. altar, 188 may have been originally an altar table or base. At any rate the monument was supposed to represent the person who erected it, and to plead for him before the deity. See Lagrange *Rel. Sémi.* 206 f.

L. 2. שכוחו Prob. Aram., from שכח *to find*. The form פועלו is rare in Nab. names. Also Aram., תורא = *ox* (Hebr. שור); for the animal name cf. כלבא 91 2. The dedication perhaps implies that the donor came from Bostra. אערא Again in 101, and with the description די בבצרא; the god is not otherwise known. Dussaud and Macler, *Voy. Arch.* 169 f., take אערא as the Aram. form of אער, one of the sons of Se'ir, Gen. 36 21 &c. This would corre-

spond to the Arab. امر, which, however, is not the name of a tribe. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 330, suggests that the root is غمر, which in Aram. would become עמר, and, to avoid the double guttural, אער, אער, אער; cf. גער = חגל 'double, Driver *Tenses* 223. In this case אער will correspond to the Roman Abundantia, Ops; غمر wealth, plenty. Possibly the name אער gives the clue to the mysterious 'Oporál mentioned by Herodotus as the consort of 'Αλιλάτ (see p. 222 n. 2); Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 374. 'Oporál may = אלהא; but the τ is not easy to account for, and Cl.-Gan. has since offered a better explanation¹.

L. 3. די בבצרא 101 7 f.; cf. די בצלחור 99. The idiom ב' indicates the transference of the worship from Bostra, in the N. of the Nab. kingdom, to El-Hejra. For the idiom see 24 2 n. אלה the god of Rabel; contrast עבדת אלהא the god 'Obedath 95 1. For a god as patron of an individual cf. אלה חמיש 95 2. לאלה קציו 100 2. אלה שעירי 100 2. CIS ii 176 4. אלה מראנא 88 6. 101 6 f. (ε)ls θεόν [A]μέρου Duss. et Macl. 205. רבאל may be either the king of that name (see 97 iii n.), or a private person, for the name is not uncommon. If Rabel here is king R., then מלכו מלכא l. 4 must have come after him, and reigned between A. D. 96—the latest year of Rabel (ii) known from inscr.—and A. D. 106, when the Nab. kingdom was absorbed into the Roman province of Arabia; so Duss. et Macl. 171 f., who regard this מלכו as Málíku iii (iv). But there is nothing in this inscr. to prove that Rabel was more than a private individual; and if he were a king, he may have been an earlier R. (see on 97 iii) and not necessarily Rabel (ii), for the expression 'A'ra the god of R.' may imply that a devotion to this deity was by ancestral custom especially connected with the name and family of R. (Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iv 178 f.; Schürer² i 742).

L. 4. מלכו i. e. Málíku ii, son of Aretas iv Philopatris, 99 3, the last Nab. king but one, A. D. 48–71 circ. He is mentioned by Jos. as contributing troops to the army of Vespasian in A. D. 67 for the Jewish war (*War* iii 4 2). It was during his reign that Damascus passed into the hands of the Romans, prob. under Nero, see p. 215 n. 1. The name מלכו = מَالِك was pronounced Málíku, as appears from the form Μαλίχας³; in Jos. Μάλιχος or Μάλχος; cf. Μάλχος Jn. 18 10. There is not sufficient reason for supposing that מלכו was a successor of Rabel, usually considered the last Nab. king; see note above.

¹ 'Oporál (= Διόνυσος ap. Herod.) is the actual name of the god otherwise called by the title Dūshara (p. 218); see *Rec.* v § 24.

² *Periplus maris Erythraei* (written circ. A. D. 70) Λευκή κόμη, διὰ ἧς ὁδὸς ἴσταν ἐς Πέτραν πρὸς Μαλίχαν, βασιλεία Ναβαταίων, Müll. *Geogr. Gr. Min.* i 272.

93. El-Ḥejra. CIS ii 221; Eut. 24. A. D. 49. In situ.

- 1 דנה כפרא די עבד עידו הפרכא בר עבדו
 2 לה ולילדה ולאחרה ודי יתקברון בכפרא
 3 דנה אפתיו אם עידו דנה ברת חביבו
 4 ונאתת אנתתה ברת שלי ומן די ינפק
 5 בידה שטר מן יד עידו דנה וכפרא דנה
 6 עבד בירח אדר שנת עשר וחדה למלכו
 7 מלכא מלך נבט עבדעבדת בר והבאלהי
 8 והנאו בר עבדת ואמצא בר חותו פסליא עבדו

This is the tomb which 'Aidu the eparch, son of 'Ubaidu, made ² for himself and for his children and for his posterity; and that there may be buried in this tomb ³ Aftiyu, mother of the said 'Aidu, daughter of Ḥabību, ⁴ and Na'ithath his wife, daughter of Shullai, and whoever shall produce ⁵ in his hand a deed from the hand of the said 'Aidu. And this tomb ⁶ was made in the eleventh year of king Māliku, ⁷ king of the Nabataeans. 'Abd-'obedath, son of Wahb-allāhi, ⁸ and Hāni'u, son of 'Obaidath, and Afṣa, son of Ḥuthu, the masons, did the work.

L. 1. עידו 79 i n. הפרכא 87 2 n. עבדו 140 B i =
 عُيْدُ, "Ὀβαίδος Wadd. 1977.

L. 3. אפתיו 81 3 n. חביבו = حَبِيبٌ, Syr. سَحَب, Gr. Ἀβιβος,
 Ἀβιβος Wadd. 2099 &c.

L. 4. נאתת in Arab. probably would be نَائِتٌ from نَاتٍ *pacillare*
 (Nöld.). שלי 88 i n.

L. 5. שטר 84 3 n.

L. 6. מלכו See 92 4 n.

L. 7. והבאלהי 80 ii n.

L. 8. הנאו 97 i = هَانِيٌّ, prob. Ἀναίος, Ἀναίος Wadd. 2185. 2021
 &c. אמצא 87 8 n. חותו Perhaps = حَوَاتٌ, or حَوْتُ = Αἶθος
 Wadd. 1986 &c.

94. Petra 1. CIS ii 350. Circ. 1st cent. A. D. In situ.

- 1 קברא דנה וצריחא רבא די בה וצריחא זעירא די גוא מנה די בה
בתי מקברין עבדת גוחין
2 וכרכא די קדמיהם וערכותא ובתיא די בה וגניא וגנת סמכא ובארות
מיא וצהותא וטוריא
3 ושארית כל אצלא די באתריא אלה חרם וחרג דושרא אלה מראנא
ומותבה חרישא ואלהיא כלהם
4 בשמרי חרמין כרי בהם פפקדון דושרא ומותבה ואלהיא כלהם די
כרי בשמרי חרמיה אנו יתעבד ולא יתשנא
5 ולא יתפצץ מן כל די בהם מנרעם ולא יתקבר בקברא דנה אנוש
כלה להן מן די כתיב לה תנא מקבר בשמרי חרמיה אנו עד עלם

This sepulchre, and the large vault within it, and the small vault inside, within which are burying-places fashioned into niches, ² and the wall in front of them, and the rows (?) and the houses within it, and the gardens and the garden of the ?, and the wells of water, and the ridge(?), and the hills(?), ³ and the rest of all the entire property which is in these places, is the consecrated and inviolable possession of Dûshara, the god of our lord, and his sacred throne(?), and all the gods, ⁴ (as specified) in deeds relating to consecrated things according to their contents. And it is the order of Dûshara and his throne(?) and all the gods that, according to what is in the said deeds relating to consecrated things, it shall be done and not altered. ⁵ Nor shall anything of all that is in them be withdrawn; nor shall any man be buried in this sepulchre save him who has in writing a contract to bury, (specified) in the said deeds relating to consecrated things — for ever.

The façade of the tomb, carved with Gk. columns, Egypt. cornice, and Assy. battlements, like some of the tombs at El-Hejra, exhibits the style of Nab. monuments belonging to the 1st cent. A. D.; see

Vogüé *JA* viii (1896) 486. A ground-plan of the two chambers and the atrium in front of them is given *ib.* xi (1898) 140 f. A good description of Petra and the re-discovery of the inscr. is given by Lagrange, *RB* vi (1897) 208 ff.

L. 1. **זריתא** 91 3 n.; cf. the use of **מערותא** in Palm., 144 3 and Vog. 67 2 **בנה** זי **מנה** **קברא** ומערותא זי **בנה** 2. Cf. **נא** 147 ii c 47; here **נא** has final **א** as in Dan. 3 6 &c. (Arab. **جاء** *intrare*), elsewhere in Nab., **נ**. **מקברין** Cf. **בת מקברתא** Palm. Vog. 64 1. **מקברין** is a noun (**מקבר** or **מק**); the sing. **מקברתא** occurs in 98 1 &c. Note the double plur. of a compound term; cf. **שטרי חרמין** l. 4. **עבירא** Lit. *a work of niches*, describing **מקברין**; for **מקברין** *loculi* see 91 5 n. Two *loculi* exist in the tomb; prob. it was intended to make more if required.

L. 2. **כרכא** the wall surrounding the atrium in front of the tombs; **כרך** = surround, cf. **כרךא** fenced city. Plur. of **ערכותא**, prob. rows of pillars or arcades; cf. Hebr. **מערכה** a row Ex. 39 37. Vogüé explains by **ערכת** 3 6, but **ערכת** is prob. to be read there. **גניא** Gardens near a tomb were common in antiquity, e.g. John 19 41 and the Roman *cepolaphia* i.e. a grave with fields and gardens round it; Marquardt *Das Privatleben der Römer*¹ 369, quoted by Barth *Hebraica* xiii (1897) 275¹. **גנת סמכא** Possibly a garden of reclining (**גנת סמכא**), i.e. a garden for funeral feasts. As Nöld. remarks, it is better to give **גנת** the same meaning as **גניא**, rather than derive it from **גנא** to lie down (*ZA* xii 3 f.), though it is tempting to compare **حَصْبَان** convivio accumbe &c., Payne Smith *Thes. Syr.* coll. 2662 and 744. **צחותא** The meaning of this and the foll. word is very uncertain. The Arab. **مَاءٌ** = (1) a cave from which water wells forth, so here perhaps water-tank (Barth), cf. **مَاءٌ** fish-pond; or (2) the ridge of a mountain, a tower on a hill-top; cf. the place-names Şahwet el-Ḥidr, Şahwet el-Belâṭ in Ḥauran (Baed. *Paläst.*¹ 205 f.). Either meaning may be right here; but since in 95 2 **צחות** is more suitably rendered by (2), the latter rendering may be adopted in both places: it is unlikely that the same word would have different meanings in the two inscrs. Cl.-Gan. renders **roof** in 95 2, and here terrace, i.e. the upper part of the tomb. Nöld.'s dry places, from **בא** be thirsty, is not probable. **טוריא** Rocks or rocky heights; or possibly low walls surrounding the wells and tank, cf. **طَلٌّ** circle, or **طَلٌّ** go round, **דור**, **תור**.

¹ Strabo mentions the gardens and wells for irrigating them at Petra, **περὶ τῶν ἀφ' ὧν . . . εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀγροῦν** p. 663 ed. Müll. Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 93. 129.

L. 3. אַלְלָא Prob. = *أَمْل* landed property, lit. root, lineage; *أَمِيلَة* a man's whole property. The precise meaning of most of the foregoing terms is not clear, nor is the disposition of the various appendages of the tomb. Vogüé (*JA* xi 143 f.) includes them all within the atrium in front. Some of them may be placed there, 'the portico with its buildings' (עֲרֻכּוֹתָא וּבְחֵיָא), the wells and tank (?)—a conduit has been discovered in one corner of the atrium; but it may be doubted whether the space (77 by 66 ft.) is sufficient for the houses, the gardens, the hills &c., the most obvious meaning of בְּחֵיָא, גֵּיָא, מוֹרִיָא, מוֹרִיָא, גֵּיָא, בְּחֵיָא אֵלֶּה 'which are in these places' suggests, not the enclosed space, but localities outside of it. Perhaps the general plan resembled that of the Roman garden-tombs (supr.), with their *area* in front of the sepulchre, their *aediculae*, pavilions, wells, *taberna* &c. (Barth l. c.). Winckler suggests the arrangement of a Moslem mosque-tomb, and, disregarding the natural meanings of the words, takes גֵּיָא נֶחֱס' to mean a covered cloister and shrine; *AF* ii 60 ff. אֵלֶּה 87 3 n. חֶרֶם 79 8 n. חֶרֶם = Arab. *حَرَجٌ* that which is forbidden, unlawful. The two nouns are so closely connected that they govern a common genit. (Nöld.). אֵלֶּה מֶרְאָנָא 88 6 &c., 'our lord,' either Aretas iv (78 4 n.) or one of his immediate predecessors, Obodas ii, Malchus i. 80 4 n. מוֹתְבָּהּ. The form with ה, and the absence of ו from the foll. חֶרֶשָּׂא, are against taking מוֹתְבָּהּ as the name of a deity. Nöld. favours the explanation that מוֹתְבָּהּ (وَتَب) = his council, seated round the god; cf. *مَجْلِسٌ* council. Cl.-Gan.'s rendering *she who is seated*, i. e. his Πάρεδρος (*Rec.* ii 131), and Winckler's, *his spouse* (Ethiop. *wasaba* iv = 'to marry'), are etymologically improbable. חֶרֶשָּׂא Ptcp. pass. emph. st. agreeing with מוֹתְבָּהּ, prob. = *حرس* guard, watch, so protected, holy.

L. 4. שְׁמָרִי Plur. constr., 84 3 n. These documents were no doubt preserved in the temple archives. רְכֻנָּא Nom. = רְכֻנָּא, as רְכֻנָּא Palm. Vog. 74 = רְכֻנָּא; Hebr. רְכֻנָּא, רְכֻנָּא. אֲנִי Plur. of הָא, apoc. from אֲנִי; BAram. הָא, הָא, הָא; Talm. אֲנִי (pl. of אֲנִי). Elsewhere in Nab. הָא CIS ii 210 6; in Aram. הָא 78 B 4. יְחֻשָּׁא Cf. Ezr. 6 11. Dan. 6 9. 18. In this dialect the ה stands before the sibilant, e. g. יְחֻשָּׁא 88 4 n.

L. 5. יְחֻשָּׁא Ethpa. impf. of חָשַׁע = *فَسَّ* extract, disjoin, in iv to separate a part and give it away. 75 2 n. אֲנִי כֹלָּא 89 5 n. לֶחֶן 79 8 n. תְּנָא CIS ii 69 perhaps = Targ. תְּנָא, Syr. *أَلْعَب* agreement, contract; in Nab. תְּנָא may have been

28 to 9 B.C. He is mentioned by Strabo (663 f. ed. Müll.) in connexion with the campaign of Aelius Gallus against S. Arabia, 25-4 B.C., and by Josephus in the later period of Herod's reign, when Syllaenus his *ἐπίτροπος* was a suitor for Salome (*Ant.* xvi 7 6. *War* i 24 6), and at the time of Herod's expedition against Trachonitis (*Ant.* xvi 9 1. 4). חנינו 82 2. חמיש = *Orauros*, *Orauros* Wadd. 1984. 2226; cf. חמיש 1 Chr. 3 22. Neh. 3 10 &c. פסמון Perhaps from *be fat*, or *נעלם* wean, cf. *نَالِمَة*; for the ending cf. פקדון. An Egypt. derivation, Pet-ammon (89 9 n.), is not so likely. At the end of the l. either another set of donors was mentioned, or there was a verb, still governed by בני חנינו, describing the association of the new cult of 'Obadath with that of the family god of Ḥoṭaishu (Cl.-Gan.).

L. 2. חנינו Cf. O.T. יתיר (Midianite), יתיר, and the Minaean ותראל Glaser 299 3 (Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 116), *Οὐθρος* Wadd. 2537 h¹. Yaquṭ mentions a village in Ḥauran, *وَنَر* N. of Bostra, in Nab. country. אלה חמיש See 92 3 n. In these cases the god is not named as a rule; here it was prob. Dūshara, אלה מראנא 88 6. כהנות The Arab. *مِهْوَة* means both *fountain* and *crest of a hill, tower upon a hill*. In 94 2 צרותא may have the former sense; the latter would be suitable here. Cl.-Gan., however, explains 'צ as the *roof* of the house, where the statue or altar of the family god was set; cf. Strabo (p. 667) *ἡλιον τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος ἰδρυσάμενοι βωμόν* (of the Nabataeans), 2 K. 17 12. עמסון The context implies *kinsman, ancestor*. פסמון was great-grandfather to the בני חנינו; hence both here and in 99 2 Cl.-Gan. gives עם the specific sense of *great-grandfather*. But though this was the relationship in both cases, it is hardly expressed by the word עם, which at most implies *kinsman*; cf. Arab. *عَمّ* *paternal uncle*, and the O.T. names אלקם &c., Gray *Hebr. Pr. N.* 51 ff. In רחם עמסון the meaning is certainly *people*, not *ancestors*; Schürer *Gesch.* i 738. על חיי

¹ The name occurs in the foll. inscr. on an altar (disc. 1895) from Kanatha (Josephus), now el-Qanawāt, NE. of Bostra, in Jebel Ḥauran:

נדר וצד אל בני ותר רחמי גרא שלם
קציר בר חנאל אמסא שלם

'Vowed and sacrificed (?) by the family of the Benē Withro, lovers of Gad. Greeting! Qaṣṭu, son of Ḥann-el, the master-workman. Greeting!' נצ is explained by Cl.-Gan. as Pael of *معبد* = *to mount*, *مَعْبِدٌ* = O.T. *שלה* in Saadya's version; *Rec.* iii § 10. The vb. *معبد* is not actually used in the sense *to sacrifice*, nor is נדר found in Aram. inscr. with the meaning *to vow*. Hence Lidz. prefers to read נצדאל as pr. nn. (*Ephem.* i 74), though the names do not occur elsewhere. אל = Arab. *آل* CIS ii 164 f. גרא = *Τύχη*, whose cult was popular in Ḥauran. See also *Rép.* no. 53.

חרת Cf. 102 3 and לחי נפש 70 4; see 29 11 n. חיי here practically = σωτηρία. שרילח So restored by Vog. Shuqailath must have been the second wife of Aretas iv, and, as we learn from this inscr., his sister too. Her name appears on copper coins at the closing period of Aretas' reign. His first wife was Huldu (102 4), associated with him for at least 20 years. Probably the second marriage took place not long before this 29th year of the king's reign. There was another queen Shuqailath¹, perhaps the daughter of this one, sister-consort of Malchus ii (92 4) and mother of Rabel (97 iii n.).

L. 3. The six children are prob. those of the first marriage. The first three are all dynastic names. מצאל Cf. the Palm. מצאל Euting *Epigr. Misc.* 131, either mas. or fem., cf. Φασηέλης, Ούλπία Φασαιέλη Wadd. 1928. 2445. שעות Prob. fem., as names of this form usually are, e.g. שעות 89 4. כולח CIS ii 225; for the name cf. שעידי 89 1 n. If these were princesses, one of them may well have been the unnamed wife of Herod Antipas (p. 215). בנחי Not necessarily sons, but children, cf. Palm. להן . . . אלהבל . . . קברא דנה בנא אלהבל . . . להן. At the end of the line Cl.-Gan. restores [רן דנה] חנ.

¹ Mentioned in an inscr. lately found at Petra, De Vogüé *JA* viii (1896) 496 f.: . . . עישו אח שחף כלח נבשו בר . . . Cl.-Gan. has acutely discerned that אח = not brother, but *grand-vizier*; cf. Strabo p. 663 ed. Müll. ἔχει δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐταίρων τινά, καλούμενον ἀδελφόν (*Re.* ii 380).

MOAB

98. Medeba. CIS ii 196. A. D. 37. Vatican Museum.

- 1 דא מקברתא ותרתי נפשתא די
- 2 עלא מנה די עבר עברעבדת אסרתנא
- 3 לאיתיבל אסרתנא אבוהי ולאיתיבל
- 4 רב משריתא די בלחיתו ועברתא בר עברעבדת
- 5 אסרתנא דנה בבית שלמונהם די שלמו
- 6 זמנין תרין שנין תלתין ושת על שני חרתת
- 7 מלך נבטו רחם עמה ועבדתא די
- 8 עלא עבדת בשנת ארבעין ושת לה

This is the sepulchre, and the two monuments ²above it, which 'Abd-'obedath the *stratēgos* made ³to Aithi-bel the *stratēgos* his father, and to Aithi-bel ⁴chief of the camp at Luḥiṯhu and 'Abarta, son of the said 'Abd-'obedath ⁵the *stratēgos*, in the seat of their jurisdiction which they exercised ⁶twice, for a period of thirty-six years, in the time of Ḥarethath, ⁷king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people; and the above work ⁸was executed in the forty and sixth year of his (reign).

It is a peculiarity of this inscr. that the words are separated.

L. 1. מקברתא See 94 i n. תרתי נפשתא 78 i n.

L. 2. עלא מנה i.e. עלא מנה, cf. Dan. 6 3 and Palm. לעל מנה Eut. *Epigr. Misc.* 5 3 f. אסרתנא Cf. CIS ii 195, where a *nefesh* is erected (עבר) by יעמרו אסרתנא to his brother, the son of עבישו אסרתנא (A. D. 39). The inscr. 195 comes from Umm-er-Resāq, 16 miles SE. of Medeba. These two inscrs., which are almost contemporary, indicate that the Nab. *stratēgos* was the governor of a small district, and that the office was to some extent hereditary¹; cf. 97 ii n. It is not impossible that both these *stratēgoi*, 'Abd-'obedath and Ya'amru, may have assisted the wife of Herod Antipas in her

¹ Strabo says of the Nabs. *κατὰ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ βασιλεύουσιν οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ἀρχοῦσι* p. 666 ed. Müll.

flight to her father Aretas iv at Petra; she was passed on, says Josephus, from one *stratēgos* to another, κομμένη τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς *Ant.* xviii 5 1. The castle of Macherus would prob. have been in the district of Ya'amru; the boundary between the two governors was perhaps the W. Zerqa Ma'in. *Cl.-Gan. Rec.* ii 202.

L. 3. אִיחִיבֵּל i.e. אִיחִיבֵּל *Bel has brought* (i.e. the new-born), Afel of אִיחִיבֵּל, cf. the Syr. pr. n. ܐܝܚܝܒܠ, Nöld. *ZA* (1891) 149 n.; or, אִיחִיבֵּל *Bel exists*, cf. אִיחִיבֵּל Dan. 2 28 and אִיחִיבֵּל Neh. 11 7. אִיחִיבֵּל 1 Chr. 11 31. *Bel* is the Babylonian deity (p. 269), and not another form of the Canaanite *Ba'al*. The only other Nab. name in which בֵּל has been found is בְּנִתְבֵּל 102 5, and that is uncertain; in Palm. בֵּל and בּוֹל are frequent in pr. nn. The second אִיחִיבֵּל was grandson of the first; it was a custom to repeat family names at this interval in the genealogy.

L. 4. מִשְׁרִיתָא 140 B 3. 122 5, Syr. ܡܫܪܝܬܐ *camp, army*; in Targ. שְׂרָא = *encamp*. מִשְׁרִיתָא must have been within the jurisdiction of the *stratēgos*, and therefore near Medeba. The name suggests מִשְׁרִיתָא הַלְחִיתָא Is. 15 5. Jer. 48 5; but according to the *Onomasticon* (136 23 ed. Lag.) this was between Areopolis (Rabbath-Moab, Rabba) and Zoar = Şarfa, to the N. of Wadi Kerak (Buhl *Geogr.* 272), and therefore too far south¹. עֵבְרָתָא Site unknown; evidently a fort commanding a *pass* in the highlands near Medeba or the *ford* of a river. The name recalls the O. T. הַר הָעֵבְרִים = the Nebo range, Num. 27 12. In Roman times there were several camps in the neighbourhood; e.g. *cohors tertia . . in ripa vadi Apharis fluvii in castris Arnonensisibus, Notitia dignitatum* xxx.

L. 6. וְסִנְיָן תְּרִיחַן Cf. וְסִנְיָן תְּרִיחַן Dan. 6 11. CIS ii 186 3. Palm. וּבְנִן סִנְיָן 121 5.

L. 7. עֵבִירָתָא Noun formed from Pe. ptcp. pass., cf. 94 1. Ezr. 4 24 &c. עֵבִירָתָא בֵּית אֱלֹהִים; see Marti *Gr. Bibl. Aram.* 86.

¹ If מִשְׁרִיתָא = Tal'at Heisa, on W. slope of Mt. Nebo, some 5 or 6 m. NW. of Medeba, this would answer to the conditions; but the grounds on which Conder (*PEF Mem., East. Pal.* i 228, 253), followed by G. A. Smith (*Map of Pal.*), bases the identification, are extremely questionable; see Driver *Exp. Times* (1902) 460.

DAMASCUS

97. Dumêr. CIS ii 161. A. D. 94. Louvre.

Col. ii

Col. i

בגרת אם אדרמו אסרתגא [דנה מ]סגרא די הקים
 ונקידו מן על מעמא [ה]נאו בר חרי גדלו ברת
 עברמלכו בני

Col. iii

אסרתגא בירח איר
 שנת X 9 3 במנין ארהומיא
 די הו שנת X 3 לרבאל
 מלכא

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------|------|---------------|
| C | B | A | F |
| נקידו ברה | אדרמו ברה | הנאו | לענו אתתה ... |

Col. i [This is the c]ippus which Hāni'u set up, the freed-man of Gadlu, daughter " of Bagarath, mother of Adramu the *stratēgos* and Neqīdu, by adoption sons of 'Abd-māliku " the *stratēgos*, in the month Iyar, in the year 405, by the reckoning of the Romans, which is the 24th year of king Rabel.

The place now called Dumêr (دمير) was the first station on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra. The inscr. is written on the sides of a hexagonal column, a little over 3 ft. high, resembling a Greek altar. Round the upper part is a series of busts, each with a name below it (A B C F); two busts (D E) are missing.

Col. i. מסגרא See 92 i n. 93 8 n. בר חרי Lit.
filius libertatis, so *libertus*; in Hebr. cf. Qoh. 10 17; in
 Palm. 147 ii b 12 קלקים בר חרי קיסר, and the inscr. found at South

Shields (Lidzb. 482) חבל¹ חרי ברעתא חבל¹. In Syr. ܡܢ Pa. = *set free*, and similarly the Pi. of חרר in NHebr., whence חר *freeman*.

Col. ii. בנרת See 85 1 n. ארמו = ארמו¹ *toothless*. Cf. נקודא נקודא Ezr. 2 48 = Neh. 7 50 &c. על מן על Lit. *on the ground of, by reason of*; cf. על in 147 i 6 על צבותא אלן¹. על צבותא אלן To be explained by the Syr. ܥܠܐ a graft, ܥܠܐ he grafted; hence used of adoption (Cl.-Gan. Rec. i 61). בני עברמלכו It is clear that Hāni'u was both the freedman and husband of Gadlu¹. Their sons were adopted by 'Abd-māliku, prob. a kinsman of Gadlu, in order to secure a social position which their father could not give them. It would seem that 'Abd-māliku transmitted his own office to the elder of the two sons, cf. 98 2 n. For עברמלכו see 80 11 n.

Col. iii. איר 85 10 n. The sign of the numeral 4 is unusual. The date is given by the Seleucid era, which began in 312 B. C.; see 9 5 n. במנן ארהומיא i. e. ארהומיא, for the orthography cf. Clement's ܐܪܗܘܡܝܐ Thes. Syr. s. v.; מנן lit. = *counting*. The reference, as Cl.-Gan. l. c. 71 f. has shown, is to the Seleucid era reckoned, not by the old style or Macedonian calendar, which was on the lunar system, but by the Roman or Julian calendar (solar), which had been introduced recently into Syria. רבאל Rabel, the last Nab. king (92 3 n.), known only from inscr. (e.g. 95 2 n. 101 9) and coins¹.

¹ The Lat. part of this inscr. runs: D[is] m[anibus]. Regina liberta et conjuge Barates Palmyrenus natione Catuallauna an[nis] xxx. The stone, now in the Free Library, S. Shields, was found in the neighbouring Roman camp.

² The relation was not unknown: Cl.-Gan. quotes Orelli 8024 Ti. Claudius Hermes . . Claudiam M. Titi filiam . . patronam optimam, item conjugem felicissimam—id. 8029 D. M. Lucretiae Eutychidi, Lucretius Adrastus conjugi et patronae dulcissimae. Cf. preceding note.

³ The name occurs in an inscr. lately found (1897) at Petra; see Cl.-Gan. Rec. ii § 58, *Album Pl.* XLV; Schürer *Gesch.* 1 732. 742 f.

[דסה צ]למא די רבאל סלך נבטו
 ח סלך נבטו די חקים זה
 ג ? י ? ? רבא חדתה
 בידח סלל די [דח] שטרא
 . . . [שנה] xvi לחדתח סלמא [סלך נבטו]

This statue must have belonged to another king Rabel, for his father's name ended in n, and he was succeeded by a king Harethath, who reigned at least for 16 years; Rabel, the last Nab. king, is therefore out of the question. On the strength of a passage in Steph. Byz. which says that Antigonus the Macedonian was slain by Rabilus the king of the Arabians, Cl.-Gan. dates this inscr. 70-69 B. C., correcting Antigonus to Antiochus (i. e. A. xii). Josephus, however, clearly implies that the Arabian king who defeated and slew Antiochus at Cana was Aretas (*Ant.* xiii 15

This inscr. tells us that his reign began in A. D. 71; the latest inscr. is dated in his 26th year, i. e. A. D. 96 (p. 255 n. 1); the Nab. kingdom came to an end in A. D. 106. Rabel, as this inscr. from the NE. of Damascus shows, must have ruled over an extensive territory.

The series of busts and inscrs. is not complete. It began with Hâni'u in the centre, and followed from the left with Adramu, the eldest son, and then with Neqîdu. Whose wife was represented by F, to the right of A, is not certain; the Corp. restores עברמלכו for E; the remaining name at D was prob. נרלו.

1. 2)—i. e. Aretas iii. There is evidently some confusion in the statement of Steph. Byz. (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 525). It is not at present clear where this king Rabel is to be placed.

HAURAN

98. Ḥebran. CIS ii 170. A. D. 47. Louvre.

1 בִּירַח תִּשְׁרִי שְׁנַת שִׁבְעָ לְקִלְדִּים

2 קִיסָר

3 דְּנָה תִרְעָא דִּי עֲבַד מַלְכוּ בִּר

4 קִצְיִן] כִּמְר אֵלַת שְׁלָם קִרִּי

In the month of Tishri, the seventh year of Claudius Caesar: this is the gate which Málíku, son of Qas[íu], priest of Allath, made. Call a greeting!

L. 1. תִּשְׁרִי The 7th month, Sept.–Oct.; in 123 5 = Ὑπερβερεταῖος. קִלְדִּים Claudius, Jan. 41–Oct. 54 A. D. The inscr. dates from the interregnum (44–52) between Herod Agrippa i and ii, when Ḥauran and Trachonitis were governed directly by the Roman imperial power. For קִלְדִּים the more correct form would be קִלְדִּים, as אִוְרִלִּים in Palm.

L. 2. קִיסָר The form with י is derived from the Gk. Καῖσαρ, in Palm. usually קִסֶּר 121 3 &c.

L. 4. קִצְיִן 99 2 is everywhere the name of a person, not of a god, 100 2 n. כִּמְר See 84 1 n. אֵלַת 80 4 n. קִרִּי Imperat.; cf. the Arab. formula قرا عليه السلام.

99. Ṣalḥad. CIS ii 182. A. D. 65. In situ.

1 דְּנָה בִּיתָא דִּי בְנָה רוּחוּ בִּר מַלְכוּ בִּר אַבְלָבוּ בִּר רוּחוּ
לְאֵלַת אֱלֹהֵתָהֶם

2 דִּי בַצְלַחַד וְדִי נִצַּב רוּחוּ בִּר קִצְיִן עִם רוּחוּ דְּנָה דִּי עֵלָא

3 בִּירַח אֲב שְׁנַת עֶשֶׂר וְשִׁבְעָ לְמַלְכוּ מֶלֶךְ נִבְטוּ בִּר חֲרַתַּת
מֶלֶךְ נִבְטוּ רַח[ם] עֲמָה

This is the temple which Rûḥu, son of Málíku, son of Aklabu, son of Rûḥu, built to Allath their goddess ² who is in Ṣalḥad, and whom Rûḥu, son of Qasíu, ancestor (?) of the said above-named Rûḥu, had established. ³ In the month Ab, the seventeenth year of Málíku, king of the Nabataeans, son of Ḥarehath, king of the Nabataeans, lover of his people.

L. 1. רחור 140 B 2 = Arab. *joyous*, *Povaios* Wadd. 2034. אכלבו
= Arab. *أكلب* *rabidus*. אלת אלחתחם See 80 4 n. and cf. אלחתחם
CIS ii 336 3; the suff. as in שלטתחם 98 5.

L. 2. רי בעלחר 92 3 n. This idiom implies that the worship of
Allath at Ṣalḥad was introduced from some other place (24 2 n.);
this appears to have been done by an ancestor of the Rūḥu who now
builds a temple for the goddess. צלחר is the present ملحة, in Yaquṭ
مرحد, situated on one of the southernmost heights of Jebel Ḥauran.
It has been identified with the O.T. סלכה Deut. 3 10. Josh 12
5 &c., mentioned along with Edre'i as marking the S. frontier of
Bashan. נצב The pf. to be rendered by plupf.: the introduction
of the worship would take place before the building of the temple
(Lidzb. 150 n.). קציו 98 4. 100 2. עם רחור may be rendered
with R., i. e. the introduction of Allath was the joint enterprise of R.
son of Qaṣīu and R. son of Māliku. But in 95 2 עם = *kinsman*,
ancestor (*great-grandfather*, Cl.-Gan. Rec. ii 373 f.), and this seems
to be the meaning here. The worship of Allath had been established
at Ṣalḥad for three generations, or about 100 years, before the date of
the inscr., i. e. at a period which corresponds with the occupation
of this region by the Nabataeans after the capture of Damascus by
Aretas iii in B.C. 85 (see p. 216). It is possible, as Cl.-Ganneau
points out, that the קציו of Bostra (100 2) was the קציו of this inscr.,
evidently an important person; if this was the case, the father intro-
duced his family god (prob. אערא 92 2 n.) at Bostra, the son did the
same for Allath at the neighbouring Ṣalḥad.

L. 3. אב The 5th month, July–Aug. מלכו 92 4 n. Between
the death of Aretas iv in A.D. 40 and the reign of Malchus ii we must
probably insert the reign of Abias, δ'Αράβων βασιλεύς Joseph. Ant.
xx 4 1. Hence the accession of Malchus ii cannot be placed earlier
than about 48 A.D. (Schürer 739); his 17th year will then be A.D. 65.

100. Bostra. CIS ii 174. Circ. 40 B.C. Louvre.

1 די קרב נטראל בר
2 נטראל לאלה קציו
3 בשנת 1 למלכו מלכא

Offered by Naṭar-el, son of Naṭar-el, to the god of Qaṣīu;
in the 11th year of king Māliku.

Bostra, in Gk. Βοσträ, now بُسْرَى, was the chief city of Ḥauran in the 1st cent. A.D. The Nabataeans made it a great centre for commerce with Palmyra, Babylonia, and the south. Cf. 125 5.

L. 1. נטראל i. e. *El keeps*, Ναταρήλος Wadd. 2351; an Aram. name.

L. 2. אלה קציו See 92 3 n.; the god was perhaps אערא, the patron of the family (99 2 n.).

L. 3. מלכו The inscr. is evidently an early one, judging from the rude and somewhat archaic style of the writing. Hence the king will be the earlier rather than the later Māliku (92 4), i. e. Malchus I (Schürer 735, not ii), circ. 50–28 B.C., who appears again in 102. His relations with Herod the Great are described by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv 14 1–2. *War* i 14 1–2). He refused Herod assistance at the time of the Parthian invasion B.C. 40, and was subsequently fined by Ventidius for the support which he gave to the invaders (Dio Cass. 48 41). Part of his territory was made over by Antony to Cleopatra; after a time the tribute was withheld, and by Antony's order Herod made an expedition into the territory of the Nabataeans, and in the end succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon Malchus, B.C. 32–31 (Joseph. *Ant.* xv 5. *War* i 19). The last that we hear of him is in connexion with a plot against Herod, which led to the death of the aged Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xv 6 2–3).

101. Imtān. A. D. 93. In situ.

- 1 דנה מסגרא
- 2 די קרב
- 3 מנעת בר
- 4 גדיו ל
- 5 דושרא ו
- 6 אערא אלה
- 7 מראנא די
- 8 בבצרא בשנת
- 9 ז וו לרבאל
- 10 מלכא מלך

11 נבטו די

12 אחיי וש

13 יזב עמה

This is the cippus offered by Mun'ath, son of Gadiyu, to Dûshara and A'ra the god of our lord who is in Boşra, in the 23rd year of king Rabel, king of the Nabataeans, who brought life and deliverance to his people.

Imtân lies SE. of Bostra. The inscr. was discovered by Dussaud and Macler; *Voy. Arch.* (1901) no. 36. See also *Rep.* nos. 83 and 86.

L. 1. מסנרא See 92 1 n.

L. 3. מנעז See 88 2 n.

L. 4. גריו In Sin. Eut. 93. 95 &c.; in Palm. גריא = Arab. جَدْيٌ.

L. 6. מערא See 92 2 n. 3 n. אלה מראא the god of our lord i. e. of the king, as in 88 6. 89 8.

L. 9. רבאל 97 iii n.

L. 12. For the title cf. CIS ii 183 . . . די אחיי עמה ו. רבאל (25th year) and the inscr. below¹. It may point to some historical act of deliverance, or perhaps rather (like the רחם עמה of Aretas iv) to a patriotic policy at a time when the independence of the Nab. kingdom was threatened by Rome; cf. the Hellenist title Σωτήρ. In the earlier inscr. of the reign Rabel has no such title; it is omitted, however, in 97 iii (24th year) possibly for political reasons. Af. of חיי, cf. the pr. n. חייאל CIS ii 224 7. For שיזב see 89 9 n.

¹ Duss. et Macl. no. 62; *Rep.* no. 86:—

א דנ[ה] ארכא די עבר עזרו
בר גשם לשיע אלקים [אלה]
ב מ בשנה עשר[ן] שח לרבאל מלכא מל
ך נבטו די אחיי ושזב עמה

D. et M. explain ארכא as = Lat. *arca*, i. e. sarcophagus. Cl.-Gan. thinks of part of a building, *Rec.* iv 175; but it is prob. that ^כארכא couch, bridal seat = מצינא 70 1 n., Lidzb. *Eph.* i 332. At the end of the next l. Cl.-Gan. plausibly reads לשיע אלקים [אלה] to the god *Shē'a-alkām*; the reading is brilliantly confirmed by 140 B 4 n. The 26th year of Rabel was A. D. 96.

ITALY

102. Puteoli. CIS ii 158. A. D. 5. Naples Museum.

- 1 דא מחרמתא [די ח]רתו, ת ועלי נחשא
 2 ל ומרתי די מתקרא זכרת
 3 צי צידו בר עבת מן דילה על חיי חרתת מלך [נבטו ודי]
 4 [ח]לדו אתתה מלכת נבטו ודי בניהם בירח אב שנת / [111]
 למלכותה
 5 אחר זמן אבני מחרמתא קדמיתא די עבר בנהבל בר במ
 6 [בשנת 111] 111 111 למלכו מלך נבטו יהבו בנו מחרמתא דא

This is the sanctuary [which] restored, and 'Ali the copper-smith² and Marthi, who is called Zubdath³ Şaydu, son of 'Abath, at his own expense, for the life of Harethath, king of the N[abataeans, and of] ⁴ Huldu his wife, queen of the Nabataeans, and of their children, in the month Ab, the 14th (?) year [of his reign] ⁵ . . . after the time when the former sanctuaries were built (?), which Ben-hobal, son of Bm . . . made ⁶ [in the 8th (?) year] of Málíku, king of the Nabataeans, they placed within this sanctuary.

L. 1. מחרמתא See 79 8 n. חרתו 23 2 n. עלי = Arab. ² علی, Sin. עלי, 'Alaios Wadd. 2520. נחשא a worker in bronze, Syr. نَحْشَا, or possibly, *diviner*.

L. 2. מרתי Cf. Palm. 120 1 = *Márbēu* (fem.). די מתקרא
Ethpe. ptc., cf. 123 2. זכרת = Arab. زَكَرَتْ.

L. 3. צידו = Arab. صَادَتْ, cf. Palm. 137 2. עבת Perhaps
from *عبث* to play. מן כיסה i.e. *de wāḍa*, cf. Palm. 116 4. 122 6. רחם עמה The usual title
omitted.

L. 4. חלדו 95 2 n., cf. O.T. חֲלָדָה 2 K. 22 14 (fem.) and חֲלָד *weasel*
Lev. 11 29; so in the Mishnah חֲלָדָה, Arab. حَلْدٌ. בניהם Prob.
children, not merely *sons*; 95 3 n. אב 99 3 n. To fill up
the space three units are required, and prob. למלכותה, Corp.

L. 5. 84 3 constr. st. before a verbal clause. אבני Prob. pf. 3 plur. fem.; but the form is not clear: it has been explained as contracted from אבני, or as an internal pass. מחרמתא ק' Both plur. fem. Either בְּהִדְבֵּל (96 3 n.) or בְּהִדְבֵּל, Hobal being an old Arab deity, ھبل at Mekka, the chief god of the Ka'aba; see Baethgen *Beitr.* 113. For compounds with בנא cf. O.T. בנהדר (בנהדר?), &c. בניה.

L. 6. The Corp. supplies בשנת and two units to fill the lacuna. למלכו i.e. Malchus i, 100 3 n. The inscr. is too mutilated to enable us to make out the general sense with certainty. It appears that Saïdu in the 14th year of Aretas iv dedicated some object for the life of the king and his family, and deposited it (l. 6) in the recently restored sanctuary, which had been built some 50 years before. This inscr., like CIS ii 157 (also from Puteoli), is a witness to the extent and enterprise of Arabian commerce during the prosperous days of the Nab. kingdom. Nab. merchants had established themselves and the worship of their native deity on the shores of Italy, at the important harbour of Puteoli (cf. Acts 28 11. 13).

NABATAEAN: SINAITIC

The Sinaitic inscriptions are written in the Nabataean dialect and script¹. Most of them are to be seen on the rocky sides of the Wadi Mukatteb ('covered with writing'), through which one of the ancient trade routes passed; they occur also in other valleys of the Peninsula, e. g. W. 'Aleyyât, W. Leja', W. Ferân, W. Ma'ârah. For the most part they consist of proper names with short formulae of greeting ('שלם פ'), or blessing ('ברוך פ'), or commemoration ('דכיר פ'), varied in different ways. Very few are dated (see 107. 108 n.); but from the character of the writing, a ruder and more cursive form of the normal Nab., we may conclude that they belong to the first four centuries A. D.; not later, for by the 6th cent., when Cosmas Indicopleustes travelled through this region, their origin was already forgotten². It may be explained in the manner suggested by Euting. The caravans which brought merchandise from India to the markets of Egypt and the Levant travelled up from S. Arabia by the Red Sea coast, and then struck inland through the passes of the Sinaitic Peninsula. For the stage from S. Arabia to El-'Ölâ or El-Hejra they would have an escort of Himyarites; for the next stage, from El-'Ölâ to Petra, a Nab. escort would take them through Nab. territory. Here the caravans would be joined by Nab. clerks, writers, customs officers; and these were the authors of the inscriptions. When their services were not wanted they would spend their leisure with the Bedouin and their camels at the pasture-grounds. This explains how the inscriptions are found both along the trade routes and in out-of-the-way valleys which only lead to pasturage. Euting has published the standard collection of Sin. inscr., numbering 677; *Sinaitische Inschriften*, 1891.

¹ A few are in Greek, Arabic, and Latin.

² "Ὅθεν ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους ἐν πάσαις καταπαύσεσι, πάντας τοὺς λίθους τῶν αὐτοῦ, τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ὕδατων ἀποκλωμένους, γεγραμμένους γράμμασι γλυπτοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐγὼ πεζεύσας τοὺς τόπους μαρτυρῶ. ἃ τινα καὶ τινὲς Ἰουδαῖοι ἀναγνόντες διηγούντο ἡμῖν λέγοντες γεγράφθαι οὕτως, ἀπαρσι τοῦδε, ἐκ φυλῆς τῆσδε, ἐτεῖ τῷδε, μηνὶ τῷδε, καθὰ καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν πολλάκις τινὲς ἐν ταῖς ξενίαις γράφουσιν Migne PG lxxviii 217; Lidzb. 91.

103. Eut. 519. W. Mukatteb.

שלם אישו בר פציו בטב

Greeting! Uwaisu, son of Faṣiyyu; good luck!

The inscr. begins with a greeting and ends with a farewell. שלם Lit. *peace* (106); similarly in Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 152, and in Nab. at El-Ḥejra ib. 253 &c. אויש = אוֹיִשׁ dim. of אוֹשׁ = אוֹשׁ *gizʿ*, both common names in Sin.; cf. אוֹשְׁלֵבְעִי Eut. 566. 104, and the frequent אִשׁוֹס Wadd. 2034 &c. The pr. nn. in Sin. are generally Arabic, seldom Aramaic. פִּצִּי Found in various forms, פִּצִּי, פִּצִּיָּא, פִּצִּיָּא, פִּצִּי &c.; the Arab. would prob. be فَيَّي. בטב Lit. *in good*, similarly at El-Ḥejra CIS ii 243 &c.; cf. הָיָה בְּטוֹב Qoh. 7 14.

104. Eut. 559. W. Mukatteb.

שלם עבדדושרא בר תנתלו
ואושלבעלי בר גרמלהי בר חיטמו

Greeting! 'Abd-dushara, son of Thantalu, and Aus-alba'ali, son of Garm-allāhi, son of Ḥaiṭamu.

תנתלו Cf. the Arab. نَتَلَّ rotten egg, from نَتَلَّ to soil oneself. אוֹשְׁלֵבְעִי See 103, *gift of the Ba'al*, elsewhere אוֹשְׁלֵבְעִי. The ל or אל is the Arab. art., cf. אלבעלו 105. אלברשו Eut. 548. אלברשו 539 &c. The combination of Arab. and Aram. in this name is noteworthy. גרמלהי = גרמלהי Eut. 79 &c., Garmallae (dat.) CIL x 2638; cf. גרמלבעלי 106 &c. The prefix גרם, which occurs frequently before the name of a deity in Sin., may = جَرَمَ body (cf. Hebr. גֵּרָם bone), so *member of Allah* &c.; cf. the Phoen. ברעשתרת 6 2 n. Another suggestion is that the word = *fear*, like the Eth. gērām; in modern Abyss. many names begin with *germa* (Cook *Aram. Gloss.* s. v.). חיטמו Nöld. quotes the Arab. names حَطْمَة, حَطَامَة with a large nose.

105. Eut. 327. W. Ferān.

שלם ואלו בר חלצת קדם אלבעלו

Greeting! Wa'ilu, son of Ḥālīṣat, before the Ba'al.

ואלו See 38 4 n. (יאל). Like חלצח, a very common name in these inscr. ; it is found also at El-Ḥejra CIS ii 307 and in Ḥauran, 'Αλασαθός Wadd. 2042. 2047 (but according to Nöld. = עלשח, *ZDMG* xlii 474). Wellhausen suggests a derivation from خَلَصَ, خَلَصَ a creeping plant resembling the vine, which is prob. the meaning of Dhu 'l Ḥalasa, the name of a heathen Arab deity. חלצח itself cannot be the name of the god used as the name of a man, because ذر الحلمة is merely a title, 'of the creeping plant' (which perhaps had wreathed itself round the sacred stone), the actual name of the deity not being uttered (see on דושרא 79 5); *Reste Ar. Heid.* 47 f. The pronunciation of חלצח was prob. خَالِصًا. קדם אלבעלו before the Ba'al (104 n.); prob. supply in thought 'may there be remembrance,' as in CIS ii 338 דכרון עריש מן קדם דושרא. For the ellipse here cf. ib. 320 F קדם מן קדם דושרא and Eut. 437 בטישו בר ואלו and דושרא ומנתו.

106. Eut. 186. W. 'Aleyyât.

דכיר בטב ושלם

שעדו בר

גרמאלבעלי

עד עלם V

ש

Remembered in welfare and peace be Sa'adu, son of Garm-alba'ali, for ever! . . .

שעדו CIS ii 231 &c., Palm. 127 3 (in Gk. σσαδου), also in the Sin. names 107 שעדאלהי and 140 B 2 שעדלח; שעדאלבעלי = Arab. سعد happiness, good fortune. 104 n. גרמאלבעלי

107. Eut. 463. A. D. 189. W. Mukatteb.

ברוך ואלו בר שעדאלהי

דא בשנת 6666 להפרכיה די

בה אחרבו ע[רב]יא ארעא

Blessed be Wa'ilu, son of Sa'ad-allâhi. This (was written) in the year 85 of the Eparchy, in which the Arabs (??) devastated (?) the land.

שְׁעָרָאֵלִי See 106 n. A similar sign for 20 occurs in an early Arab. inscr. from Ḥarran given by Vogt¹ in *Syr. Centr.* 117; for the usual Nab. form see 97. 101. The date is reckoned from the Eparchy (87 2 n.), i. e. the establishment of the Roman *governorship* over Arabia in A. D. 106 (see p. 216). This reckoning was known as the Era of Bostra (March 22, 106 A. D.)¹, and was used throughout the province of Arabia. אַחֲרֵבּוּ עַרְבֵי So read by Eut., Lidzb. (or עֲרִיבּוּ *the strangers*, *Eph.* i 339), supposing an allusion to some Bedouin attack upon the oases of Sinai. Cl.-Gan., however, prefers אַחֲרֵבּוּ עַרְבֵי—a reading certainly justified by Euting's copy, Taf. 26—and renders the line 'in which the poor of the land were allowed to glean (the fruit)'; אַחֲרֵבּוּ he explains as = أَخْرَفُوا (conj. iv), or pass. أَخْرَفُوا *allow or be allowed to gather fruit*, and עַרְבֵי as constr. st. = עֲרִיבּוּ with א as in Palm. הַיָּא בְּנֵי (but see below), cf. עֲרִיבּוּ אֶרֶץ Am. 8 4 &c. He finds in the words thus interpreted a religious institution, analogous to the Jewish Sabbatical year, which assigned at fixed yearly intervals the fruit-gleanings to the poor; see *Rec.* iv § 33 = *Rép.* no. 129. There is absolutely no evidence, however, that such an institution ever existed; and it may be doubted whether אַחֲרֵבּוּ, an Ofal, passive, form, would be used in Nab. instead of the usual Ethp.; خرب means only 'to gather fruit fallen on the ground.' In the *Rev. Bibl.* xi (1902) 137 it is proposed to read אַחֲרֵבּוּ עֵינֵי *the wells of the land were dried up*, עֵינֵי for עֵינֵי; the objection to this is that the plur. constr. in Nab. does not end in א (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 339). The inscr. has recently been examined afresh on the spot by Fathers Jaussen and Savignac of Jerusalem; their investigations confirm Eut.'s reading אַחֲרֵבּוּ, *RB* xi 467.

108. Eut. 457. A. D. 210-211. W. Mukatteb.

דְּכִיר תִּימָאֲלָהִי בֶר יַעֲלִי שְׁנַת מֵאָה ע
דְּמִין עַל תְּלַתָּת קִיסְרִין

Remembered be Taim-alláhi, son of Ya'ali! The year one hundred (and) 6, equivalent to (the year of) the three Caesars.

¹ So in Gk. inscr., e. g. $\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \dots \epsilon\pi\iota\tau\omicron\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ [scil. $\xi\pi\alpha\chi\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$], or $\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \dots \eta\tau\omicron\varsigma \xi\pi\alpha\chi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ [as] Wetzstein *Inschr. (Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1863) 111. 112.

תִּמְאַלְהִי See 84 1 n. יַעֲלִי = עלִי. דְּמִן i. e. דְּמִן ptcpl. pl. fem. of דָּמָא agreeing with שָׁנָן understood; the usual prep. after דָּמָא is ל. The 106th year of the Era of Bostra = 210–211 A. D. During this year the Emperor Septimius Severus died (Feb. 4th, 211), and both his sons Caracalla and Geta became joint emperors; the year, therefore, was remarkable for having witnessed three Caesars on the throne. With חֲלַחַת קִיסְרִין cf. the form AVGGG (i. e. tres Augusti) on Lat. inscr. (Cagnat *Cours d'épigr. Lat.* 373); it is possible that קִיסְרִין may be the equivalent of the official title Augustus. Cl.-Gan., *Rec.* iv § 32 = *Rep.* no. 128, interprets the date differently; for the numeral, which is irregular in form (see 107), he reads על, and דְּמִן for רְמִן. Supposing דְּמִן to be an error for רְמִן *lords*, or *our lords* (= מְרִינָא), he renders 'the year 100. For (the salvation of) our lords, the three Caesars.' But it may be doubted whether an inscr. of this fugitive, personal character would be written *for the sake of* (עַל) such august beneficiaries; analogy leads us to expect merely a date after the pr. nn. Moreover, there are historical objections; the 100th year (Bostra) = 204–205 A. D.; it would thus fall well within the reign of Severus (193–211 A. D.)¹, and though Caracalla became joint emperor in 201, he and his brother did not share the imperium with their father till 210–211.

109. Eut. 410. W. Mukatteb.

דְּנָה סוּסִיָּא דִּי
עֶבֶד שַׁעְדָּלָהִי בֶר אַעֲלָא

This is the horse which Sa'd-allâhi, son of A'lâ, drew.

Rude drawings sometimes accompany the Sin. inscr.; cf. the pictures on the rocks near Têma and El-Hejra, Eut. *Nab. Inscr.* 8 f. In this case Sa'd-allâhi has drawn his horse; cf. Eut. 416. אַעֲלָא = אֲעֻלָּא. The form is Aram., cf. *most illustrious*.

¹ The fact that in several Lat. inscr. from Africa Geta is styled Augustus before 209 (CIL vii p. 974) is not sufficient to support Cl.-Gan.'s contention.

PALMYRENE

Palmyra, called in Gk. Πάλμυρα, in the O.T. and in the native inscriptions Tadmor¹, lay 150 m. NE. of Damascus in an oasis of the Syrian desert. Its situation afforded a meeting-place for the trade which crossed from E. to W., or came up from Petra and S. Arabia. The city existed for commerce. The 'chief of the caravan,' the 'chief of the market,' appear in the inscriptions among the principal citizens, 116. 121, holding magistracies and imperial posts; influential trade-guilds witness to the importance of the local industries, 126; the splendour and wealth of the city may be judged from the ruins of temples, streets, and tombs which still exist. The prosperity of Palmyra began to rise probably about the time when the Romans established themselves on the Syrian coast; for political reasons it was desirable to keep the direct route between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean in the hands of a vassal power. Probably in the reign of Augustus Palmyra became a part of the Roman empire, but the exact date is not known; later on it received special favours from Hadrian, who visited the city about 130 A.D. and granted it the privileges of the *jus Italicum*, perhaps also the rank of a colony², and adorned it with new buildings; from his time it took the name of Hadriana Palmyra, הררינא תרמר 147 ii. With the Romans on the one side and the Parthians on the other, the Palmyrenes had a difficult part to play³, but they always knew how to use the rivalry of the two empires for the advancement of their trade, and in the later Parthian wars both their policy and their active services were attended with signal success. For 150 years, from 130–270 A.D., Palmyra's fortunes were at their height. Under Odainath and Zenobia, during a brief period, the state held a foremost place in the Eastern empire; after Zenobia's overthrow in 273 it fell into decay and never recovered.

¹ 2 Chr. 8 4 is the earliest reference to the city. The original source had תדמר, a place in Judah, 1 K. 9 18 Kt.; this was altered by the Chronicler or a later scribe to תרמר (so in 1 K. 9 18 Qeri) evidently with a view to increasing the extent of Solomon's kingdom. Jos. says that the Syrians pronounced the name *Thadamora*, Θαδάμορα, *Ant.* viii 6 1: the Arabs call it تَدْمُر.

² By the 3rd cent., at any rate, it had become a colony, 121. 127.

³ Pliny 5 21 Palmyra urbs . . . privata sorte inter duo imperia summa, Romanorum Parthorumque, et prima in discordia semper utrinque cura.

As a vassal of Rome, Palmyra enjoyed a liberal measure of military and civil independence. It was allowed to use the native language for official purposes, and, like other communities in the Asiatic and Syrian provinces¹, to farm the customs for the benefit of the community, independently of the sovereign power (147). The organization of the city was that of a Greek municipality under the empire. The government was vested in the Council and People (בולא ורמס), and administered by civil officers with Greek titles, the proedros (פלהדרותא), title of the office), the grammateus (גרמטוס), the archons (ארכונים), the syndics (סרקים), the dekaprotoi (עשרותא); see 147 i and 122. Along with these there was, at least in the 3rd cent., a *Ras* or *head* of the state (רש 125), virtually a prince, chosen from the leading family, of senatorial rank (סנקלטיקא 125) and Roman appointment. The office was handed on by Septimius Hairân (125) to his son Sept. Odainath, who received even higher rank, the consular dignity (רפטיקא 126). After his death, Odainath was actually styled *king of kings* (180), but no inscription contains the title during his life-time. See Mommsen *Provinces of the Rom. Emp.* ii 92-112.

The language spoken at Palmyra was a dialect of Western Aramaic². In some important points, indeed, the dialect was related to Eastern Aram. or Syriac, e. g. the plur. in א—, תנרא 113 3. מלכא 130 1; the dropping of the final *i* and *u* in אכוח, אחוח, בנח (but אכוחי &c. also occur), נחח 113 4. אקים 113 3. 130 4 (but אקיסו 114 2); the adverbial ending *āthā*, שכתיח 121 6; the infin. ending *ā*, מתחשבו 147 ii c 4; also the words מכל 121 6. חנ 121 3. כלמא 147 i 12. עמרא *life* 121 6. עלתא 135 1. חמלילא 117 5 &c. But the relation to Western (Palestinian) Aram. is closer. Specially characteristic are the following features: the impf. with י, not as in Syr. and the E. dialects with נ or ל; the plur. in אִי—; the rel. רי as in Bibl. Aram. and in the Targ. Ps.-Jon. (Dalman *Gr.* 85); the conj. ברילרי; the pers. pron. דנה, דח, אלן, כוח 121 6 &c.; the distinction between ש and ס, as in Bibl. Aram., e. g. סניאן and 'ש, סחר 121 5. 6. 147 i 4. The bulk of the population of Palmyra was of Arab race, hence many of the proper names are Arabic, and several Arabic words occur, e. g. מנר 112 3. חרם 112 4. פחר 136 6. The technical terms of municipal and administrative life are mostly Greek; even under the Roman government the Greek terminology

¹ See Dessau *Hermes* xix 528 ff.

² Like the Egypt. Aram. and Nabataean. Cf. Epiphanius *Haer.* 66 13 [PG xlii 48] 'Ἄλλοι δὲ δῆθεν τὴν βαθυτάτην τῶν Σύρων διάλεκτον σεμνύνονται, τὴν τε [τὴν] κατὰ τὴν Παλμύραν διάλεκτον, αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν στοιχεῖα' εἰκοσιδύο δὲ ταῦτα ὑπάρχει.

was retained, e. g. אסטרטניא, אכסניא, בילוטא, ננס, דינמא, הינמא, חמא, תנמא, גוטמא, and the titles mentioned above. The Latin words in the inscriptions are קלניא, קסר, קטריא, לנינא, דוקרנא. On the characteristics of the dialect see Nöldeke *ZDMG* xxiv 85-109, cited as Nöld.

The inscriptions are often given in a Gk. version after the Palm.; and as a further result of Roman influence many natives bore Latin in addition to Aram. names. The writing is a modified form of the old Aram. character, and in many respects approximates the Hebr. square character. A noteworthy feature is the diacritic point which is often used, as in Syr., to distinguish 𐤒 from 𐤓. The letters א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, י, ק often have ligatures binding them to the letter which precedes or follows; 𐤌 has a final form. The words are sometimes separated, and occasionally the end of a clause is marked by the full stop 𐤕. The inscriptions belong to the first three centuries A. D.; the earliest is dated B. C. 9 (141), the latest Aug. 272 A. D. (Vog. 116; see p. 293). The standard collection is that of de Vogüé *Syrie Centrale* 1868, cited as Vog.; supplementary collections are those of A. D. Mordtmann *Neue Beiträge z. Kunde Palmyras* 1875, cited as Mordtm.; Clermont-Ganneau *Études* i § 9; Sachau *ZDMG* xxxv 728 ff.; D. H. Müller *Palm. Inscr.* 1898; J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 1899 &c.

HONORARY INSCRIPTIONS

110. Vogüé 1. A. D. 139. In situ¹.

- 1 בולא דמס עבדו צלמיא אלן תרויהן
 2 לאעילמי בר חירן בר מקימו בר חירן מתא
 3 ולחירן אבוהי רחימי מדייתהן ודחלי אלהיא
 4 בדילדי שפרו להן ולאליהון בכל מבו כלה
 5 ליקרהון בירח ניסן שנת 333

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀαιλάμειν Αἰράνου τοῦ Μοκίμου τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μαθθα καὶ Αἰράνην τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοπάτριδας καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ φιλοτείμως ἀρέσαντας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις θεοῖς τιμῆς χάριν ἔτους νυ' μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ. Wadd. 2586.

¹ The Palmyrene inscr. are all *in situ* except where otherwise stated.

The Council and People have made these two statues ² to A'ailami, son of Ḥairân, son of Moqtmu, son of Ḥairân, (son of) Mattâ, ³ and to Ḥairân his father, lovers of their city and fearers of the gods, ⁴ because they were well-pleasing to them and to their gods in everything whatsoever: ⁵ to their honour. In the month Nisan, the year 450.

The honorary inscr. (110–132) are written upon Corinthian columns which were ranged along the principal streets, or stood in the courts and porticos of the temples. On the column there is generally a bracket for the bust to which the inscription refers.

L. 1. בולא ודמס i. e. בולא ודמס. Plur. of דמס, regularly in Palm.; see add. note ii p. 26. תריוהון Lit. *the two of them*, תריוהון (= תריוהון), cf. 111 2 and the Palest. forms תרוויהון, תרוויהון, Dalman *Gr.* 98.

L. 2. אעילמי 'Aailámu. The name is Arab., and may be explained as a diminutive of the elative form with the ending ² (‘relative’), i. e. ² from علم *know*, cf. ² from ازمر &c. As the Gk. form shows, the pronunciation does not strictly represent the Arab.; perhaps this is due to the influence of Aram., which rarely recognizes dimin. forms; cf. also Xεῖλος = كَهْل, Σεμίας = سُهَيْمِيَّة &c. The pr. n. Αἰλαμος Wadd. 2086 is similarly explained as = عَيْلَم (J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 15 f.). חַיְרָאן = חירן an ancient name in the tribe of the Beni Hamdân (Blau *ZDMG* xxviii 75), very common in Palm. 78 2 n.¹ סתא The preceding בר is left out, as frequently in Palm.—a strong proof of Gk. influence; see the Gk. version. סתא is abbreviated from some form like סת בול (= מתן-בול).

L. 3. 111 3 f. i. e. בְּחִימֵי מְדִינָתוֹן. מדינתא (147 ii b 7 &c.) = מדינתא (from דין); in Palm. and Syr. *city*, *πάτρις*; in Bibl. Aram. *province*. For the assimilation of נ cf. אתח (= אנשת), and in foreign words סדקיא 147. סקלמיקא Vog. 21 (p. 285 n. 1).

L. 4. ברילי 113 4 f. &c. *on account of*, frequent in Palest. Aram. but not in Syr., Dalman *Gr.* 187. בריל is Hebraized בשל Jonah 1 7 (= באשר ל v. 8). 12. Qoh. 8 17. מבו An error for צבו lit. *purpose, intention*, as in Syr. with a vague sense, *matter, thing*, Dan. 6 18; plur. צבונא 147 i 6.

¹ Final *f* in Palm. is represented in Gk. by *eis*, *ei*, *eiv*, e. g. ברעי 111 2 Βαρεῖχεν; also medial *f*, e. g. סקמיו Μοκείμου and Μοκίμου, ובידא Ζεβείδα 113 2. Where *i* = diphth. *ai* the Gk. writes *ai*, as here, חירן Αἰφανος, בידא 113 3 Βαῖδᾶ &c.; Nöld. 88 f.

L. 5. שנת Constr. st. before the number. The name of the month in the Gk. version comes from the Macedonian calendar. The date is reckoned by the Seleucid era which began Oct. 312 B. C.; see 9 5 n. 97 iii n.

111. Vog. 2. A. D. 139.

1 בולא ודמס עבדו צלמיה אלן
2 תרויהן לבריכי בר אמרשא בר
3 ירחבולא ולמקימ[ן] ברה רחמי
4 מריתהון ודחלי אלה[יה] ליקרהון
5 בירח ניסן שנת 333

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Βαρεΐχειν Ἀμρισάμσου τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέους καὶ Μόκιμον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοπάτριδας τιμῆς χάριν . . . Wadd. 2587.

The Council and People have made these two statues ³ to Bariki, son of Amri-sha, son ³ of Yarhi-bólē, and to Moqim[u] his son, lovers ⁴ of their city and fearers of the g[od]s: to their honour. ⁵ In the month Nisan, the year 450.

The form is identical with that of the preceding inscription.

L. 2. בריכי i. e. *Benedictus*. אמרשא An abbrev. for שמשא (see the Gk.) *Shamash has promised*, cf. the O.T. אמריהו 1 Chr. 24 23 &c., and the Sab. יתעמר KB ii 54; for שא = שמשא cf. תימשא אלחשא, Vog. 34. Prob. the Hebr. pr. n. בעשא (= בעלשא) is to be explained in this way; see S. A. Cook *Expos. Times* x (1899) 525 ff.

L. 3. ירחבולא Derived from the name of the Palm. deity ירחבול 121 6 n.; cf. 115 5 n. The nom. of Ἰαριβωλέου would end in -ης, cf. בונא 112 2 Βωνέους; hence the final vowel in both names was pronounced ē, cf. בולא = βουλή; Nöld. 90.

112. Vog. 3. A. D. 140.

1 צלמא דנה די אצ[ט]לי בר חירן שבא בר
2 חירן בונא שבת די עבדת לה בולא די
3 סגר לה. ח. . . לעלמא ו. . . מל. תא ואקם

מַלְכָּבֶל = מַלְאֲךְ בֵּל messenger of Bel (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 256 f.) rather than מַלְכָּבֶל *Bel is king*. The god Bel came from Babylon. The name is not found on public inscrr., but only on small tesserae, and often accompanied by the symbol of the sun with rays, e. g. Vog. 132 ff. בֵּל as a sun-god Bel could easily be adapted to שֶׁמֶשׁ, undoubtedly the chief god of Palmyra; he was further identified with Ζεύς, Wadd. 2606 a, 140 A 2 n. Lidzb. suggests that the native שֶׁמֶשׁ was interpreted as מַלְאֲךְ בֵּל, the messenger, or the revealer of Bel. If this is correct we can understand how שֶׁמֶשׁ, בֵּל, מַלְכָּבֶל are all really the same chief deity, under various aspects. Malak-bel is sometimes associated with 'Aglī-bōl, the latter, as the moon, being named before the sun, 139 6 n., cf. 61 2 n. [וּגָן] or [וּלְגָן] חִימִי. Cl.-Gan. reads [גָּן], in appos. to מַלְכָּבֶל (*Rec.* iii 244 f.), but the Gk. has καί. The two deities are named together on a Palm. seal, מַלְכָּבֶל נִרְחִימִי Mordtm. no. 88. נִרְחִימִי = Τύχη Θαιμαῖος, gen. of Θαιμαῖς (Nöld. 88), the patron deity of the clan חִימִי¹. The name חִימִי = חַיִּים slave requires, like עֶבֶר, the name of a god to complete its meaning, e. g. חִימְאֵלִי 84 1. The worship of Gad-Tyche was widely popular in Syria and Ḥauran; cf. the pr. nn. נִרְעָחָה Vog. 143, בִּרְצָו ib. 84, and 27 3 n. עֲתֶרְעָתָה 'Atergatis, the great goddess of the Aramaeans. The chief centres of her cult in Syria were at Hierapolis in Mesopotamia and Damascus²; outside Syria her most famous temple was at Ashqelon³. Another temple occupied an ancient shrine at Ash-taroth-qarnaim, the 'Atergátion at Karnion 2 Macc. 12 26, τὸ τέμενος ἐν Καρνάιν 1 Macc. 5 43; both here and at Ashqelon Atergatis took the place of an earlier Astarte. The name is compounded of עֲתָר = עֲתָרָה = עֲתֶרֶת and עֲתָרָה. As עֲתָרָה (mas.) the deity was worshipped in S. Arabia (see 4 1 n.). There are traces of the form עֲתָר among the Aramaeans, e. g. the pr. n. עֲתָרִישׁ Cl.-Gan. *Él.* i 118 (עֲתָרִישׁ CIS ii 52 is doubtful); it was known to Strabo, who writes it 'Αθάρα⁴, the θ being a softening of the original doubled letter; cf. Hesych. 'Ατταγάθη

¹ Cf. חִימִי לִבְנֵי חִימִי Mordtm. no. 50.

² Strabo p. 636 ed. Müll. ἡ Βαμβούκη ἦν καὶ Ἐδεσσα καὶ Ἱερὰν πόλιν καλοῦσιν, ἐν ᾧ τιμῶσι τὴν Συρίαν θεὸν τὴν Ἀταργάτην. Her name occurs on coins of Hierapolis, Babelon *Pers. Ach.* pp. liii. 45. For Damascus see Justin xxxvi 2 Nomen urbi a Damasco rege inditum, in cuius honorem Syri sepulcrum Athares [MSS. Arathis] uxoris eius, pro templo coluere deamque exinde sanctissimae religionis habent.

³ Diod. ii 4. Near Askalon is a temple of the goddess ἡν δομαῖσιν οἱ Σύροι Δερκετοῦν κ.τ.λ.; her image was that of a woman with a fish-tail. See Schürer *Geich. Jüd. Volk.* ii. 23 f.

⁴ P. 667 Ἀταργάτην δὲ [ἠγάλασαν] τὴν Ἀθάραν Δερκετὸν δ' αὐτὴν Ἐτρησίας καλεῖ.

'Αθήρη παρὰ τῷ Ξάνθῳ *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iv 629. A hint as to the nature of the deity is given by an inscr. of Ašurbanipal, *KB* ii 220 f., which mentions a N. Arabian tribe as worshippers of *Atar-samaim* i.e. Atar of the heavens. The second part of the compound, עתה, עתא, or עתי¹, occurs frequently in pr. nn., e. g. זכרעתה, ברעתה, עתנורי, and with a mas. verb, e. g. עתנקב, עתנתן; but whether עתה was a male or female deity is not clear. The Syr. ܐܬܗ of Adiabene was a goddess (Cureton *Syr.* 9); in a Gk. inscr. from Batanaea, Wadd. 2209, a god Ἐθαός is named, perhaps = עתא. The usual Gk. transcription is -γαθη². Of the nature of this deity nothing certain is known. As 'Athar-'atfeh was specially connected with Hierapolis, it is possible that 'Atfeh was the Phrygian god Attis = Adonis, whose cult was established there; 'Athar-'atfeh will then represent a union between the Syrian goddess and the youthful god of foreign origin (Lagrange *RB* x 559 f. = *Rel. Séém.* 132, following E. Meyer, Hommel &c.); at any rate עתרעתה denotes 'Ashtart who has assumed the attributes of 'Atfeh, cf. מלכבל above. At Ashqelon she was a fish-goddess, but her worship seemed to Herod. to be that of Ἀφροδίτη οὐρανίη (i 105), and such no doubt was her character at Palmyra; cf. an inscr. from Delos quoted by Schürer l. c. 24 Ἀγῆ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀταργάτι. In the Talm. her name is תרעתא *Ab. Zar.* 11 b; in Gk. and Lat. it is often Δερκετώ, Derceto.

L. 6. Πάνημος = תמוז, the 10th month, July.

113. Vog. 4. A. D. 247.

1 צלמא דנה די יולים אורלים

2 זבידא בר מקימו בר זבידא עשתור

3 בידא די אקים לה תגרא בני שירתא

4 די נחת עמה לאלגשיא ליקרה בדיל

5 די שפר להון בירח ניסן שנת ע פ

33 פ — y ///

¹ The differences are merely orthographical; Lidzb. *Ephem.* i 84 (against Cl.-Gan.).

² Athenaeus viii 37 . . . Γάτις ἡ τῶν Χύρων βασίλισσα . . . ὑπ' ἀγνοίας διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῇ μὲν Ἀτεργάτιν ὀνομάζουσιν . . .

Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβείδαν Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβείδου
Ἀσθώρου Βαιδᾶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καταλθόντες εἰς Ὀλογε-
σιάδα ἔμποροι ἀνέστησαν ἀρέσαντα αὐτοῖς τειμῆς χάριν
Ξανδικῷ τοῦ ηγνφ' ἔτους. Wadd. 2599.

This statue is that of Julius Aurelius ²Zebida, son of Moqîmu, son of Zebîda, (son of) Ἀσθôr, ³(son of) Baida, which has been set up to him by the merchants of the caravans ⁴who went down with him to Ologesias: to his honour, because ⁵he was well-pleasing to them. In the month Nisan, the year 558.

L. 2. זבדא i.e. *Donatus*, cf. זבדבול 133 1; O.T. זבד, זבד, זבד, N.T. Ζεβεδάιος; Arab. زبد gift, Aram. זבד to present. עשתור Mas. form of עשתרת; the full form would be ע' בר, cf. the name of the Jewish proselytes בר עשתור (ח) Talm. J. *Bikk.* 64 a. The long *ô* has, of course, nothing to do with the Massor. punctuation עשתרת; it is an original long vowel, represented sometimes by —, e.g. Phoen. Οὐλωμος, Assy. *Hirummu* חירם &c. The name here was prob. borrowed from the Phoenicians; cf. עברעשור 22 1 n. and עסחורנא 143 2. See Hoffmann *Über ein. Phön. Inschr.* 6. 22 n.

L. 3. זבדא Perhaps abbr. from זבדא. אפם Afel pf. 3 plur., the final vowel being quiescent, as in the Syr. ܐܦܡܐ; cf. נחח l. 4 and p. 264. חנרא 147 i 7. ii c 16, i.e. חנרא plur. emph., with the ending ח— (shortened from ח—), as in Syr. ܡܢܐ, from חנר Pa. to sell. For the form cf. עברא 126 4. מלכא 130 1; it was prob. common in the spoken language (see p. 264). בני שירחא 114 2 lit. sons of the caravan, συνοδία (Lk. 2 44); cf. 116 2 ש' רב ש' συνοδίαρχης, and Syr. ܡܢܐ, Arab. سيار; the Aram. word is perhaps borrowed from Arab. (Fraenkel *Aram. Fremdw.* 180). For בני ש' cf. בני מדיחא 122 4.

L. 4. נחח Pf. 3 plur.; see l. 3 n. אלגשיא Vologasias, a town on a tributary (Νααρσάρη, Ptolemaeus) of the Euphrates, about 55 m. SE. of Babylon, and 62 Rom. miles S. of Seleukeia and Ktesiphon, founded by Vologasus I, who became king of the Parthians in A.D. 51. This able ruler succeeded in diverting the trade of Palmyra towards his new city, whence it was carried by river to Charax, the great emporium of the Persian Gulf (114. 115).

114. Vog. 5. A.D. 155.

- 1 [צל]ם מרקם אלם תיד[רום די מתקרא
 2 [שמ]עגד די אקימו לה בני שירתא די
 3 [סלק]ת מן כרך אספסנא בדילדי עדרה
 4 [בכל צבו]ן [כל]ה ליקרה ברבנות שירת[א]
 5 [די זברע]תא בר זברלא ידי בירח אב שנת 333 י 333

. . . . [ἡ Σπασίνου] Χάρακος συννοδία βο[θηθη]σαντα
 αὐτῇ παντὶ τροπῇ διὰ Ζαβδεαθοῦς Ζαβδελά τοῦ Ἰα-
 [δδαίου] συννοδιάρχου. Ἔτους 55 μνηστὸς λώου. Wadd.
 2590.

[Stat]ue of Marcus Aelius Theod[ōros who is called
 2 Shem]a'-gad, which has been set up to him by the members
 of the caravan which 3[cam]e up from Karak Hispasina,
 because he helped it 4[in everyth]ing [whatso]ever: to his
 honour; the chief of the caravan being 6[Zabde-'a]thē, son of
 Zabd-ila, (son of) Yaddai. In the month Ab, the year 466.

L. 1. The restoration is that of J. Mordtmann *Palmyrenisches* 17 f.,
 based upon Mordtm.'s copy. תידרום Again in Sachau no. 1,
Cl.-Gan. Rec. iii 157.

L. 2. שמעגד Cf. the Phoen. שמעגעל 33 2. בני ש' See 118 3 n.

L. 3. [סלק]ת 115 2. The outward journey to the Euphrates was
 called *going down* נחל 118 4, the return journey *coming up*. כרך
 אספסנא = Σπασίνου Χάραξ, the great mercantile town at the mouth
 of the Tigris, near the modern village Bassra, founded first by
 Alexander the Gt. and called Alexandria, then after its destruction
 by a flood called Antioch, prob. after Antiochus the Gt., and finally
 re-founded by Ὑσπασίνης, an Arab chief who made it the capital
 of a small kingdom and gave it his name, early in the 2nd cent.
 כרך 115 is Aram., from כָּרַךְ *surround*, מָצֵל *fenced city, citadel*,
 cf. כְּרָא 94 2 and *Kerak* the capital of Moab. אספסנא = *the*
fortress or city of Hispasina; in ordinary pronunciation the first
 syll. was dropped, as appears in the Gk. Spasinou Charax (115 Gk.
 version). עדרה i.e. עֲדָרָה.

L. 4. כל צבו כלה So restored by Reckendorf *ZDMG* xlii 397 n.;

110 4; cf. the Gk. ברבנות Lit. *in the chieftainship*, 'ר being the title of the office of 'ש' רב 115 2.

L. 5. זבולא = זבר אלא, cf. זבולא 140 A 3. ידי 115 &c. 'Iaddaios. The doubled letter indicates a pet name, which is also abbreviated from some such form as ידיעבל; cf. בני Vog. 34 Bέννιος from . . . בנה, זבי 130 Ζαββαίος from . . . זבר, מצי Vog. 116 Μακκαίος from מצימו; Lidzb. *Éph.* i 76. אב Λῶος, the 5th month, July–August.

115. Vog. 6. A. D. 193.

- 1 צלמא דנה די תימרצו בר תימא בר מצימו
- 2 גרבא רב שירתא די עברו לה בני שירתא די סלקו
- 3 עמה מן כרכא בדילדי חסכנן זוד דנרין די דהב
- 4 עתיקין תלת מאה ושפר להון ליקרה וליקר ידי
- 5 [ועבר] בול בנוהי [ב]ירח ניסן שנת ע פ

Τὸν ἀνδρ[ιάντα ἀ]νέστησαν [Θαιμαρ]σῆ Θαιμῇ τοῦ [Μο]κίμου τοῦ [Γ]α[ρβᾶ συν]οδιάρχῃ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ἀναβάντε[ς ἀπὸ] Σπασίνου Χάρ[ακος ἀ]φειδήσαν[τι αὐτοῖς] χρυσᾶ παλαιὰ δηνάρ[ι]α τριακόσια ἀναλ[ω-μ]α[τ]ω[ν καὶ ἀρέσ]αντι αὐτοῖς εἰς τειμῆν [αὐτοῦ] καὶ 'Ιαδδαίου καὶ 'Αβδιβώλου νύων αὐτοῦ ἔτους δφ' Ξανδικοῦ. Wadd. 2596.

This statue is that of Taim-arṣu, son of Taimē, son of Moqīmu, ² (son of) Garbā, chief of the caravan, which has been made to him by the members of the caravan who came up ³ with him from Karak, because he saved them (their) expenses, three hundred denarii of gold, ⁴ ancient currency, and was well-pleasing to them: to his honour, and to the honour of Yaddai ⁵ [and 'Abdi]-bōl his sons. In the month Nisan, the year 504.

L. 1. תימרצו 140 A 5 Θαιμάρας, and prob. *Themarsa* (in an African inscr., Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 165) = *slave of Rudd*, ردا', an ancient Arab god; 88 1 n., and p. 295 n. 1 (ארצו).

L. 2. נרבא Vog. נבבא after Wadd. 2591 Γαββâ, which, however, is prob. to be emended Γαββâ; for נרבא cf. 147 ii b 27 and נריבא Vog. 141, Hebr. נִרְבַּ 2 S. 23 38 &c., = *scabby*.

L. 3. כרבא 114 3 n. חסכנן 121 5 Pa. pf. with suff. כִּן from חסך, Hebr. חָשַׁךְ to hold back, spare, here followed by two accusatives, lit. *he held them back from expense*, i.e. he paid their expenses himself; hence the word comes to = ἀφαιδεῖν to bestow lavishly. וְד i.e. וְדִן expenses for a journey, e.g. וְדִן לְהוֹן וְדִן לְאִוְדָא Onk. Gen. 42 25. The Gk. equivalent is ἀναλώματα. דְּרִין = δηνάρια, with Aram. pl. ending.

L. 4. עתיקן *ancient*, i.e. belonging to an earlier currency, heavier in weight; παλαιὰ δηνάρια. In 1 Chr. 24 22 'ע occurs as an Aramaism.

L. 5. עבדבול *servant of Bôl*, the Palm. god; cf. the divine names זבדבול 121 6. ענלכול 139 6, and the pr. nn. ירחבולא 111 3. זבדבול 140 A 6 &c. The form is peculiar to Palm. It has been explained as 'the god of the month Bôl,' or as a dialectical form of בל *Bel* in מלכבל 112 4 or of בעל in שמן ב' 122 6; but the Palm. ב could not have arisen from 'a (Nöld. ZDMG xlii 474), and the first explanation is very doubtful.

116. Vog. 7. A.D. 257-8.

1 צלמא דנה די יולים אורלים
2 שלמלת בר מלא עבדי רב שירתא
3 די אקימת לה בולא ודמס ליקרה
4 די אסק שירתא מגן מן כיסה
5 שנת ע 333 — 333 y IIII 3

Ἡ βουλ[ῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον Αὐρηλίω[ν
τὸν καὶ Σαλμάλλ]αθον Μαλῆ τοῦ [Ἀβδαίου ἀ]ρχέμπορον
ἀνακομίσα[ντα τὴν] συνοδίαν προῦκα ἐξ ιδίων τειμῆς
χάριν ἔτους θξϛ'. Wadd. 2603.

This statue is that of Julius Aurelius ² Salm-allath, son of Malē, (son of) 'Abdai, chief of the caravan, ³ which the Council and People have set up to him to his honour, ⁴ because he brought up the caravan gratis, at his own expense. ⁵ The year 569.

L. 2. שלם אלח = שלם אלח. For אלח see 117 6 n.; and for the abbreviation cf. חבלח Vog. 21. עבדלח 94. אמחלח Lidzb. p. 221. מלא In Gk. Μαλῆς (nom.), -ῆ (gen.), -ῆν (acc.) 122 1, the Aram. מ... representing the Gk. η(ς), 111 3 n.; for the name cf. Talm. מלאי, Lk. 3 31 Μαλαί, Nab. מלא CIS ii 215, possibly connected with מלא *be full*, cf. the pr. n. מלא Vog. 85; Lidzb., however, suggests that מלא is abbr. from מלכי, cf. μαλχα Chron. 458 (Tischendorf on Lk. 3 31).

L. 4. מן אפס i.e. מן אפס Af. of מן; cf. 114 3 n. מן i.e. מן Lit. emptiness, Arab. مَنَافِيس, used like the Hebr. מָנֶם in the sense *for nought*, e.g. Targ. Job 1 9. מן כיסה Lit. *out of his purse* 117 5. 122 6, cf. Nab. מן דילח 102 3.

117. Vog. 8. A. D. 129.

- [צלמא דנה די . . . די אקימו בני . . .] 1
 בלהן ליקרה בריל [די שפר להון] 2
 ועבד הו ולשמש אחוהי באכ . . . 3
 ק ה עמודין שתא ושריתהון 4
 ותלילהון מן כיסהון ליקר שמש 5
 [ון]אלת ורחם אלהיא טביא בירח 6
 33 אדר שנת 7

[This statue is that of . . . which the sons of . . . have set up] ² all of them to his honour, because [he was well-pleasing to them], ³ and made, himself and Lishamsh his brother . . . ⁴ . . . six pillars and their beams ⁵ and their coverings, at their own expense, to the honour of Shamash ⁶ [and] Allath and Rahām, the good gods. In the month ⁷ Adar, the year 440.

L. 3. לשמש i.e. *Belonging to Shamash*, cf. Λισάμσον (gen.) Wadd. 2458. For the form cf. Phoen. Λισάμσον (Jos. c. Ap. i 18), Arab. الله, Hebr. לֵאלֵל Num. 3 24 *Belonging to El*, לֵאלֵל Prov. 31 1. At the end of the line J. Mordtmann suggests [סדרא] *in this exedra*; Lidzb. מן אפס 110 3 n.

L. 4. עמודין שתא It is a peculiarity of Palm. that the numeral follows its noun, cf. 115 3 f. 110 3. We gather from this inscr. that the colonnades which lined the streets of Palmyra were built by degrees at the cost of public-spirited citizens. שריתהון 133 1; Targ. שריתהון *beam*.

L. 5. חמלילהן = Syr. ܚܡܠܝܬܗ covering from ܚܡܠ, 133 1. שמש
For the worship of Shamash at Palmyra see 136, and 61 2 n.

L. 6. אלה See 80 4 n. and 116 2 n. רחם The name of a god,
the attribute *Compassionate* being personified and treated as a distinct
divinity, cf. רחמא 139, elsewhere רחמנא 138; the pronunciation was
prob. רחמא i. e. ܚܡܐ, Nöld. 89. The deity occurs in Sabaeen, e. g.
רחם סנה *Rahām Sujuh* CIS iv 40 5; similarly רחמן = الرحمن ib. 6 3.

L. 7. אדר The 12th month, Δύστρος, Feb.–March.

118. Vog. 9. A.D. 162.

- 1 צל[ח]ת[ח]ליפי בר אתפני בר חליפי
2 [די] עבר לה חליפי [ב]ר חגנו בר מלכו
3 [בר]י[ל] די [שפ]ר לה ליק[ר]ה יאשמה...
4 ... בעמודא דנה למקמו ועלוהי
5 ... תנכרי יחא בירח [אד]ר שנת
6 /// 333 ///

Stat[ue of Ḥa]līfi, son of Ethpani, son of Ḥalīfi, ²[which]
has been made to him by Ḥalīfi, son of Ḥaggāgu, [s]on of
Māliku, ³[be]cause he was [well-pleas]ing to him, to his
honour: ... ⁴... on this pillar to set up, and upon it ⁵...
while (?) he shall live. In the month [Ad]ar, the year 473.

L. 1. חליפי Cf. חלפו 89 1 n. אתפני For the form cf. אצמלי
112 1.

L. 2. חנו 140 A 3 = ܚܢܐ, cf. חנוא *Rp.* no. 148 and חני Lidzb.
270, Phoen. חני, חנת, Hebr. חני *festal* (?), LXX Ἀγγαιος.

L. 4. למקמו If the reading is correct, an infin. למקמי, as in Syr.
ܠܡܩܡܝ, Nöld. 104.

L. 5. כרי יחא Reading uncertain; perhaps impf. יחא, Nöld. ib.

119. Vog. 11. A.D. 179.

- 1 צלמא דנה די שריכו בר חירן בר עלינא
2 צפרא די אקימת לה בולא ליקרה

This statue is that of Marthi, daughter of Yad[ē, son of Wahab-allath], ² son of Shim'on, which has been set up to her by Sorai[ku, son of Ḥairān, her husband], ³ because she was ? : to her honour. In the month Adar, the y[ear 4]90.

L. 1. צלמחא Fem., because the statue is that of a woman; cf. Phoen. נמשא דה 13 2 n. רנה, however, keeps its mas. form; contrast נמשא דה Vog. 31. מרתי Cf. N.T. Μάρθα and 102 2. ירא 'Iadḥs, cf. יר' Iadḥaios 114 5 n.

L. 2. שמען Like מרתי, a Jewish name. These persons prob. belonged to the Jewish colony in Palmyra, or were related to Jewish families there. שריכו See 110 1 n.

L. 3. מלחח Perhaps = Arab. مَلَحَتْ *she was pleasant*, instead of the usual שמר; cf. the Arab. pr. n. مَلَحَة (Nöld. 106). But the omission of לַה (the prep. always follows שמר) makes this explanation doubtful.

121. Vog. 15. A.D. 242-3. Plate VIII.

- 1 צלם יולים זבדלא בר מלכו בר מלכו
2 נשום די הוא אסמרטג לקלניא במיתותא די
3 אלהא אלכסנדרוס קסר ושמש כדי הוא תנ
4 ק[ר]ספינוס היגמונא וכדי אתי לכא ית לגיניא
5 זבנן סניאן והוא רב שוק וחסך רזאין שניאן
6 ודבר עמרה שכיתית מטלכות סהר לה ירחבול
7 אלהא ואף יולים === די ספא ורחים מרתא
8 אקים לה בולא ודמוס ליקרה שנת ע 33 — — —

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζηνόβιον τὸν καὶ Ζαβδίλαν δις Μάλχου τοῦ Νασσοῦμου στρατηγήσαντα ἐν ἐπιδημίᾳ θεοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ ὑπηρετήσαντα παρουσίᾳ διηγεκεί Ρουτιλλίου Κρισπείνου τοῦ ἡγησαμένου καὶ ταῖς ἐπιδημησάσαις οὐξηξίλλατίοσιν ἀγορανομήσαντά τε καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀφειδήσαντα χρημάτων καὶ καλῶς πολειτευσάμενον ὥς διὰ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθῆναι

ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἰαριβώλου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου ≡ τοῦ
ἐξοχωτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου καὶ τῆς
πατρίδος τὸν φιλόπατριν τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους δνφ'. Wadd.
2598.

Statue of Julius Aurelius Zabd-ilā, son of Māliku, son of Malikū, ²(son of) Nassūm, who was *stratēgos* of the Colony at the coming ³ of the divine Alexander Caesar; and he served when ⁴C[r]ispinus the governor was here, and when he brought hither the legions ⁵many times; and he was chief of the market, and spent money in a most generous manner; ⁶and he led his life peaceably(?); on this account the god Yarḥi-bōl has borne witness to him, ⁷and also Julius ———, who fosters and loves the city: ⁸the Council and People have set (this) up to him, to his honour. The year 554.

L. 1. זבדילא 114 5 n. The *stratēgos* had another name beside this, Zenobios (Gk. text); cf. 123. Here and in 123. 127 all three *stratēgoi* are called Jul. Aurelius in addition to their native names; the emperors [Aurelius] Antoninus Pius and M. Aurelius no doubt made these names popular.

L. 2. אסטרטג One of the chief civil magistrates. Another title for the executive officials of the municipality was ארכטניא 147 i 2 ἀρχοντες; both were equivalent to the Rom. *duumviri* (Cagnat *Cours d'épigr. lat.* 150); contrast the Nab. אסרתנא 96 2 n. אסרתנא 127 4. At what period Palmyra received the Jus Italicum and the title of Colonia is not known; probably it was under Hadrian, when he visited the city in 130–1 A. D. (see p. 263). במיתותא An infin. noun, of the form מִתְּוֹלָה (see Barth *Nominalb.* 257), from מתא, i. e. מִתְּוֹלָה = Pal. Syr. مَتَوَلَّه *adventus* Mt. 24 3: Pesh. مَتَوَلَّه.

L. 3. אלהא = the title *divus*, given to the emperor after his death; cf. 95 i n. 122 3. אלכסנדרוס i. e. Severus Alexander 222–235 A. D. He stayed at Palmyra prob. in 230–1 A. D., during the indecisive campaign against the Persians under Ardashir or Artaxerxes; see Mommsen *Provinces* ii 90. שמש Pa. 123 3. תנן = Syr. أَن; cf. תנן 68 5.

L. 4. הינמנא 147 ii b 15. 24 = ἡγεμών i. e. *praeses provinciae*. אחי i. e. אחי, Targ. O. Gen. 39 14 אחי, Af. of אחא. אכא = Pal. Syr. אכא. יח The old accus. particle is not found in Palm. elsewhere.

In this dialect the object is usually not marked by any sign, though ל occasionally appears, e. g. בִּל יִכְרֵךְ לִבִּי חֵלָא Vog. 132.

L. 5. זִכְנָן סְנִיָּאן i. e. זִכְנָן סְנִיָּאן cf. 147 i 6; ז' is the plur. of זִכְנָא (= זִכְנָא), Syr. ܙܚܢܐ fem. *time*; Reckendorf *ZDMG* xlii 394 n. Palm., Syr., Mand. (זִכְנָא) use the form with ב, other Aram. dialects have כ, e. g. זִכְנָן in Nab. 98 6 n. Note the form זִכְנָאן in this line; see p. 264, and cf. 148 2. 13. ἀγορανομήσαντα, i. e. praepositus annonae. שֶׁן = *street*, O.T. and Targ.; then *broad place, market*, Talm. ש' וְחֹסֶךְ רִזְאִין οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀφειδήσαντα χρημάτων, lit. 'he spared (others from) many expenses'; for חֹסֶךְ Pa. see 115 3 n. Vog. gives רִזְאִין = רִזְאִין 123 5, accepted doubtfully by Nöld. 97. Mordtm., however, reads רִזְאִין, which may be derived from رَزَا, to make a person poorer in something (two accus.); hence رَزَا one who has been reduced, i. e. by his generosity, so generous, and رִזְאִין δαπαναί. In the S. Arab. inscr. from Ma'rib رِزَا has the sense of *bestow, expend* (Lidzb. *Eph.* i 239).

L. 6. דִּכְר ע' רַבְר עֲמִרָה שְׁכִיחִית καὶ καλῶς πολιτευσάμενον. For 'ע' (Pa.) cf. the Syr. ܕܝܚܪ ܥܝܪܐ ܕܝܚܪܐ ܕܝܚܪܐ to lead a pure life (Cureton *Spic. Syr.* 21), no doubt a rendering of the Gk. idiom βίον ἀγειν, *vitam agere*. עֲמִרָה his life = the Syr. ܥܡܝܪܐ victus, *modus vitae*, from ܥܡܝܪ *habitaui*. Mordtm. reads עֲמִרָה וְכִיחִית his life purely; but except in the case of אֲבוּחִי, אֲחוּחִי, חִיחִי, בְּנוּחִי, עֲלֹחִי, the 3 sing. mas. suff. in Palm. ends in ח—; and as he allows that the letters ר look like ש in his squeeze, we may read עֲמִרָה שְׁכִיחִית, or 'ע' שְׁכ' (Nöld. 103). The Syr. ܕܝܚܪ *quievit* (cf. Hebr. שָׁקַט) would give the rendering *quietly* for שְׁכ'; but the expression is jejune, and the reading שְׁכִיחִית καλῶς is more likely to be right: Reckendorf l. c. 395 n. 1. Note the Syr. adverbial ending *dlth*, p. 264. מַלְכוּת i. e. מַלְכָּא 147 i 6 on that account. The combination is not found in other Aram. dialects; but מַלְכָּא is common in Syr. and Pal. Aram., cf. מַלְכוּת מ' כֵּן because Targ. Ps.-Jon. Lev. 8 15; מַלְכָּא is also used in Pal. Aram. for *according, as* (Dalm. *Gr.* 178), cf. Nab. 81 8 (*accordingly*) and Syr. ܡܠܟܐ, ܡܠܟܐ. יִרְחֹבֹל Cf. θεῶ μεγίστῃ Ἱεραβ[ώ]λῃ in an inscr. from Egypt (Coptos), Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii 118. The god's approval was perhaps conveyed by an oracle; cf. ἐπιμελητῆς αἰρεθείς Ἐφκάς πηγῆς ὑπὸ Ἱεραβώλου τοῦ θεοῦ Wadd. 2571 c. The name of the deity is composite, like עֲלִיבֹל, מַלְכֹבֹל, and the first part of it suggests a moon-god (יִרְחָ); but what evidence there is implies a sun-god, e. g. CIL iii 1108 Deo soli Hierobolo &c., and יִרְחִי = Ἡλιόδωρος p. 301 n. 1; J. Mordtmann *Palmyren.* 44 f. Further light on the subject may be expected from a Palm. inscr.

discovered at Homs, not as yet published; *RB* xi 410 n. 7. Cf. the pr. n. ירחבולא 111 3 n.

L. 7. Both in the Palm. and Gk. texts a name has been erased after *Julius*; it was prob. *Philippus*, i.e. Jul. Philip, an Arabian from the Trachonitis, who was praefectus praetorio = ἑπαρχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου (Gk. text) in A. D. 242-3, the year of this inscription. He instigated the murder of Gordian iii, and succeeded him as emperor (A. D. 244-249). נפח i.e. נפח ptc. lit. *gives to eat, nourishes*; cf. Targ. Ps.-Jon. Num. 11 18 וְשִׁינָא בְּיֶעְרָא מִן 'who will give us flesh to eat?' מרתא So Mordtm., rather than מרתח *his city*; elsewhere the form is מרתא. Cf. זרקתא 181 i.

L. 8. אקים Prob. plur., 118 3 n.

122. Vog. 16. A. D. 131.

- 1 [בולא ודמס עברו צלמא דנה למלא הנרפא]
- 2 בר ירחי [לשמש?] רעי די הוא נרמטום די תרתיא
- 3 זכרי אתנא תנן] הדרינוס אלהא יהב משחא
- 4 לבני מרניתא ול[אסטרטור]יא] ולאכסניא די א[ת]א
- 5 עמה [מש]ריתה בכל מדען ובנא הכלא
- 6 ופרנאי... [ותצב]יתה בלה מן כיסה לבעל שמנן]
- 7 ולדר ה ד מן בני ידיעבל
- 8 ב[ירח] ... שנת [///] 33 //

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ] ὁ δῆμος Μαλῆν τὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν Ἰαραίου καὶ Ῥααίου γραμματέα γενόμενον τὸ δεύτερον ἐπιδημῖα θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ ἄλιμμα παρασχόντα ξένοις τε καὶ πολεῖταις ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπηρετήσαντα τῇ τε τῶν στρατευμάτων ὑπο[δοχ]ῇ καὶ τὸν ναὸν τὸν [τοῦ Ἡλίου] σὺν τῷ . . . ναιω . . . [καὶ τ]αῖς ἄλλα[ις] . . . το . . . Wadd. 2585.

[The Council and People have made this statue to Malē Agrippa], ² son of Yarhai, (son of) [Lishamsh?] Ra'ai, who was secretary for a second time; ³ and when the divine

Hadrian ca[me here], he gave oil ⁴ to the people of the ci[ty and to] the *strator*[es] and to the strangers who ca[m]e ⁵ with him . . . his [ca]mp with everything. And he built the temple ⁶ and . . . [and its decor]ation, all of it, at his own expense, to Ba'al-sham[in] ⁷ and to of the Benê Yed'fa-bel. ⁸ In [the month] . . . the year [4]42.

The above text is based upon the restoration of Cl.-Gan. *Él.* ii § 9; cf. Mordtm. 22 ff., J. Mordtmann *Palmyren.* 19 50.

L. 2. ירחי An abbreviation of ירחבולא 111 3. The ל is barely visible; cf. 117 3 n. γραμματεὺς 147 i 2 = the Rom. title *scriba*. The Palm. 1 = Gk. εὑ, as in סלוקום 123. בילומא 124. די תרחיא = Syr. ܕܝ ܬܪܚܝܐ, emph. form of ܕܝܠܝܐ; the form actually met with in Syr. is ܕܝܠܝܐ, Hexapl. Is. 61 7. Jer. 33 1 &c. ܕܝܠܝܐ (Nöld. 102 and *Syr. Gr.* 96).

L. 3. וכרי ונ' See 121 2 f.

L. 4. בני מדיחא Cf. בני שירתא 113 3 n. [יא] = *stratores*, 'equerries,' Cl.-Gan.; אסטרטון[מא] = *στράτευμα*, G. Hoffmann; [יא] = *στρατιῶται*, Vog. אכסניא = *ἐξένοι*, formed with the adjectival ending *ai* from *ἐξένοι*. א[ת]א Plur., like אקים 113 3.

L. 5. After עמח Cl.-Gan. reads [ופרנס מש]ריתה and supplied his camp (see 132 3 n.); cf. the Gk. *ἐν τῇ περὶ τοῦ στρατευμάτου ἀποδοχῇ*. For משריתה cf. 86 4. *πᾶσι ἐν בכל מרען* = *πᾶσι ἐν* 147 i 8. 11 &c. = מנרעם 75 2 n. 147 i 10 הכלא.

L. 6. ופראי So Cl.-Gan., admitting that the 7 may be 7, and that the 1 is indistinct. The Gk. fragment . . . *vaaw* he restores [απο]βαίψ, and the Palm., פראיסח or פראינה *its pronaos or vestibule*. וחציחה 119 4. לבעל שמן The Gk. text of Wadd. given above is to be corrected *ἐνδ[ε] [τῷ] Δωδ* *ἐνδ[ε] [τῷ] Δωδ*. The reading שמן, adopted by Cl.-Gan. and J. Mordtm., is conjectural; Lidzb. prefers לברך שמה *Éph.* i 257 n.

L. 8. The month may be [נים] Vog.

123. Vog. 17. A.D. 254.

- 1 בולא ודמוס ליולים אורלים
- 2 ענא די מתקרא סלוקום בר
- 3 עזיון עזיון שאילא די שמש ושפר

להון באסטרגותה ומגר לבולא 4

וזין רבו ליקרה בירח תשרי שנת 5

ו / y 333 — y o 6

Ἡ β[ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰ]ούλιον Αὐρη[λίον Ὀ]γγαν
τὸν καὶ Σέλευκον [δὲς τοῦ Ἀζίζο]υ τοῦ Σεειλά δυα[ν-
δρικὸν φιλοτεί]μως στρατ[ηγῆσαντα κ]αὶ μαρτυρηθέν[τα
καὶ φιλ]οστειμησάμεν[ον τῇ αὐτῇ] κρατίστη βουλῇ Ἀτ[τι-
κάς] μυρίας τειμῆς ἕνεκεν ἔτους 5ξϛ' Ὑπερβερεταίῳ.
Wadd. 2601.

The Council and People to Julius Aurelius ¹ 'Ogga, who is called Seleukus, son ² of 'Azizu, (son of) 'Azizu, (son of) She'eilā, who served and was well-pleasing ⁴ to them in his office of *stratēgos*; and he presented to the Council ⁵ ten thousand drachmae: to his honour. In the month Tishri, the year 566.

L. 2. מנא Prob. an abbreviation of ענלכולא (Lidzb.), as ידחי from ירחבולא. מרחקא די 102 2. סלוקוס For the additional name see 121 1 n., and cf. 122 2 n.

L. 3. מנא = ܡܢܐ *strong*. The name is found in Egypt. Aram. CIS ii 136, in Nab. ib. 311 B, in late Hebr. מנא Ezr. 10 27, and elsewhere in Palm. In the inscr. given on p. 295 מנא is the name of a god = Ares. מנא Σεειλά, with the consonantal value of מ preserved; contrast the Talm. מנא (Dalm. Gr. 124) and the Syr. ܡܢܐ = ܡܢܐ (i. e. מנא) Acts 15 22. The meaning is the same as that of the O.T. מנא. שש 121 3.

L. 4. מנא See 112 3 n.

L. 5. זין = drachmae, Ἀττικάς (Gk. text). The drachm was a quarter of a shekel in Jewish money; thus 1 Sam. 9 8 כסף שקל רבע is rendered by the Targ. כספא דכספא זין. The Attic drachm was the universal silver unit in the East; after the Roman conquest it was adopted as practically equivalent to the Roman denarius, hence in Josephus δραχμὴ Ἀττική or Ἀτθίς always = denarius. The value of the drachm-denarius was about 9½d. תשרי Ὑπερβερεταίος = Sept.-Oct., the 7th month.

124. Vog. 20. A. D. 258-9.

- 1 לאורלים ורוד הפקא
 2 ובילוטא תדמריא עבד
 3 בלעקב בר חרשא ליקרה
 4 שנת 333 ע

Αὐρήλιον Οὐορώδην ἱππικὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν Παλμυ-
 ρηνὸν Βηλάκαβος Ἀρσᾶ τὸν φίλον τειμῆς χάριν ἔτους
 οφ'. Wadd. 2604.

To Aurelius Worod, knight ² and councillor, of Tadmor,
 made by ³ Bel-'aqab, son of Ḥarshā, to his honour. ⁴ The
 year 570.

L. 1. ורוד 127 &c., a name of Persian origin, borne by several
 Arsacid kings. הפקא Here with an Aram. ending, in 129
 3 הפיקס ἱππικός. For the ending א' = os cf. הפטיקא 126. סנקלטיקא
 125. אפמריא 127.

L. 2. בילוטא βουλευτής, cf. 122 2 π. תדמריא Adj. sing.; the
 plur. has the same form, see Rom. 2 on p. 268, l. 3. The vowel in
 the second syll. was *ō*, e. g. תדמור 125; the Arab. تَدْمُر, however, has
 preserved what was prob. the original pronunciation.

L. 3. בלעקב 140 B 8 probably *Bel follows* (? ptcp.); this is the
 meaning of עקב both in Arab. and Syr. The name occurs in a Gk.
 inscr. from Coptos, Βηλάκαβος (as here), Cl.-Gan. Rec. ii 118; cf.
 עתעקב Vog. 32 &c. חרשא Ἀρσᾶ = *ἄρσα* enchantment.

125. Vog. 22. A. D. 251.

- 1 צלמא דנה די ספטמיום חירן בר
 2 אדינת סנקלטיקא נהירא ורש
 3 תדמור די אקים לה אורלים
 4 פלינוס בר מריא פלינא רעי פלחא
 5 דבלגיונא די בצרא ליקרה בירח
 6 תשרי די שנת 333 ע

Σεπτίμιον Αἰράνην Ὀδαινάθου τὸν λαμπρότατον συν-
κλητικὸν ἔξα[ρχον Παλμυ]ρηῶν Αὐρήλι[ος Φίλινο]ς [Μα]ρ.
Ἡλιοδώρου στρατιώτης λεγ[εῶνος Κυρηνα]ϊκῆς
τὸν πάτρωνα τειμῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας χάριν ἔτους γξϛ'.

This statue is that of Septimius Hairân, son ² of Odainath, the illustrious senator and chief ³ of Tadmor, which has been set up to him by Aurelius ⁴ Philinus, son of Marius Philinus, (son of) Ra'ai, the soldier ⁵ who was in the legion of Bostra: to his honour. In the month ⁶ Tishri of the year 563.

L. 1. חרן ספטמיוס was at this time the head of the house of Odainath, the leading family of Palmyra, which by the 3rd cent. had acquired almost the position of a reigning dynasty; see p. 264. This Sept. Hairân appears to have been the first of his race to receive the title of *Ras* l. 2, in addition to his Roman rank as a senator. He was the son of Odainath the senator¹; and though the relationship is nowhere stated, it is prob. that he was the father of the famous Sept. Odainath (126), the grandson bearing the same name (see footnote) as the grandfather according to Palmyrene custom. Vogüé suggests that the name Septimius was given to the family by the Emperor Sept. Severus (193-211 A.D.), in recognition of their services during the Parthian wars; it was also borne by Sept. Worod (127), who was probably connected with the family of Odainath by alliance or otherwise; cf. 126 3. 130 2.

L. 2. ארנית Cf. the Arab. diminutive اَلْزَيْتُ *a little ear*. סנקלטיקוס = *συνκλητικός of senatorial rank*. ארנית לאμπρότατος = *clarissimus*, a title which went with the dignity of senator; see Cagnat l. c. 89. 131. ראש *Head* i. e. prince; Arab. رَأْس, Syr. رَاس, in the same sense; cf. ראש 1 20.

L. 4. רעי 122 2 *Paalov*. The Gk. here gives Ἡλιοδώρου. ארחל = *στρατιώτης*, from ארל *work, serve*; cf. ארחל 75 4 *worshipper*.

L. 5. רב לנינא So Mordtm., as there is no diacritic point over the first letter. Vog.'s reading רב לנינא is, moreover, inconsistent with the Gk.: the donor is merely *στρατιώτης*. For ר in Palm. cf. רבנא for רבנא Vog. 71. רענא 83 a 3 (corr.). 105 3. רשנא 18. The legion stationed at Bostra was the iii Cyrenaic; hence the restoration of the Gk. text. בצרא The capital of the Province of Arabia; 100 n.

¹ Vog. 21: חרן ספטמיוס [ה]λίουδωρου. The Gk. has τὸν μετρίον . . . Σεπτίμιος Ὀδαινάθου δὲ λαμπρότατος *συνκλητικός κ.τ.λ.*

126. Vog. 23. A. D. 258.

צלם ספטימיוס אדינת 1
 נהירא הפטיקא מרן די 2
 אקים לה תגמא די קיניא 3
 עבדא דהבא וכספא ליקרה 4
 בירח ניסן די שנת ע 333 — 5

Σεπ[τίμιον 'Οδαίναθον] τὸν λαμ[πρότατον ὑπατικ]ὸν
 συντε[λεια τῶν χρυσοχ]όων καὶ ἀργ[υροκόπων τ]ὸν
 δεσπότην τειμῆς χάριν [ἔτ]ους θξφ' μηνεὶ Ξανδικῶ.
 Wadd. 2602.

Statue of Septimius Odainath, ² the illustrious consul, our lord, which ³ has been set up to him by the guild of smiths ⁴ who work in gold and silver: to his honour. ⁵ In the month Nisan of the year 569.

L. 1. אדינת ס' 125 1 n. 130. The famous prince under whom Palmyra reached the summit of its fortunes (p. 263). He came to the front by the effective aid which he gave to the Romans in the Persian wars, especially in the defeat of the Persian king Sapor. After this event, during the rivalries for the purple, he took the side of Gallienus, and to the end, whatever his ultimate intentions may have been, maintained his allegiance when the latter became emperor. Gallienus, much engaged in the affairs of the West, practically left the East to the government of Odainath, who became, 'not indeed joint-ruler, but independent lieutenant of the emperor for the East' (Mommsen *Provinces* ii 103); see 130 1 n. In the local administration of Palmyra Sept. Worod (127 ff.) acted as his viceroy and imperial procurator; while Odainath himself, by a series of brilliant victories over the Persians, succeeded in re-establishing the frontiers and prestige of the Eastern empire, A. D. 264-5. He was assassinated in A. D. 266-7 at Hemesa ¹. His authority passed to his wife Zenobia

¹ His eldest son Herodes; 'non Zenobia matre, sed priore uxore genitus' (Treb. Pollio *Trig. Tyr.* § 16), was killed at the same time. The same authority states that Odainath left two sons by Zenobia, besides Wabballath, Harennianus and Timolaus. The statement is open to question; other authorities know of only one son, who succeeded his father. Mommsen l. c. 106 n.

(131) and their son Wahb-allath, who endeavoured not merely to maintain but to surpass the extensive powers held by Odainath.

L. 2. $\text{מִסְמַרְסָא נְהִירָא}$ λαμπρότατος ὑπατικός = vir clarissimus consularis. At this period, and up to the time of Diocletian, the title denoted not the office of consul but the consular rank. Note the progression of dignities in the family (p. 264). מִרְן 130 4 δεσπότης. The name does not necessarily imply a *king* or *ruler*, because in 128 it is given to a procurator (Sept. Worod); cf. מִרְתְּהוֹן 131 4 τὴν δέσποιναν, of Zenobia.

L. 3. מִסְמַרְסָא = τάγμα, Syr. ܡܫܡܪܫܐ ordo; here the Gk. equivalent is *συντέλεια*. מִסְמַרְסָא i. e. מִסְמַרְסָא plur.

L. 4. עֲבָדָא i. e. מִסְמַרְסָא ptcp. plur. constr. For the ending see מִסְמַרְסָא 118 3 n.

127. Vog. 24. A.D. 263.

1 ספטימיוס ורוד קרססמס אפטרפא
2 דוקנרא די אקים ליקרה
3 יוליס און[ר]לס נבובד בר שעדו חירא
4 אסמרגא די קלניא רחמה
5 שנת 533 — 333 — בירח כסלול

Σεπτίμιον Ουορώδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σε-
βαστοῦ δουκηνάριον Ἰούλιος Αὐρη[λιος Νεβό]βαδος
Σοάδου τοῦ Αἰ[ρᾶ] στρατηγὸς τῆς λαμπροτάτης κολω-
νείας [τ]ὸν αὐτοῦ φίλον τειμῆς ἔνεκεν ἔτους δοφ' μηνεὶ
Ἀπελλαίῳ. Wadd. 2607.

Septimius Worod, most excellent *procurator* ² *ducenarius*, which has been set up to his honour ³ by Julius Au[r]elius Nebu-bad, son of So'adu, (son of) Hāirā, ⁴ *stratēgos* of the Colony, his friend. ⁵ The year 574, in the month Kislul.

L. 1. מִסְמַרְסָא 128. 129. The inscr. and statues dedicated to his honour show that he was one of the most distinguished citizens of Palmyra at the time of its greatest prosperity, in position next to the prince himself. He held an imperial office under the emperor Gallienus (128 2 f.), as well as the highest local dignities. A Gk.

inscr. (Wadd. 2606 a) mentions that he was the chief of a caravan and defrayed the cost of the return journey, and *agoranomos* (121 5 n.), and *stratēgos* i. e. chief magistrate, and president of the banquets of Bel (συμποσίαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου ἱερέων). He was viceroy, *argapetes* (129 2 n. 126 1 n.), of Odainath. The inscr. say nothing about his family; the name ספסטיס may indicate an alliance with the reigning house (125 1 n.), while ורוד (124 1 n.) perhaps points to a Persian or Armenian origin (Vog.). אפטרפא = ἐπίτροπος δουκηνάριος, procurator of the second class (*ducenarius*), an imperial revenue officer.

L. 3. נבוכר Prob. contracted from נבו עכר; J. Mordtm. would read נבוכר 184 2. In Palm. the god Nebo is met with only in pr. nn., e. g. 183 1. 184 2; in Aram. pr. nn. it is frequent, e. g. CIS ii 139 B, 2. נבוסרדן = Assy. *Nabû-šar-iddin* ib. 29. שערד See 106 n. חירא An Arab. name, cf. 110 2.

L. 4. רחמה i. e. רחמייה lit. *his lover*, 129 5. 140 B 8.

L. 5. כסלול 'Απελλαῖος = Jewish כסלו, the 9th month, Nov.-Dec.

128. Vog. 25. A. D. 263.

1 צלמא דנה די ספסמיום

2 ורוד אפטרפא דוקנרא די

3 קסר מרן די אקים לה

4 בולא ודמוס ליקרה

5 בירח ניסן די שנת ע 333

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεπτίμιον [Ο]υ̅ορωδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπ[ι]τρ[ο]πον [Σεβ]αστο[ῦ τοῦ κυρίου] δουκηνάριον τειμῆς χάριν [ἐ]τους δοφ' μηνὶ Ξαν[δικῶ]. Wadd. 2606.

This statue is that of Septimius ² Worod, *procurator ducenarius* of ³ Caesar, our lord, which has been set up to him by ⁴ the Council and People: to his honour. ⁵ In the month Nisan of the year 574.

See on 127.

L. 3. קסר i. e. Gallienus. The official in Lat. inscr. is called procurator Augusti. מרן See 126 2 n.

129. Vog. 26. A. D. 264.

ספטמיוס ורוד קרטסטוס אפטרפא 1
 דקנרא וארגבטא אקים יולים 2
 אורלים ספטמיוס ידא הפקוס 3
 בר אלכס[נר] רוס חירן סריכו ליקר 4
 רחמה וקיומה בירח סין די 5
 שנת 333 6

Σεπτίμιος[ν] Οὐρῶδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σε-
 βαστοῦ δουκηνάριον καὶ ἀργαπέτην Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος
 Σεπτίμιος Ἰάδης ἱππικὸς Σεπτιμίου Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
 Ἡρώδου ἀπὸ στρατιῶν τὸν φίλον καὶ προστάτην τιμῆς
 ἔνεκεν ἔτους εοφ' μηνεὶ Ξανδικῷ. Wadd. 2610.

Septimius Worod, most excellent *procurator* ² *ducenarius*
 and commandant, (this statue) has been set up to him by
 Julius ³ Aurelius Septimius Yadē, knight, ⁴ son of Alexander
 Hairān, (son of) Soraiku, to the honour ⁵ of his friend and
 patron. In the month Sivan of ⁶ the year 575.

L. 2. אַרְגַּבְטָא *ἀργαπέτης*, a Persian word, compounded of *arg* אַרְגַּ
 'fortress' and *bed* בֶּד 'lord' or 'chief,' hence 'commander of a fortress.'
 The title is actually found in Persian at this period (Nöld. 107); in
 the Targ. it appears as אַרְגַּבְטָא 2 Chr. 28 7; in Wadd. 2606 a it
 seems to be paraphrased by *δικαιοδότης τῆς μητροκολωνίας*. The office
 was an exceptional one in this case, owing to the unique position of
 Odainath as practically emperor of the East. A deputy became
 necessary for the local administration of Palmyra; hence the military
 command of the city as well as the chief civil authority was committed
 to Sept. Worod.

L. 3. ידא 120 1 n. הפקוס Cf. הפקא 124 1 n.

L. 4. סריכו Cf. שריכו 119 1 n.

L. 5. קיומה A verbal noun of the form קיעיל, Syr. ܩܝܡܐ, lit. *one
 who stands up* (to protect &c.)=the Lat. *patronus*, Gk. *προστάτης*. In
 the Pesh. it occurs in the sense of *prefect*, e. g. 1 K. 4 5. 7; in 3 Esdr.
 2 12 ܩܝܡܐ ܩܝܡܐ = ὁ *προστάτης* τῆς Ἰουδαίας. סין The 3rd
 month, May-June. The Gk. text gives Ξανδικός i. e. Ἰσν, April.

180. Vog. 28. A. D. 271.

1 צלם ספטמיוס אדי[נת] מלך מלכא
 2 ומתקננא די מדינתא כלה ספטמיא
 3 זבדא רב חילא רבא חבי רב חילא
 4 די תדמור קרסמטא אקים למרהון
 5 בירח אב די שנת ע 3333 //

Statue of Septimius Odai[nath], king of kings,¹ and restorer of the whole city. The Septimii, ² Zabdā, general in chief, and Zabbai, general ⁴ of Tadmor, the most excellent, have set (it) up to their lord. ⁵ In the month Ab of the year 582.

L. 1. אדינת ס' See 126 1 n. מלך מלכא 118 3 n. is an oriental title borrowed from the Persian kings, 71 3 n. There is no evidence that it was adopted by Odainath himself; this inscr. was not erected till after his death, at a time when his generals were organizing a revolt against Rome¹. It is perhaps not without significance that there is no Gk. version of this inscr.; the Romans would scarcely have allowed Od. to be called 'king of kings' had the title been publicly exhibited in a language which they could understand. That Od. assumed the title of king is not unlikely (*Hist. Aug.* xxiv 15 2 adsumpto nomine regali); but that he ever usurped the name of *Augustus*, or received it from the emperor as Treb. Pollio asserts², is not borne out by the evidence. As a reward for his distinguished services Od. received from Gallienus the title of *αὐτοκράτωρ* or *imperator* in 264 A. D., a dignity which no doubt implies a position beyond that of a governor or vassal-king; it was probably this which gave rise to Pollio's statement. The absence of *Augustus* from the coins of Od., and the designation *vir consularis*, *ὑπατικός* (126 2), only possible for a subject, are sufficient, in Mommsen's opinion, to prove that the assumption of the imperial title is imaginary. After the death of Od., Zenobia is called *βασίλισσα*, and her son Wahab-allath governed Egypt under Claudius with the title *βασιλεύς*. In 270 A. D. his coins

¹ A Gk. inscr. lately found at Palmyra is dedicated [βασ].[λ]εῖ [βα]σιλεῖον, and may refer to Od.; but the text is too fragmentary to justify definite conclusions. Cl.-Gan.'s reconstructions in *Rec.* iii § 36 can hardly be supported; see 126 1 footnote.

² *Vit. Gallieni* 10 Odenatus rex Palmyrenorum optinuit totius Orientis imperium. Ib. 12 Gallienus Odenatum participato imperio Augustum vocavit.

display *v(ir) c(onsularis) R(omanorum) im(perator) d(ux) R(omanorum)*, and his head appears beside Aurelian; in an inscr. from Byblus (CIG 4503 b, Vog. p. 32) Aurelian and Zenobia are mentioned together as Σεβαστός and Σεβαστή¹. Then, during the year 270-1, the breach with Rome becomes apparent. In Palmyra Zenobia is still βασιλίσσα (181=Wadd. 2611, cf. 2628²), but in distant quarters, as in Egypt, both she and her son claim the dignity of *Augustus*; Wahab-allath (5th year) begins to issue coins, struck in Alexandria, without the head of Aurelian and bearing the imperial title, and Zenobia's coins bear the same. The assumption marked a definite rejection of all allegiance to Rome; it was strenuously avenged by Aurelian, the true Augustus, in 273. See Mordtm. 26; Mommsen *Prov.* ii 103 f. n.; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 28; Bury's *Gibbon* i Appendix 18. 19.

L. 2. מִתְקַנָּא A verbal noun formed from Pael ptcp. of קָן *make straight, establish*, with the ending *ān*, i. e. מִתְקַנָּא. It is the equivalent of κτίστης, a title used by the Arsacid kings; in Syr. ܡܠܟܡܢ is used in the same sense, and of God as *conditor, stabilitor*. Cl.-Gan. (l.c.) proposes to make the whole title דִּי מְרִיתָא כְּלָה 'מ' = the technical *corrector totius provinciae*. 'מ' may well mean *corrector*, but Roman titles are avoided in this inscr., and native ones ostentatiously substituted. סַפְטַמְיָא Σεπτιμιοι, in 181 קַרְטַסְמוּא, with the Gk. plur. ending, cf. קַרְטַסְמוּא 181. Perhaps they were related to the family of Odainath, 125 i n.

L. 3. Cf. 181 2 f. זְבֵדָא Ζάβδας, like זְבִי Ζαββαῖος and זְבִירִי 188 1, is abbreviated from some name beginning with זְבִיר, cf. זְבִירָא for זְבִיר; see 114 5 n. זְבִי occurs in the O. T., Ezr. 10 28. Neh. 3 20; cf. זְבִירִי 181 1.

L. 4. קַרְטַסְמוּא Plur., referring to the two generals; either for קַרְטַסְמוּא, or a plur. in א—, like מְלִכָא l. 1. אַקִּימוּ=אִקִּימוּ 118 3 n.

L. 5. אַב i. e. July-August; 181 4.

181. Vog. 29. A. D. 271.

1 צֶלְמַת סַפְטַמְיָא בְּתוּבִי נְהִירְתָּא וּדְקָתָּא

2 מְלִכְתָּא סַפְטַמְיָא זְבֵדָא רַב חִילָא

3 רַבָּא זְבִירִי רַב חִילָא דִּי תְדַמּוּר קַרְטַסְמוּא

4 אַקִּימוּ לְמִרְתָּהוֹן בִּירָח אַב דִּי שְׁנַת ע 3333 //

¹ This may have been allowed to pass, for *Augusta* was an honorary title, while *Augustus* belonged to an office.

² Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ ὑπερόφῳ ἢ πόλιν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Σεπτιμίας Ζηνοβίας τῆς λαμπροτάτης βασιλίσσης μητρὸς τοῦ λαμπροτάτου βασιλέως Οὐαβαλλάθου Ἀθηνοδώρου.

Σεπτιμίαν Ζηνοβίαν τὴν λαμπροτάτην εὐσεβῇ βασι-
λισσαν Σεπτίμιοι Ζάβδας ὁ μέγας στρατηλάτης καὶ
Ζαββαῖος ὁ ἐνθάδε στρατηλάτης οἱ κράτιστοι τὴν
δέσποιναν ἔτους βπφ' μηνεὶ Λώφ. Wadd. 2611.

Statue of Septimia Bath-zabbai, the illustrious and the
pious, ² the queen. The Septimii, Zabdā, general ³ in chief,
and Zabbai, general of Tadmor, the most excellent, ⁴ have set
(it) up to their mistress. In the month Ab of the year 582.

L. 1. חבלי 120 1 n. בחבי For the form cf. בחביה Vog. 84,
'בחי, בחבי &c.; for 'בי see 180 3 n. The queen is better known
by her Gk. name Ζηνοβία, which perhaps marks relationship with
Ζηνοβίος; several persons of this name are mentioned in the
inscriptions. 'ה נחיתה = *clarissima pia*; see 125 2 n. אחר =
אחר; for the omission of ' cf. אחר 121 7: here perhaps the 'i was
pronounced short in a shut syllable. The final א can be faintly traced
on the stone.

L. 2. After the death of Odainath in 266-7 Zenobia succeeded to
his position, and practically governed the state on behalf of her young
son Wahab-allath = Athenodorus (p. 291 n. 2). Not content with
pursuing her husband's policy, she determined to make Palmyra
mistress of the Eastern empire; see 180 1 n. Under her general
Zabdas, the Palmyrenes possessed themselves of Egypt in 270,
garrisons were pushed even into the W. of Asia Minor, and Zenobia
still professed to be acting in concert with the Roman government.
But when Aurelian became emperor (270), he detected at once the
object of this aggressive policy and took strong measures to arrest it.
At the end of 270 Egypt was recovered for the Empire by Probus,
but not without a struggle. The Palmyrenes were now in open
conflict with Rome. Towards the close of 271 Aurelian marched
through Asia Minor, overthrowing Zenobia's forces in Chalcedon, and
capturing Ancyra and Tyana, and passed into Syria. The main army of
the Palmyrenes in vain endeavoured to check his advance at Antioch;
they were driven to Hemesa (now Ḥomṣ), where a great battle was
fought; again, under Zabbai and Zenobia herself, they were de-
feated, and compelled to fall back upon their native city. Undeterred
by the 70 miles of desert, Aurelian led his army up to Palmyra and
laid siege to it. In the spring of 272 the city surrendered; Zenobia
and her son were captured on the banks of the Euphrates as they

were flying to Persia for help; the queen was carried a prisoner to Rome to grace the conqueror's triumph. A few months later, in the autumn of 272¹, the Palmyrenes again revolted; Aurelian instantly returned, surprised the city, and without mercy destroyed it in the spring of 273.

L. 2. קרמטמא ספממא For the plur. forms see 180 2 n.

L. 4. מרתחן See 126 2 n.

182. Eut. 102. A.D. 21.

1 צלם חשש בר נשא בר בולחא חשש די
 2 עברו לה בני כמרא ובני מתבול מן די קם
 3 ברשהון ועבר שלמא ביניהון ופרנס
 4 ברמנהון בכל צבו כלה רבא וזערא
 5 ליקרה בירח כנן שנת 333

Μάλιχον Νεσά τοῦ Βωλλᾶ τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Ἀσάσου
 φυλῆς Χομαρηνῶν Παλμυρηνῶν ὁ δῆμος εὐνοίας ἔνεκα.
 Wadd. 2578.

Statue of Ḥashash, son of Nesâ, son of Bôl-ḥa Ḥashash, which ² the Benê Komâra and the Benê Mattâ-bôl have made to him, because he stood up ³ at their head and made peace between them, and superintended ⁴ their agreement (?) in everything whatsoever, the great and the small: ⁵ to his honour. In the month Kanûn, the year 333.

L. 1. חשש Ἀσάσου, חשש בני Mordtm. no. 57; cf. Arab. حَسَّاش *bad fortune*. The Gk. Μάλιχον = מלכו is difficult to account for; perhaps it is not correctly copied. נשא 147 i 3 prob. abbreviated from נשאל Νασαήλου Wadd. 2070 c. בול 144 4 prob. = בול אחא B. is brother (Lidzb.), or = בול לחא B. washes away (*sin*), Syr. ܠܚܫ, cf. ܠܚܫ Wright *Martyrol.* 10 (*Journ. Sacr. Lit.* ser. 4, vol. 8). Cl.-Gan. rightly corrects ΚΩΜΑ in the Gk. text to ΒΩΛΛΑ, *Rec.* ii § 33.

L. 2. בני כמרא i.e. φυλὴ Χομαρηνῶν, again in Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 118 (inscr. G); cf. 140 A 3 and the pr. n. Χόμπου (gen.) Wadd. 2389. The Gk. forms point to ܡܚܝܪ, cf. Targ. ܡܚܝܪ, Syr. ܡܚܝܪ *priest*.

¹ The latest inscr. is dated Aug. 272, Vog. 116.

In the Palm. text the בני נ' are the joint donors of the statue; in the Gk. they are the tribe to which Bôl-ḥa belongs, and the dedication is made by δ δῆμος. Cl.-Gan. l. c. rightly renders the Gk., 'of the tribe of the Palmyrene Chomarenians'; the expression Παλμυρηγῶν δ δῆμος = 'the People of the Palmyrenes' is unsupported. Possibly, as Cl.-Gan. suggests, the mention of δ δῆμος without the usual ἡ βουλὴ καὶ implies that the local senate was not yet in existence; it may not have been constituted till the time of Hadrian (circ. 130 A. D.), and the grant of the *jus Italicum*. This inscr. is dated A. D. 21, and after 141 (A. D. 9) is the second oldest known. בני מתבול i. e. Μαθητα-βωλίων φυλή Wadd. 2579, not named in the Gk. text; מתבול = מתן בול. 110 4 ב'יל ר' = מ'ן ר'.

L. 3. פרנס In Syr. ܦܪܢܫ = *administravit, aluit, curam gessit*; in the Targ. it is used for *nourish, feed*, e. g. Eze. 34 8 = רעץ; cf. 122 5 n. The rendering given above is indefinite, owing to the uncertain sense of the following word.

L. 4. ברסחתן Evidently not Aram. It is perhaps a noun (with suff. *an*) from the Arab. برم *twist*, in conj. iv *to twist two threads*, so *to make firm, consolidate*; thus أبرم العقد *he established the contract*. Prof. Margoliouth, in a private communication, suggests a connexion with the Persian فرمان *mandate, order &c.*, 'firman,' which gives a fairly good sense: 'he administered their government.' בכל צבו כלה 110 4 &c.

L. 5. כנן The 8th month, Δῖος, Jewish מרחשון, Oct.-Nov. This inscr. was published by Euting *Sitzungsb. Berl. Akad.* (1887) 410.

VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS

183. Eut. 4. A. D. 67.

1 עמודיא אלן חמשא ושריתהון ותמלילהון קרב זברי בר
 זברנבו קחון די מן בני מעזין לבעל שמן אלהא טבא
 2 ושכרא על חייה וחיי בנוהי ואחוהי בירח אלול שנת

/// y — 333 — 3 ///

These five pillars and their beams and their coverings Zabdai, son of Zabd-nebu, (son of) Qahzân, who is of the Benê Ma'ziyân, offered to Ba'al-shamin, the good ² and bountiful god, for his life and the life of his sons and his brothers; in the month Elûl, the year 378.

L. 1. שריתהון וחמ' See 117 4. 5 n. קרב Cf. 70 1. 136 3. 127 זברנבו Cf. 130 3 n. זברי Cf. 130 3 n. 127 Rom. 2 (p. 268 n. 1). מעזין An Arab. pr. n. from فَحَز or فَحَزَن *push, strike*. 3 n. The name of a tribe, in Arab. prob. مَعَزِيَان or مَعَزِيَان Nöld. ap. Eut. SBBA (1885) 669 ff., where this inscr. is published. לבעל שמן Elsewhere in Palm. 134, where he is called טרא עלמא, and the inscr. on p. 296 n. 1 = Ζεὺς μέγιστος κεραύνιος, and in 122 6 (rest.). In name and attributes the *Lord of Heaven* transcends all other deities. He was not, however, included among the national gods of Palmyra (see 112 4), or officially recognized in public documents; and though he probably had a temple there, his worshippers seem to have been few. See 9 1 n.

L. 2. שכרא i.e. שְׂכָרָא 140 B 4, lit. *giving reward*, Hebr. שְׂכָר *reward, wages* (שכר Pi. not used). The אלהא שכרא is a god שמשלם *reward, wages* (שכר Pi. not used). Talm. B. *Berakoth* 4 a, quoted by Lidzb. *Eph.* i 202; cf. the Minaean pr. n. ישכראל Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 113. 136. In the inscr. below the word is written סְכָרָא plur.¹, as סכרים for ש in Ezr. 4 5. על חייה וח' Cf. 29 11 n. אלול Aug.-Sept.

¹ [ל]ארצו ולעזיו אלהא טבא ושכרא עבר בעל ...

2 בר ירחנולא אסכלא די עזיו אלהא טבא

3 ורחמא על חייה וח' אחוהי בירח חשרי

4 שר 500 דכר ירד זלמא

'To Arzu and 'Azizu, the good and bountiful gods, (this) has been made by Ba'al ... , son of Yarhi-bôlē, augur (?) of 'Azizu, the good and compassionate, for his

184. Vog. 73. A. D. 114.

- 1 לבעל שמן מרא עלמא עבדו
 2 נבזבד וירחבולא בני ברנבו
 3 בר נבזבד בר [מ]לא ארנבי על
 4 [ח]ייהון וחי [בנ]יהון ואחיהון
 5 בירח אב שנת 3 y 3

To Ba'al-shamin, lord of eternity, (this) has been made by ² Nebu-zabad and Yarhi-bölē, sons of Bar-nebu, ³ son of Nebu-zabad, son of [M]alē Arnabi, for ⁴ their [l]ives and the life of their [so]ns and their brothers; ⁵ in the month Ab, the year 425.

L. 1. 183 בעל שמן. Similarly in the inscr. from et-Tayyibe (near Palmyra)¹; cf. *Deus Aeternus* of Jup. Dolichenus, *Opt. Max. Caelus Aeternus Iuppiter* in Lat. inscr. of this period. But, as Lidzb. has pointed out, the other possible meaning of the title, *lord of the world*, is prob. implied at the same time, and influenced by the Jewish רבון של עולם, רבון העולמין. The latter formula has made its way into Islam as رَبِّ السَّالْمِينَ; cf. the *šar kiššati* 'lord of all things,' assumed by the Assyrian kings (*Eph.* i 258).

L. 2. 127 נבזבד. 111 ירחבולא.

L. 3. So Vog.'s copy; ? from ארנבי = *a hare*. Mordtm. 28, however, reads ארנבי *Arnebiensis*; J. Mordtm. compares the family

life and the life of his brothers: in the month Tishri, the year 500. Remembered be Yarhai the sculptor.' Vog. 189, cf. 115 ורצו. ארצו = Ares, the god of the Edessenes, ארצו Curton *Spic. Syr.* 24. Ἀρρη, Ἀρρηος λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν Ἐδεσσαν Σύρον Ἡλίου προσομιθεῖ Julian Apost. *Orat.* iv 154. Deo Aziso p(ero conserva)tori CIL iii 875. Θαῖμος Ἀρρηος ἐποίησα Wadd. 2814. 80 ארנבי. probably borrowed from the Assyrian *abkalu* 'a specially wise man,' *KB* vi 320; Delitzsch *Assyr. HWB* 9. Here the word is a priestly title, such as temple magician; the Arab. أَبْكَالٌ gives no suitable sense. See *Rép.* no. 30; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iv § 37; Lidzb. *Eph.* i 201 ff. 349.

¹ Διὶ μεγίστῳ κεραυνίῳ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Τρα[ιανοῦ] Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβ[αστοῦ] τοῦ κυρίου Ἀγαθάν-γελοῦ Ἀβιληνῶς τῆς Δεκαπόλεως τὴν καμάραν ἐκοδόμησεν καὶ τὴν κλίτην] ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν. Ἔτους ἑμὲς μηνὸς Ἀδίου (= 134 A. D.).

לבעל שמן מרא עלמא עבדו

נבזבד וירחבולא

נבזבד = a vaulted niche for a statue; Vog. 70. See 70 i n. The inscr. is in the Brit. Mus.

τῶν Χερνάβα (ZDMG xxxv 747 f.); but if 'א is a gentilic name we should expect אַמבניא. Lidzb., *Eph.* i 198, reads אַמלדי (surname or title), which is supported by Mordtm.'s facsimile; the name thus written has been found recently in an inscr. published by Sobernheim (Lidzb. l. c.).

L. 4. This line, omitted from Vog.'s copy, is supplied by Mordtm.

185. Vog. 75. A.D. 125.

1 לברִיךְ שְׁנֵמָה לְעֵלְמָא

2 טבא ורְחֵמָא

3 עבד פרנךְ בר חרי

4 לשמש בר שמשגֶרם

5 נרקיס בר חרי מלא

6 ברפא על חייהן וחיי

7 בניהן בירח כסלול

8 שנת 377

To him whose na[me] is blessed for [e]ver, ¹ the good and the com[p]assionate, ² (this altar) has been made by Parnak, freedman ⁴ of Lishamsh, son of Shamsi-geram, ⁵ (and by) Narcissus, freedman of Malē, ⁶ (son of) Borefā, for their life and the life of ⁷ their sons: in the month Kislûl, ⁸ the year 437.

L. 1. לעלמא A common formula in Palm. dedications; grammatically the phrase 'ש' לע' (188) is treated as a single adj., and ל prefixed. It is remarkable that, like other epithets of the Palm. gods (cf. 134 1 n.), this has a distinctly Jewish character; cf. ברוך (cf. 134 1 n.), this has a distinctly Jewish character; cf. ברוך לעולם Ps. 72 19, also 113 2. Dan. 2 20, and the Hebr. or early Samaritan inscr. שמו לעלם Lidzb. 440. Out of reverence the actual name of the deity was not used (cf. p. 21), and can only be conjectured: most likely it was שמש=מלכבל=בל (112 4 n.). Though avoiding it in this formula the Palmyrenes did not object to use בל in pr. nn. (עברבל, ידעבל, זכרבל &c.), any more than the later Jews, who read אדני for יהוה, objected to such names as ישעיהו &c. In Gk. the title is rendered Ζεὺς ὁ σωτήρ καὶ ἀσκηταὶ Vog. 101. 124 &c.; it implies a monotheism such as appears sporadically in the worship of

Ζεὺς ὑψίστος, Θεὸς ὑψ. from the 1st cent. onwards¹. The spread of monotheistic ideas was in part due to the Jewish Diaspora, whose influence no doubt made itself felt in Palmyra (cf. pp. 45. 278. 296).

L. 3. פֶּרַנךְ Sachau, *ZDMG* xxxv 737, suggests Φαρνάκης as an equivalent; cf. the Pers. פֶּרַנ = Saturn, and the O.T. פֶּרַנְךְ Num. 34 25. Vog. reads פֶּרַךְ; Mordtm. פֶּרַךְ. See 97 i n. Strictly the phrase = *son of a freeman*, כֶּסֶן, i. e. *liber* not *libertus* = כֶּסֶן, but in ordinary speech it was used in the latter sense.

L. 4. שַׁמְשָׁר 145 ? *Shamash has appointed*, שַׁמְשָׁר; in Gk. Σαμσι-γάραμος Wadd. 2564, Σαμσιγάραμος a king of Hemesa, *Jos. Ant.* xviii 5 4.

L. 5. נָרְקִיס Νάρκισσος, a common name for a freedman in the time of the Empire. Here 'n is the joint donor of the altar; the conjunct. must be supplied.

L. 6. ברפא Cf. בורפא Vog. 109 = בול רפא.

136. Oxoniensis 1. A. D. 85. Ashmolean Mus., Oxford.

1 [ב] ירח אלול שנת /// 333 [3]

2 [ב] ע / חמנא דנה ועלתא דה

3 [ע] ברו וקרבו לשמש וחביר[א]

4 בני מלכו בר ידיעבל בר נשא

5 די מתקרא בר עבדבל די מ[ן]

6 פחד בני מגדת לשמש

7 אלה בית אבוהן על

8 חייהן וחיי אחיהן[ן]

9 ובניהן

[In] the month Elul, the year 396³, this sun-pillar and this altar ³ have been [m]ade and offered by Lishamsh and Zebid[a], ⁴ sons of Málíku, son of Yedf'a-bel, son of Nesá, ⁵ who was called son of 'Abd-bel, who was o[f] ⁶ the family of the Benê Migdath, to Shamash, ⁷ god of their father's house, for ⁸ their life and the life of their brothers ⁹ and their sons.

¹ Thus Gk. inscr. from the Bosphorus (Tanais) contain the remarkable expression εἰσωρητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὑψίστον, cf. Acts 10 2. 22. 18 43. 50 &c. *Jos. Ant.* xiv 7 2. See Schürer *SBBA* (1897) 200 ff., and *Gesch.* ³ iii 123 f.

L. 1. אלול The 6th month, Aug.-September.

L. 2. חמנא A pillar dedicated to שמש, standing beside the altar; see 87 4 n., and cf. מעליהם אשר למעלה מעליהם 2 Chr. 34 4. עלתא altar, common in Syr.

L. 4. ידיעבל 140 A 6, in 122 7 the name of a tribe, Ἰεδειβήλος, cf. O. T. יִדְיָעָל 1 Chr. 7 6 &c., and Sab. ירעאל (Hommel *Süd-ar. Chrest.* 101); ידיע perhaps = יִדְיָעָל notable, illustrious one. נשא 147 i 3 = Νεσᾶ.

L. 6. פחד Vog. 32. 33 = فَخْد lit. thigh, cf. Gen. 46 26 &c., a subdivision of a tribe. The word implies a clan whose descent is reckoned by the male line, just as the Arab. *baṭn* is a clan of female ancestry; see Rob. Smith *Kinship* 33 f. מנרת The name comes from the מנרה 112 3 n.; cf. the Sin. pr. n. מנריו, Syr. مَنَرِي (Lidzb. 305), the Edomite מנריאל Gen. 36 43, Sab. מנרעל. שמש The sun-god, whose worship was predominant at Palmyra, as appears from numerous pr. nn. and dedications, e.g. 117 5 n., Vog. 108 לשמש, the inscr. on tesserae, e.g. Vog. 185 שמש שון רבא, see further on מלכבל 112 4 n.; ירחבול 121 6 n. was also worshipped in connexion with the sun. The great temple of the sun-god is still the most imposing building among the ruins of Palmyra.

L. 7. אלה בית אבון Cf. 61 29. 95 2.

187. Vog. 76. A. D. 135.

1 לברוך שמה לעלמא עבד שלמן בר נשא

2 צידא ברק על חייה וחיי בנוהי

3 X בירח ניסן שנת 333 333 X

To him whose name is blessed for ever (this) has been made by Shalman, son of Nesá, ²(son of) Šalda, (son of) Baraq, for his life and the life of his sons. ³In the month Nisan, the year 447.

L. 1. שלמן Again in Vog. 33 a. 49 &c., Σαλαμάνης Wadd. 2147, in Nab. CIS ii 294. 302 = Arab. سَلْمَان, Assy. *šalamanu* Schrader *COT* 441. The name is not distinctively Jewish.

L. 2. צידא From ציד to hunt, 102 3 n. ברק Either nomen or cognomen, in Sab. ברקם, Pun. *Barcas*, surname of Hamilcar, Hebr. ברק Jud. 4 6 ff.; cf. אברוק 140 A 6.

L. 3. The cross at the beginning and end of the line may be the Christian symbol, somewhat disguised. It is questionable, however, whether the cross was used in this way in the first half of the 2nd cent.; nor is it likely that a Christian would write such an inscr. upon a pagan altar, though in itself the formula in l. 1 might not be objectionable, 185 1 n. The inscr. may have a Jewish origin; the name ברק has a Jewish sound; but no Jew would 'make' a Palm. altar.

188. Vog. 79. A.D. 256.

1 בריך שמה לעלמא [מבא]
 2 ורחמא מודא . . . ה . . . ד
 3 לשמש לרחמנא די ק[ים]הי
 4 בימא וביבשא וע[ניה]
 5 די קרהו ו חה
 6 בירח אלול שנת [ע 333] 333

Blessed be his name for ever, [the good] ² and the compassionate! offered in thanksgiving by . . . (son of) ³ Lishamsh, to the compassionate one who de[liv]ered (?) him ⁴ by sea and land, and an[swered him] ⁵ who invoked him, and
⁶ In the month Elûl, the [5]67.

L. 1. 185 בריך ונ' n.

L. 2. 189 רחמא 3 is perhaps a mistake for the usual רחמנא
 l. 3. מודא Afel ptc. of ידא (אוד') confess, used in votive inscr. with the special sense of *giving thanks* for some benefit, e.g. Vog. 101 מודא עבר ומודא εὐχαρίστως ἀνέθηκεν.

L. 3. ק[ים]הי i.e. פיקה' Pael of קים, so Vog. Nöld. (99), however, restores ק[רי]הי = ק[רי]הי, which has the support of the Syr. form. As in Syr., the final י was prob. not pronounced, hence it is usually not written, e.g. עניה l. 4. Vog. 92. 103. קריה 103. In l. 5 קרהו is a form contrary to all analogy, and is prob. incorrectly copied.

L. 4. יבשא . . . ימא Cf. Gen. 1 10. [וע[ניה]] The restoration is based on Vog. 92 &c. לח ועניה; in Gk. εὐζήμενος καὶ ἑτακουσθεὶς ἀνέθηκεν κ.τ.λ.

L. 5. 186 אלול n.

139. Vog. 93. Circ. A. D. 230.

- 1 מוזן כל יום נדרבול
 2 ומקישו בני דדא בר
 3 מקישו דנאל לרחמא
 4 טבא ותירא על חייהון
 5 תיא דנה ו... ילהון
 6 בלה... לעגלכול ומלכבל אלן
 7 שנת ע 33 ..

Giving thanks every day, Nadar-ból ² and Moqîmu, sons of Dada, son ³ of Moqîmu, (son of) Daniel (?), (dedicate this) to the compassionate one, ⁴ the good and the merciful, for their life. ⁵ this and their ⁶ all of it . . . to the gods (?) 'Agli-ból and Malak-bel ⁷ the year 54 . .

L. 1. מוזן Ptcp. plur.; 138 ² n. בול נדרבול? *Ból has vowed.*

L. 2. דדא Δάδος Wadd. 2081 &c. = 𐤠𐤠𐤠 paternal uncle; cf. the pr. n. חל' Eut. 103 ¹ &c. = 𐤠𐤠𐤠 maternal uncle.

L. 3. ? דנאל = Hebr. דניאל, in Nab. CIS ii 258. But such a form in Palm. may be questioned; Nöld. (88) reads חנאל = Ἀννης Wadd. 2320 &c. 138 ² n. רחמא

L. 4. ותירא . . רחמא = the Assyr. *remēnu taidru* (Lidzb. 153 n.); the latter word = *pitiſful* (חור) in Assyr., see Delitzsch *HWB* 604 f. 703. In *Eph.* i 79, however, Lidzb. suggests חיבא, as in Mand. with ראחמא.

L. 5. Perhaps read כלח חון [ב]נהון [ב]נהון [ב]נהון [ב]נהון, J. Mordtm. from his father's copy, and Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* ii § 37. The only objection is that the sign after חייהון l. 4 usually marks the end of a clause. If רנה is right, the preceding word ought to be a sing. noun; the suff. חון' must refer to the donors.

L. 6. The suggested reading [כר] as well as to 'Agli-ból and M., carrying on לרחמא l. 3, is doubtful because it ignores the full stop at the end of l. 4. עגלכול The Palm. moon-god, associated with Malak-bel, the solar deity (112 4 n.), e. g. 140 A 2. Vog. 140, and the inscr. below ¹ from a stele which represents the god as a young Roman

¹ Rom. 1, in the Capitoline Museum: Ἀγλιβόλφ καὶ Μαλαχβήλφ πατέροις θεοῖς καὶ τῷ σίγρον ἀργυροῦν σὺν παντὶ κόσμῳ ἀνέθηκε Τ. Αὐρ. Ἐλισβερος Ἀντιόχου

warrior, with a large crescent attached to his shoulders (cf. *Syr. Centr.* pl. 12. 141). The meaning of the name is uncertain; the ענל = *be round*, in Pa. *to roll*, so perhaps *chariot of Bēl*, in Aram. ענלקא, *chariot*; cf. רכבאל 81 2 n. אלהן Apparently for אלהן 69 20. 76 C 7; we should expect אלהיא.

140 A and B. Littmann 1 and 2. A—A. D. 29; B—A. D. 132.
Discovered 1900.

A

- 1 [בירח] שבט שנת 33 עלתא דה [עברו]
2 בנין מרוחא אלן לעגלכול ולמלכבל אלה[יהון]
3 . . בי בר עתנורי עודו וחגנו בר זברלה כמרא
4 [ונ]בוחבר בר מלכו מתנא ותימו בר עגילו רבבת
5 [נ]מלכו בר ירחבולא חתי וירחבולא בר תימרצו
6 אברוק וברבול בר ידיעבל אלהו ועגילו בר
7 נורי זברבול ומלכו בר מקימו תימעמר

In the month Shebat, the year 340. This altar [has been made] ² by the following [members of] the *thiasos* to 'Agli-bōl and Malak-bel [their] gods:—³ . . bai, son of 'Athē-nūri (son of) 'Audu, and Ḥaggāgu, son of Zabd-ilah (son of) Komāra, ⁴ [and N]ebu-zebad, son of Māliku (son of) Mathna, and Taimu, son of 'Ogēlu (son of) Rabābat, ⁵ [and] Māliku, son of Yarḥi-bōlē (son of) Ḥattai, and Yarḥi-bōlē, son of Taim-arṣu ⁶ (son of) Abrōqa, and Zabdi-bōl, son of Yedī'a-bel (son of) Alihu, and 'Ogēlu, son ⁷ of Nurai (son of) Zabdi-bōl, and Māliku, son of Moqīmu (son of) Taimo-'amad.

'Αδριανὸς Παλμυρηνοὶς ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς συμβουλῆς καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐτους ζμψ' μνηστὸς Παμυρίου.

1 לעגלכול ומלכבל ומסיחא די כסמא חוצב

2 יחז עבר מן כיסה ירחי בר חליסי בר

3 ירחי בר לשמש שערו על חיהי חזיא

4 בנחדי בירח שבט שנת 547

מסיחא = a standard, σημεῖον, signum. Note = 'Ἡλιόδωρος; cf. 122 2 = 'ἱεραίου. 86 10 n.

These inscrs., engraved on small altars, were first published by Littmann, *Journal As.* (1901) ii 374-390.

L. 1. שבט The 11th month, Jan.-February; cf. p. 302 footnote.

L. 2. בני מרוחא The idiomatic expression for *members of* a guild, cf. בני הנביאים, בני קרח. For מרוחא see 118 3 n., and the O.T. 42 16 n.; the existence of religious symposia at Palmyra is proved by the inscr. Wadd. 2606 α στυμποςλαρχον τῶν . . . Διὸς Βήλου λεπτῶν (127 1 n.). לענלבל ולמלכל 189 6 n.

L. 3. Restore prob. וחבי = וחבאלי. Already known עתנורי in Palm.; cf. Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* ii 96 and 112 4 n. עורו = عور, Aḏos, a name common in Sin.; cf. عوز مناة Wellhausen *Reste* 6. חנו 118 2 n. 182 2 n. כמרא 114 5 n. זבדלח

L. 4. נבוכר 127 3 n. מנא Prob. abbreviated from מתנבול, cf. 182 2 n.; Lidzb., *Eph.* i 344, compares the Pun. מתנאל[ם] = מתנא, and the Talmudic מתנה = מתניה. Cf. 112 4 n. תימו עילו Vog. 70 1; for the ענל see 189 6 n. רבבת = رَبَّاتٌ from a white cloud; cf. the fem. pr. n. רבבם in Sab. (Lidzb.).

L. 5. ירחבולא 111 3 n. חתי Perhaps abbreviated from the well-known Arab. pr. n. حَاتِي. תימרצו 115 1 n.

L. 6. אברוק Prob. a variation of the name ברק 187 2, cf. the Talm. פרוקא flashing light (cf. פאיר); the latter form is found in Palm., Lidzb. *Eph.* i 206 inscr. D. Littmann explains the name as = ابرو رواق, and compares the name of the place رواق. אלו 186 4 n. ידעבל אף רואי Cf. the Ṣafāṭe אלה, Littmann *Zur Entziff. d. Ṣafāṭ-Inschr.* 39, where the Gk. Ἀλῆος, Ἀλλῆος, and the Arab. 'Ulaiha are suggested as possible parallels. The fem. form אלות used as a mas. pr. n. also occurs in Ṣafāṭe, e. g. Littmann ib. 57.

L. 7. נורי Abbr. from some such name as נורבל Vog. 124; cf. the Talm. נוריה = נור. תימעמד Vog. 124 θαυμοαμέδου.

B

- 1 [ת]רתן עלותא אלן עבד עבירו בר ענמו
- 2 [ב]ר שעדלת נבטיא רוחיא די הוא פרש
- 3 [ב]חירתא ובמשריתא די ענא
- 4 לשיעאלקום אלהא טבא ושכרא די לא
- 5 שתא חמר על חיוהי וחיי מעיתי

6 ועבדו אחוהי ושעדלת ברה בירח
 7 אלול שנת 333 ודכיר זבידא בר
 8 שמעון בר בלעקב גירה ורחמה קדם
 9 שיעאלקום אלהא מבא ודכיר כל
 10 מעיד עלותא אלן ואמר דכירין
 11 א . . אלן כלהון בטב

These two altars have been made by 'Ubaïdu, son of 'Ānimu, ²[s]on of Sa'd-allath, the Nabataean, of the Rūḥu tribe, who was a horseman ³in the fort and camp of 'Ana, ⁴to She'a-alqūm, the good and bountiful god, who does not ⁵drink (?) wine, for his life and the life of Mu'ithi ⁶and 'Abdu his brothers, and Sa'd-allath his son; in the month ⁷Elūl, the year 443. And remembered be Zebīda, son ⁸of Shim'on, son of Bel-'aqab, his patron and friend, before ⁹She'a-alqūm the good god; and remembered be every one ¹⁰. . visits (?) these altars, and says, 'Remembered be ¹¹all these . . for good!'

The inscr., though written in Palm., is thoroughly Nabataean in character. The donor of the altars, the deity to whom they are dedicated, and most of the pr. nn. are all Nabataean.

L. 1. עלותא = ܥܠܘܬܐ. 88 עבדו n. 91 ענמו

L. 2. שעדלת = שער-אלת; see 106 n. רוחיא i. e. a member of the family of רוחו 99 1. 2 n. פרש Not a member of the equestrian order, *ἵππικος*, but simply a soldier in the cavalry.

L. 3. חירתא = ܚܝܪܬܐ camp, cf. Arab. *sheep-fold*; but perhaps this is the name of a place *ܚܝܪܐ*, on the Euphrates. משריתא 96 4 n. ענא The name of a place; Littm. suggests *Ἀναθα*, now *Ἐνά*, on the Euphrates.

L. 4. שיעאלקום A Nab. inscr. from Hauran contains a dedication to this deity, see p. 255 n. 1; in the *Ṣafā* inscr. he is frequently mentioned as *ܫܥܝܠܩܘܡ*, e. g. *ܫܥܝܠܩܘܡ* ונרעור ובעל-סמך ורשר. *ܫܥܝܠܩܘܡ* Littm. *Ṣafā-Inscr.* p. v. The name = *ܫܥܝܠܩܘܡ* *protector of the people*, the god *who accompanies the people*, prob. the special deity of the caravan; for the conception cf. Ex. 23 20. 23. 33 14 f. Is. 63 9. שכרא 138 2 n.

L. 5. שְׁתָּא, or מִשְׁתָּא Af. ptc. *who does not allow wine-drinking*, inserting a letter at the beginning of the line. The worshippers of this deity were prohibited from the use of wine, very likely as a protest against the Dionysiac cult of Dûshara (see 79 5 n.).¹ Similarly in the O.T., the Nazirite vow and the principles of the Rechabites (Jer. 35) were protests against the degenerating influence of Canaanite civilization. As a custom among the Nabataeans, abstinence from wine is mentioned by Diodorus xix 94 3²; it was inculcated in Arabia before the time of Mohammed (Robertson Smith *Prophets* 84. 388). מַעֲתִי A Nab. pr. n., Dussaud et Macler *Voy. Arch.* no. 59, in the Gk. version *Μοεθισ*; similarly Wadd. 2483. The form מַעֲתִי is endearing and diminutive, cf. חֲבִיבִי, עֲזִיזִי, מַלְכִי, זָבִירִי &c. (Lidzb. *Ep̄h.* i 218); the Arab. equivalent is مُغِيث from غَاث *to succour*, cf. the Palm. pr. names יַעֲוִה, יַעֲוִה i.e. يَغُوث (*Rép.* no. 85), 148 עוֹת.

L. 7. מַלְלִי Aug.-September.

L. 8. בִּלְעָקֵב 124 3 n. נִירָה For נִיר *guest* in Phoen. and Palm. see 17 2 n. Here, however, the word must denote not the receiver, but the giver of hospitality; cf. the pr. n. Κοσγηρος from Memphis, not 'Kos is client' but 'K. is patron,' K. being a deity (Nöld. *SBBA* (1882) 1187 n.). Thus נִיר like جَار denotes both sides of the relation; it has the double sense of the German *Gastfreund*. The Gk. equivalent of נִירָה would be τὸν αὐτοῦ ξένον καὶ φίλον *his host and friend* CIG 2502 &c., cf. רַחֲמָה וְקִיּוּמָה 129 5; Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* v 45 f. Zebīda discharged the obligations of hospitality towards the Nab. soldier at Palmyra. רַחֲמָה 127 4 n.

L. 10. עִיר or עִיר Ptc. Afel or Peal of עוֹר = עָרַי, conj. v. תַּעֲרֶינִי *to visit*; Lidzb. l.c. 346. At the beginning of the line רִי is to be restored. Another proposed reading is לֹא מַעֲתִיר or רִי עִיר *who does not change* (86 8 n.); but there is hardly room for לֹא. וְאִמֶּר Ptc., i.e. וְאִמֶּר.

L. 11. At the beginning of the line Cl.-Gan. restores שְׁמָא *names*, pl. constr. or emph.—a doubtful form; Lidzb. better אֲשָׁא or נִבְרִיא.

¹ Cl.-Gan. ingeniously discovers a parallel in the struggle between Dionysos and the fabled 'anti-bacchic' king of the Arabs, Lycurgos (cf. [Θε]ῶ Λυκούργου Wadd. 2286 a); the scene of the legend is placed in Arabia. *Rec.* iv 398 ff.

² Νόμος δ' ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς μήτε σῖτον στείρειν μήτε φυτεύειν μηδὲν φυτὸν καρποφόρον, μήτε ὄλῳ χρῆσθαι μήτε ὀλίαν κατασκευάζειν.

SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS

141. Vog. 30 a. B. C. 9.

- 1 קברא דנה די
 2 עתנתן בר כהילו די
 3 בנו עלוהי בנוהי
 4 כהילו וחירן בנוהי
 5 די מן בני מיתא
 6 בירח כנן שנת 79

This sepulchre is that of ²Athē-nathan, son of Kohailu, which ³has been built over him by his sons ⁴Kohailu and Hāirān, his sons, ⁵who are of the Benē Maitha. ⁶In the month Kanūn, the year 304.

The characteristic form of the Palm. sepulchre is that of the tomb tower. One of these, called Kasr eth-Thunfyeh, is 111 ft. high, 33½ ft. square at the base, 25 ft. 8 in. square above the basement. It contains six stories, and places for 480 bodies. Opposite the entrance is a hall (cf. 143 8) with recesses for coffins; it has a richly panelled ceiling; underground is an immense vault (cf. 143 1). Illustrations of this and another well-preserved tower are given in Wm. Wright's *Palmyra and Zenobia* (1895) 81. 85. Within the towers are found the busts so characteristic of Palm. art (cf. 142 3). The form of these monuments is of Asiatic origin; but the decoration is in the Roman style. The inscriptions outside the towers are often bilingual, within they are Palm. alone.

L. 2. עתנתן See 112 4 n. 79 כהילו n.

L. 3. בנוהי In the corresponding inscr. (Vog. 30 b) on the N. side of the tomb, this is twice written ברתי = ברה *his son*; but the form with the final vowel is so singular that בנוהי is prob. to be preferred as correct (Nöld. 98).

L. 5. בני מיתא Vog. 32 4, the name of a clan; cf. 132 2. 133 1. 136 6.

L. 6. כנן The 8th month, Oct.–November. The facsimile gives דנן, which is to be corrected to כנן. This is the oldest Palm. inscr. known. The writing is rather more archaic and angular than that of the later inscr., especially the form of ה. Palm. writing shows extraordinarily

little variation during the period of 280 years for which we have specimens.

142. Chediak i (Cl.-Gan. *Él.* ii § 5). A. D. 94. Qaryatēn
(between Damascus and Palmyra).

1 בת עלמא דנה עבר מתני בר נורבל בר מלכו
2 בר תימצא על נורבל אבוהי ועל נבי אמה ליקרהו
3 וליקר בנוהי די עלמא צלמא אלן די מתני בר
4 נורבל בר מלכו בר תימצא בר מתני בר בונא בר
5 מתני די מתקרה מהוי ודי נורבל אבוהי ודי
6 נבי אמה בירח אב שנת 1111

This house of eternity has been made by Matnai, son of Nûr-bel, son of Málíku, ²son of Taim-ša, over Nûr-bel his father and over Nabbai his mother, to their honour, ³and to the honour of his sons, for ever. These statues are those of Matnai, son ⁴of Nûr-bel, son of Málíku, son of Taim-ša, son of Matnai, son of Bônnē, son ⁵of Matnai who is called Mahûi, and of Nûr-bel his father, and of ⁶Nabbai his mother. In the month Ab, the year 406.

L. 1. בת עלמא Frequent in Palm. as a term for the grave, e.g. 143 &c., in bilingual inscr. *μνημειον αἰώνιον, αἰώνιος τάφος* Vog. 36 a, b; cf. in the O. T. בית עלמו Qoh. 12 5, in Pun. CIS i 124 בית עלם, and among the Christians of Edessa ܡܢܝܢ ܡܬܝܢ. The idea may go back to the Egyptians, who, according to Diodorus, called the graves of the dead *αἰδούς οἶκους* (i 51 2). מתני Prob. an abbreviation from מתקרב. נורבל Vog. 124 *Νουρβήλου*, cf. עתנורי 140 A 3.

L. 2. תימצא Vog. 33 b, cf. אמתצא Vog. 51. The divine name צא perhaps=צא[ר]=רצו (Lidzb.), 115 1 n. נבי occurs elsewhere, Lidzb. 321; the name is evidently abbreviated, but the derivation is obscure.

L. 3. די עלמא An unusual expression for לעלמא 112 3 or ער עלמא 145 5; but cf. ליקרהו די בת עלמא Vog. 34.

L. 4. בונא 112 2 n.

L. 5. מתקרה Usually מתקרא; for the variation cf. זנדל and זנדל, ברעתא and ברעתא מהוי. Again in the inscr. given by Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii 183=*Eph.* i 85; the derivation is obscure.

148. Müller 46. A. D. 193. Qaryatên.

- 1 מערתא דה די בת עלמא עבד
- 2 פציאל בר עסתורגא בר עות
- 3 בר לשמש בר לשמש לה שקקן
- 4 תרתן חרא על ימינא כרי אנת
- 5 עלל פאחרתא מקבלא
- 6 חבידא בר מען בר בולנורעתה
- 7 שקקא כרי אנת עלל על שמלא
- 8 אכסדרא דנה מקבלא די
- 9 מערתא די מקבל בבא חפר
- 10 וצבת שוען בר תימא בר
- 11 אבגר לה ולבנוהי ולבני
- 12 בנוהי הדי רחמת לה שגל
- 13 ברת לשמש בר עשתורגא בר
- 14 פציאל בירח אדר שנת חמש
- 15 מאה וארבע

This vault of the eternal house has been made by ² Faṣai-el, son of 'Astôr-ga, son of 'Auth, ³ son of Lishamsh, son of Lishamsh, for himself, two corridors, ⁴ the one upon the right as thou ⁵ art entering, and the other lying opposite. ⁶ And Zebida, son of Ma'n, son of Bôl-nûr-'athê, ⁷ (has made) the corridor as thou art entering on the left.

⁸ This *exedra* on the opposite side of ⁹ the vault, which lies opposite to the door, has been digged ¹⁰ and ornamented by Sau'an, son of Taimê, son ¹¹ of Abgar, for himself and his sons and his grandsons ¹² ? ? to him Shegal, ¹³ daughter of Lishamsh, son of 'Ashtôr-ga, son of ¹⁴ Faṣai-el. In the month Adar, the year five ¹⁵ hundred and four.

L. 1. מערתא 144 3 the burial cave, excavated in the side of a hill, entered by the door of the tomb tower (p. 306), Vog. 35 &c., τὸ σπηλαῖον Wadd. 2625; in Hebr. מערה Gen. 23 19 f.

L. 2. $\Phi\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota\lambda\eta$ $\Phi\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota\lambda$ Wadd. 2445; so Lidzb. 479, instead of $\Phi\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota\lambda$ D. M. Müller *Palm. Inscr.* 19, where this inscr. was first published (1898). $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\eta$ l. 13. Lidzb. suggests that the form is abbreviated from $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho$ נרם (see 135 4 n.). For the form $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho$ see 118 2 n.; for the interchange of δ and ψ cf. δ and ψ in 121 5. $\Gamma\alpha\upsilon\rho\sigma$ Wadd. 2019 &c.; the full name is $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\alpha\lambda\eta$ Eut. Sin. 72 &c.; see 140 B 5 n.

L. 3. $\psi\epsilon\kappa\kappa\eta$ So Lidzb. Cf. Syr. $\psi\epsilon\kappa\kappa$ *via angusta*, pl. $\psi\epsilon\kappa\kappa$; in Targ. $\psi\epsilon\kappa\kappa$ =street.

L. 5. $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ Ptcp. sing. of $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ enter; cf. 147 ii c 16. 'ם The conjunction $\bar{\imath}$, here in Palm., as in Nab. and Old Aram., 61 3 n. $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ i.e. $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ Afel ptcp. fem. abs. state, from $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ to meet; so the infin. $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ =before, in the presence of 67. 147 i 10, in Afel to be opposite (144 6).

L. 6. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ =the Arab. pr. n. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$; in Nab. and Sin. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$, in Gk. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$, $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ Wadd. 2042 &c. 2584. $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ Cf. $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ 140 A 3. 142 1. Lidzb. (500) suggests that this may be the full form of the abbreviated names $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$, $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$.

L. 8. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ 144 6 $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$, i.e. a hall with recesses, such, for example, as the fore-court of the great temple at Ba'albek, which has recesses or chambers on each side; see the plan in Baedeker *Paläst.* 343. Here the *exedra* is the hall with recesses for coffins, in the centre of the tomb tower, leading to the vault; see p. 306. In the Targ. and Talm. 'א=a porch, or covered passage before a house, e.g. Judg. 3 23= $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$; *Tamid* 28 b $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ *ex. of masonry* round the temple-court. $\epsilon\lambda\lambda$ here is mas. emph. state, as in 144 6.

L. 9. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ Not otherwise found in Palm., common in Targ. and Talm., rare in Syr. The Arab. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ is derived from this word; see Fraenkel *Aram. Fremd.* 14.

L. 10. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ Pael, cf. the noun $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ in 119 4 &c. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ Prob.= $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ Wadd. 2537 a, cf. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ *first watch of the night*.

L. 11. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ "Aβγαρος Wadd. 1984 d &c., $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ a common Syr. pr. n.=lame.

L. 12. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ meaning. Lidzb. (503) suggests $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ which 147 i 4 &c.=Bibl. Aram. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$, and renders $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ she bore (a denomin. vb. from $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ love). The word may be read $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ she gave birth to, Arab. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$; this is to be preferred. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ A common fem. pr. n. in Palm.; cf. perhaps $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ 69 16 n.

L. 14. $\mu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\eta$ Feb.-March.

144. Nöld. A. D. 188. Imp. Mus., Constantinople.

- 1 בִּירַח כִּנָּן שְׁנַת ע כ — ט
 2 אַחְבַּר לִשְׁמֶשׁ בֵּר לִשְׁמֶשׁ
 3 בֵּר תִּימָא מִן מַעֲרֵתָא
 4 דֵּה לְבוּנָא בֵּר בּוֹלְחָא
 5 בֵּר בּוּנָא בֵּר יִקְרוּר
 6 אַחְבֵּרְתָּה מִן אַכְסֵרְרָא מְקַבְּלָא
 7 גְּמַחִין תְּמַנִּיא מִן יְמִינִךְ
 8 אַרְבַּעָא וּמִן סַמְלִךְ אַרְבַּעָא

In the month Kanûn, the year 500. ² Lishamsh, son of Lishamsh, ³ son of Taimē, has given a share of this vault ⁴ to Bōnnē, son of Bōl-ḥa, ⁵ son of Bōnnē, son of Yaqrûr. ⁶ I have given him a share of the *exedra* lying opposite, ⁷ eight niches, on thy right hand ⁸ four, and on thy left four.

The inscr. was published by Nöldeke *ZA* (1894) pp. 264–267.

L. 1. כִּנָּן 141 6 n.

L. 2. אַחְבַּר Afel of חָבַר *to join, associate*; cf. l. 6.

L. 3. מַעֲרֵתָא 143 1 n.

L. 4. בּוֹלְחָא 132 1 n.

L. 5. יִקְרוּר = מְסֻלִין *toad*; cf. the pr. nn. חִלְרָה Vog. 74 *weasel*, עִכְבּוּר *mouse*, חֲזִיז *hedge-hog* &c.

L. 6. אַחְבֵּרְתָּה i. e. אַחְבֵּרְתָּה Af. pf. 1 sing. with suff., cf. the infin. Vog. 71 אִישׁ בָּהּ לְאַחְבּוּרָא = κοιωνὸν αὐτοῦ προσλαβεῖν in the Gk. version. מְקַבְּלָא Af. ptcp. mas. emph.; אַכְסֵרְרָא is mas., 143 8; cf. 110 3 (Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 130).

L. 7. גְּמַחִין *loculi*; see 91 5 n. (Nab. נַחֲמִיא).

145. Cl.-Gan. I (*Ét.* i 121). ii–iii cent. A. D. Louvre.

- 1 חֲבַל שִׁמְשִׁגְרָם בֵּר נֹרְבַל
 2 מְרַאגְרָא וְהוּ בְּנָא קְבֵרָא דְנָה
 3 וְאַנֶּשׁ לֹא יִפְתַּח עֲלוּהִי גּוּמְחָא

- 4 דנה עד עלמא לא יהוא לה
 5 זרע וגד עד עלמא ולא יקשט
 6 למן די יפתחיה עד עלמא
 7 ולחם ומן למא ישבע

Alas! Shamshi-geram, son of Nûr-bel * Mar-agra. And he built this sepulchre. * And let no man open over him this niche ⁴ for ever! Let him have no ⁵ seed or fortune for ever, nor let there be any prosperity ⁶ for him who shall open it, for ever, ⁷ and with bread and water may he never be satisfied!

L. 1. חבל An interjection of grief very common in funeral inscr. and on busts (p. 306); in the Talm. חָבֵל, חָבִיל, Dalman *Gr.* 192. שמשנרם 185 4 n.

L. 2. מראנרא Cognomen or title; if the latter, perhaps = ܡܪܝܢܐ *dominus mercedis*, i. e. qui militibus stipendia pendet, *paymaster*; *Thes. Syr.* col. 30. Cl-Gan. suggests the general sense of *treasurer*, *Él.* i 123.

L. 3. אנש Cf. 89 20; אנש in Nab. 86 6. 90 7 &c. For similar prohibitions see 4. 5. 61. 64 f. 69. לא יפתח עלוהי See 5 6 n. נומחא 91 5 n.

L. 5. נר *fortune*, as in the pr. nn. נר רצו Vog. 84. נר עתא 143 &c. יקשט The root = *be firm, right* in Aram.; hence יקשט, קשטא, Syr. ܩܫܬܐ = *truth, righteousness* &c. Taking the verb here in a neuter sense, we may render 'let there be no right to him who'; for the construction cf. Hebr. יָרַע לְ, וַיֵּטֶב לְ &c.

L. 6. יפתחיה For the form cf. the Syr. ܝܦܬܚܝܐ.

L. 7. מן = מין 75 3, *bread and water*, i. e. the elementary necessities of life. Winckler renders *bread and manna*, i. e. food for the dead, or divine food, ambrosia, which is his explanation of מן in Ex. 16 15; *Allor. Forsch.* ii 322 f. It is much more likely that מן here = מין, although the form is unusual. למא must have the sense of a prohibitive negative. It may be explained on the analogy of the Hebr. למא (Driver *Samuel* 123 f.) as meaning *wherefore?* = *let . . not*; in Aram. when connected by די with the preceding clause it comes to mean *lest*, די לקא, ܕܝ ܠܩܐ, in Targ. Onk. and Pesh. = Hebr. מן, e. g. Gen. 42 4. Num. 16 34 &c.

146. Constantine: Afr. 1. ii-iii cent. A. D.

D[is] m[anibus] s[acrum]. Suricus Rubatis Pal[murenus]
sag[ittarius] centuria] Maximi [vixit] ann[is] XLV mi[lit]avit
an[nis] xiii. CIL viii 2515.

1 נפשא דנה די
2 שריכו בר רבת
3 תדטוריא קשמא
4 קטרי מאכסמוס
5 בר שנת 33
6 חבל

This monument is that of Soraiku, son of Rubat, the Palmyrene archer, century of Maximus, 45 years old. Alas!

L. 1. נפשא See 78 1 n. Here 'נ takes a mas. pronoun; in Nab. either mas. or fem.

L. 2. שריכו 119 1 n. שריכו = רבת, Nöld. 89.

L. 3. קשמא *sagittarius* = Syr. ܩܫܡܐ or ܩܫܡܐ; the ט and ת (Hebr. קשת), the p and כ, are interchanged in this word, Nöld. 97. Besides this inscr. there is further evidence that a contingent of Palm. archers served in the Roman army in Africa. An inscr. discovered by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Coptos contains a dedication to the Palm. god ܝܥܪܐܒ[ܐ] ܝܠܗ = ירחבול, made by ܐܘܪܗܝܠܝܘܫ ܒܗܠܐܡܝܠܝܘܫ ܝܥܪܐ[ܝܘܫ or -ܝܘܫ] ܫܘܬܗܝܠܠܕܝܘܫ ܐܕܪܝܢܝܘܢ ܡܠܡܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܐܢܬܝܘܢܝܝܢ ܬܘܬܝܬܝܢ. In *Rec.* ii § 42 Cl.-Gan. rightly shows that ܐܕܪ. ܡܠܡܝܬܝܗܘܢ = תדטוריא 147 ii. The fame of the Palm. archers was remembered by Jewish tradition; according to the Talm. 80,000 of them assisted at the overthrow of the first temple, 8000 at that of the second! Neubauer *Géogr. du Talm.* 303.

L. 4. ܩܫܝܐ *centuria*. For the assimilation of נ in foreign words according to the law of Semitic speech cf. ܩܫܝܐ = *συνκλητικός* p. 285 n. 1, ܐܢܬܝܠܐ = *Ἀγαθάγγελος* inscr. of et-Tayyibe p. 296 n. 1, ܐܠܚܝܐ 147 i 2, סדקא ib. 11, and, in native words, the common מדינתא = מדינתא & c. מוכסמוס Nöld. (p. 86) notes this as a unique instance of the vowel letter ܐ representing ā; to avoid the anomaly he corrects the reading to קטריא מוכסמוס. In the original ܐ is uncertain, perhaps erased.

TARIFF

147. A. D. 137. In situ.

The following plan shows the arrangement of the inscription :—

| i | ii | | | iii | | | iv | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------|---|-----|-------|---|-------|---|
| Greek | 2 ll. Greek 1 l. Palmyren. | | | | | | | |
| Palmyrene | | Palm. | | | Greek | | Greek | |
| | a | b | c | a | b | c | a | b |
| 1½ l. Greek ¾ + ¼ l. Palm. | | | | | | | | |

Greek Text.

i.

- 1 Ἔτους ημὺ' μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ ιη' δόγμα βουλῆς.
 2 Ἐπὶ Βωννέους Βωννέους τοῦ Αἰράνου προέδρου, Ἀλε-
 ξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ
 3 Φιλοπάτορος γραμματέως βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, Μαλίχου
 Ὀλαιοῦς καὶ Ζεβεΐδου Νεσᾶ ἄρχόν-
 4 των, βουλῆς νομίμου ἀγομένης, ἐψηφίσθη τὰ ὑπο-
 τεταγμένα. Ἐπειδὴ ἔν τ]οῖς πάλαι χρόνοις
 5 ἐν τῷ τελωνικῷ νόμῳ πλείστα τῶν ὑποτελῶν οὐκ
 ἀνελήμφθη, ἐπράσ[σετ]ο δὲ ἐκ συνηθείας, ἐν-
 6 γραφομένου τῇ μισθώσει τὸν τελωνοῦντα τὴν πράξιν
 ποιεῖσθαι ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῇ
 7 συνηθείᾳ, συνέβαινε δὲ πλειστάκις περὶ τούτου
 ζητήσεις γείνεσθ[αι με]ταξὺ τῶν ἐμπόρων
 8 πρὸς τοὺς τελώνας· δεδόχθαι, τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας ἄρχοντας
 καὶ δεκαπρώτους διακρίνοντας

- 9 ὁ αὐτὸς δημοσιώνη[ς]
 10 πράξει ἐκάστου γόμο[ν καμηλικού]
 11 εἰσκομισ[θέ]ντος
 12 ἐκκομισθ[έντ]ος [γόμου καμηλικού]
 13 ἐκάστου vacat
 14 γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ ἐκάστο]ν εἰ[σκομισθέντος ἤ]
 15 ἐκκομισθέν[τος]
 16 πορφύρας μηλωτῇ[ς] ἐκά[στου δέρμα]-
 17 τος εἰσκομισθέν[τ]ος [πράξει]
 18 ἐκκομισθ[έντο]ς
 19 γόμου κ[αμηλικού] μύρον [τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάσ]-
 20 τροις εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει]
 21 καὶ το
 22 ἐκ[κομισθέντος]
 23 γ[όμου καμηλικού] μύρον τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς]
 24 αἰγείοις [εἰσκομισθέντος πράξει]
 25 [ἐκκομισθέντος] [γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ] μύρον
 26 τοῦ ἐν ἀλαβάστρ]οις
 27 [εἰσκομισ]θέν[τος πράξει]
 28 [ἐκκομισ]θέν[τος]
 29 γόμου ὀνικ[οῦ] μ[ύρον τοῦ ἐν ἀσκοῖς]
 30 αἰγείοις εἰσκομ[ισθέντο]ς πρ[άξει]
 31 ἐκκομισθέντος π[ρ]άξ[ει]
 32 γόμου ἐλεηροῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀσκο]ῖς [τέσσαρ]-
 33 σι αἰγείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέν]-
 34 τος vacat
 35 ἐκκομισθέντο[ς]
 36 γόμου ἐλαιηροῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀσκο]ῖς δυ[σὶ αἰ]-
 37 γείοις ἐπὶ καμήλ[ου εἰσκομισθέντος]
 38 πράξει
 39 ἐκκομισθέντ[ος]
 40 γόμου ἐλ[ηροῦ τοῦ ἐπ' ὄνο]ν εἰ[σκομισθέν]-

- 41 το[ς πράξει]
 42 ἐκ[κομισθέντος]
 43 γόμ[ου τοῦ ἐν ἀσχοῖς τ]έσσ[αρσι]
 44 αἰγείοις [πρά]ξει * γ'
 45 ἐκκομι[σ]θ[έντος] * γ'
 46 γόμου κ [τοῦ ἐν] ἀ[σ]κοῖς δυσι αἰγείοις
 47 ἐπὶ κ[αμήλου εἰς]κομισθέντος πράξει * ζ'.

iii b.

(21=Aram. ii a 41?; 27-30=ii a 46-49; 31-45=ii b 1-12.)

Of the first 18 lines only unimportant fragments remain.

- 19 λλης vacat
 20 μηλουτσ σ ης
 21 [θ]ρέμματος η εσ ο
 22 δ θ
 23 δ εαδ εου ε
 24 ὁ αὐτὸς δ[ημ]οσιώνης ἐκάσ
 25 παρ' ἐκ[άστο]ν τῶ[ν τὸ] ἔλαιον κατα[κομιζόντων?]
 26 πον [πωλὸν]των
 27 ὁ αὐτ[ὸς δημοσιώνης] πρά[ξει] λει
 28 ος
 29 [λαμβά]νουσιν π
 30 ἀσσάρια ὀκτώ ιη
 31 [ἀσ]σάρια ἕξ ἐν καστ ἀσσς'
 32 [ὁ αὐτὸς δημ]οσιώνης πρ[άξ]ει ἐργαστηρίων
 33 παντοπωλ[εί]ων σκυτικῶν
 34 ἐκ συνηθείας ἐκάστου μηνὸς
 35 καὶ ἐργαστηρίου ἐκάστου vacat * α
 36 παρὰ τῶν δέρματα εἰσκομιζόν[των]
 37 ἡ πωλόντων ἐκάστου δέρματος ἀσσά[ρια δύο]
 38 ὁμοίως ἱματιοπῶλαι μεταβόλοι πωλ[οῦν]-
 39 τες ἐν τῇ πόλει τῷ δημοσιώνῃ τὸ ἱκανὸν τ[ελος?]
 40 χρήσεος πηγῶν · β' · ἐκάστου ἔτους * ω'

41 ὁ αὐτὸς πρά[ξ]ει γόμον πυρικοῦ οἰνικοῦ ἀχύ-
 42 ρων καὶ τοιούτου γένους ἐκάστου γόμου
 43 καμηλικοῦ καθ' ὁδὸν ἐκάστην * α'
 44 καμήλου ὅς κενὸς εἰσαχθῇ πράξει * α'
 45 καθὼς Κίλιξ Καίσαρος ἀπελεύθερος ἔπραξεν.

iii c.

(22-24=Aram. ii b 22. 23.)

The first half (about 20 lines) is almost entirely obliterated.

21 νέτω vacat
 22 ὅς ἂν ἄλ[ας] ἡ ἐν Παλμύροις
 23 Παλμυρη[ν]ῶν παραμετρησάτω [τῷ δημο]-
 24 σιώνη εἰς ἕκ]αστον μῶδιον ἀσσά[ριον]
 25 ὅς δ' ἂν οὐ παραμετρησ[άτω]
 26 ον ἔχων τὸ δημο
 27 παρ' οὗ ἂν ὁ δ[ημοσι]ώνης [ἐνέ]-
 28 χυρα λα[βη]
 29 ἀποδω σινο αβρει
 30 δημο ηίου διπ[λοῦ] οἱ ἱκανὸν λαμβα-
 31 νέτω περὶ τ[ο]ύτου πρὸς τὸν δημοσιώνη[ν]
 32 τοῦ διπλοῦ εἰσα]γέσθω vacat
 33 περὶ οὗ ἂν ὁ δημ[ο]σιώνης τινὰ ἀπαιτῇ περί τε
 34 οὗ ἂν ὁ δημοσιώ[νης] ἀπό τινος ἀπαιτῇται περὶ
 35 τούτου δικαιοδο[τεῖς]θω παρὰ τῷ ἐν Παλμύ-
 36 ροις τεταγμένῳ vacat
 37 τῷ δημοσιώνη κύρι[ον] ἔ[σ]τω παρὰ τῶν μὴ ἀπ[ο]-
 38 γρα[φομένων] ἐ]νέχυρα [λ]α[μβάνει]ν δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ
 39 υτατα [ἐνέ]χυρα ἡμέρα[ι]
 40 [ἐξέστω τῷ δημ]οσιώνη πωλεῖν
 41 [ἐν τόπῳ δημ?οσίῳ χωρὶς]
 42 δόλου πο ἐπράθη
 43 ἢ δοθῆναι ἔδει π εἰν τωδ καθὼς

44 καὶ στιν τοῦ νόμου τω vacat
 45 λιμένος π [πη]γῶν ὑδάτων Καίσαρος
 46 τῷ μισθωτῇ εντος παρασχέσ[θαι]

iv a.

(27=Agam. ii b 43; 34-37=ii b 45-48; 41-57=ii c 3-22.)

1 ἄλλφ μηδενὶ πράσσειν διδό[ν]αι λαμ[βάνειν]
 2 ἐξέστω μήτε τι ωφσ ανθρ [μή]-
 3 τε τινι [δν]όματι τοσ π
 4 τοῦτο ποιήσῃ ηε
 5 δ[ι]πλοῦν

[four lines illegible]

10 Γαίου

11 αντι

12 μετα[ξ]ὺ Παλ[μυρηνῶν]

13 νους ἐστὶ

14 γείνεσθαι κλ οι

15 εσ σατο μ

16 ὅσα δὲ ἐξ

17 ω

18 α εισπ

19 τω α ωνη

20 τῷ τελών[η] θω vacat

21 οἱ δ' ἂν ε [ἐ]ξαγ

22

23 σ ας

24 καθ' ἣν ανλογ (?)

25 τοῦ δὲ ἐξάγω αι

26 αδωσε

27 ἐρίων

28 θαρ

29 π ειλ

30 γ διαγ

- 31 οροι ματου μὲν ορι
 32 αγωγισ * · ς' · τοῦ δὲ θ'
 33 ἀξιοῦντος το νου εἰ καὶ μὴ σ
 34 [ιτ]αλικῶν ἐξαγ[όντων]ν πράσσειν ὕστ[ερον ὡς συν]-
 35 εφωνήθη μὴ ι [α]ὐτῶν ἐξαγο[ντων] [δι]-
 36 δόσθαι vacat
 37 μύρου τοῦ ἐν ἀσκο[ῖς αἰγεί]οις πρά[ξει ὁ τελώνης]
 38 κατὰ τὸν νόμο[ν] οὔτε
 39 τημα γέγονεν τῷ προτε ε εικ
 40 [ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ] ἐσφραγισμένῳ νόμῳ τέτακται vacat
 41 τὸ τοῦ σφάκτρον τέλος εἰς δηνάριον ὀφείλει λο[γεύε-
 σθαι]
 42 καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος διὰ τῆς πρὸς Στατείλι[ον
 ἐπισ]-
 43 τολῆς διασαφήςαντος ὅτι δεῖ πρὸς ἀσσάριον ἰτα[λι-
 44 κὸν] τὰ τέλη λογεύεσθαι τὸ δὲ ἐντὸς δηναρίου τέλο[ς]
 45 συνηθεία ὁ τελώνης πρὸς κέρμα πράξει τῷ[ν δὲ]
 46 διὰ τὸ νεκριμαῖα εἶναι ρειπτουμένων τὸ τέλο[ς οὐκ
 ὀφείλεται]
 47 τῶν βρωτῶν τὸ κα[τὰ] τὸν νόμον τοῦ γόμου δην[άριον]
 48 εἰστημι πράσσεσθαι ὅταν ἔξωθεν τῶν ὄρων εἰσά[γη-
 49 ται] ἢ ἐξάγῃται vacat τοὺς δὲ εἰς χωρία ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν
 50 [χω]ρίων κατακομίζοντας ἀτελεῖς εἶναι ὡς καὶ συνεφώ-
 51 νησεν αὐτοῖς vacat κώνου καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἔδ[ο]-
 52 ξεν ὅσα εἰς ἐμπορείαν φέρεται τὸ τέλος εἰς τὸ ξη-
 53 ρόφορτον ἀνάγεσθαι ὡς καὶ ἐν ταῖς λοιπαῖς γίνεται
 πόλεσι
 54 καμήλων ἐάν τε κεναὶ ἐάν τε ἔργομοι εἰσάγονται
 ἔξωθεν
 55 τῶν ὄρων ὀφείλεται δηνάριον ἐκάστης κατὰ τὸν
 56 νόμον ὡς καὶ Κουρβούλων ὁ κράτιστος ἐσημι-
 57 ὡσατο ἐν τῇ πρὸς Βάρβαρον ἐπιστολῇ.

iv b.

[About 30 lines almost entirely illegible.]

5 [ἐ]ταίρω[ν]

30 τὰς συνφων

31 τελώ[ν]ην γείνεσθαι [τὸ ἐκ τοῦ]

32 νόμο[ν] τέλος πρὸς δηνα[ρ]ιον φ[ημί ? λογεύεσθαι]

33 ἐννόμιον συνεφωνήθη μὴ δεῖν πράσσειν]

34 ε [τ]ῶν δὲ ἐπὶ νομὴν μεταγομένων

35 ν θρεμμάτων ὀφείλεσθαι χα-

36 ρίσασθαι τὰ θρέμματα ἐὰν θέλῃ ὁ δη[μοσιώνης]

37 ἐξέστω.

Palmyrene Text.

i.

14 (1) דגמא די בולא בירח ניסן יום כ ע 33 בפהדרותא די בונא בר
 בפהדרותא די בונא בר

15 (2) בונא בר חירן וגרמטיא די אלכסדרס בר אלכסדרס בר
 פלפמר גרמטוס די בולא ודמס וארכוניא

16 (3) מלכו בר עליי בר מקימו חבירא בר נשא כר הות בולא
 כנישא מן נמוסא אשרת

17 (4) מרי כתיב מן לתחת בדילדי בובניא קדמיא בנמוסא די
 מכסא עבירן שגין חיבן

Decree of the Council, in the month Nisan, the 18th day, the year 448, during the presidency of Bōnnē, son ² of Bōnnē, son of Hairān, and the secretaryship of Alexander, son of Alexander, son of Philopator, secretary of the Council and People, and the archons (being) ³ Māliku, son of 'Olai, son of Moqīmu, and Zebīda, son of Nesā. When the Council was by law assembled, it established ⁴ what is written below—

18 (5) מכסא לא אסקו והוּו מתגבין מן עידא במרען די הוא

מתכתב באגוריא די

19 (6) מכסא והוא גבא היך בנמוסא ובעידא וממלכות זבנין

שגין על צבותא אלן

20 (7) מרבנין הוּו ביני תגרא לביני מכסיא אתחזי לבולא די

ארכוניה אלן ולעשרתא

21 (8) די יבנון מרעם די לא מסק בנמוסא ויכתב בשמר

אגריא חדתא ויכתב למרעמא

22 (9) מרעמא מכסה די מן עידא ומדי אשר לאגורא וכתב

עם נמוסא קדמיא בגללא

23 (10) די לקבל היכלא די רב אסירא ויהוא מבטל לארכוניה

די הון בזבן זבן ועשרתא

24 (11) וסדקיא די לא יהוא גבא אגורא מן אנש מרעם יתיר

Whereas in former times by the law of taxation many goods liable to ⁵taxation were not specified, but taxes were levied on them by custom, according to what was written in the contract of ⁶the tax-collector, and he was in the habit of making levies by law and custom, and on this account many times about these matters ⁷disputes arose between the merchants and the tax-collectors—It seemed good to the Council of these archons and to the Ten ⁸that they should make known what was not specified in the law, and (that) it should be written down in the new document of contract, and (that) there should be written down for each ⁹article its tax which is by custom, and what they have established with the contractor, and they have written it down together with the former law on the stele ¹⁰which is in front of the temple of Rabaseirē;—and that it be made the concern of the archons who shall be (in office) at any time, and of the Ten, ¹¹and of the syndics, that the contractor do not demand any further levy from any man.

(Greek text, 1 § 1.)

26 (12) מעון קרם די כלמא גנס כלה לארבעא טעונין די
גמלין

27 (13) מכסא גבי

ii.

(Greek text, 2 ll.)

נמוסא די מכסא די למנא די הדרינא תדמר ועינתא די
מיא... קיסר

a.

(1-31=Greek iii a; 41=iii b 21?; 46-49=iii b 27-30.)

- 1 מן מעלי עלימיא די מתאעלין לתדמר
- 2 או לתחומיה [יגבא מכס]א לכל רגל ד 3 //
- 3 מן עלם די... ב [ל]מפק[נא] //
- 4 מן עלם וטר[ן] די יזבן... //
- 5 זון זבונא ומעל... ין יתן לכל רגל //
- 6 הו [מ]כסא יג[בא] [מ]ן מעון גמלא די יבי[שין]

(Greek text.)

¹² A waggon-load of any kind of goods whatsoever, at four camel-loads ¹³ the tax shall be levied.

ii.

(Greek text.)

The law of the taxes of the custom-house of Hadriana Tadmor, and the wells of water Caesar.

a.

From importers of slaves who are imported into Tadmor ² or its borders the [tax-collector shall levy] for each person 22 denarii. ³ From a slave who [for] export, 12. ⁴ From a slave-veteran who shall be sold 10; ⁵ and if the buyer he shall give for each person 12. ⁶ The said t[ax-collector shall l]evy from a camel-load of dry

- 7 למעלנא די מעון גמלא ד' / [// ?]
 8 מן [מעון גמלא] למפקנא ד' ///
 9 מן ט[עון] חמרא למעלנא [ולמפקנא]
 10 מן א[רנ]ונא מלמא לכל מ[שך] למעלנא]
 11 ולמ[פ]קנא אסרין ע' ///
 12 מן טע[ון ג]מלא [א] די משחא בשימא [די]
 13 מתאעל [ב]ש[טיפת]א ד' 3 ע'
 14 ולמא ד' ל. וסא דנה
 15 למפקנא [א]. ז. נ. ... [ג]מל למעונא ע' — ///
 16 מן מעון גמלא די [מ]שחא בשימא [די יתאעל]
 17 בוקין [די] ע[ו]ל[מ]עלנא ד' ע' — /// ולמפקנא ד' ע' //
 18 מן ט[עון] חמר די [מ]שחא [בשימא ד'] יתאעל
 19 בש[טיפ]תא [למעלנא ד'] ע' — /// ולמפקנא ד' ע' //
 20 מן מעון חמר [ד'] משחא [בשימא] די
 21 יתאעל בוקין[ן] [למ]פקנא ד' ע' //
 22 מן מעון די מש[חא] די בוקין[ן] ארב[ע]

goods, ⁷ for import of the camel-load, 3 (?) denarii. ⁸ From [a camel-load] for ex[port], 3 denarii. ⁹ From a donkey-l[oad], for import [and for export] ¹⁰ From purple fleeces, for each s[kin, for import] ¹¹ and for export, 8 assarii. ¹² From a cam[el-lo]ad of sweet oil [which] ¹³ is imported [in] the f[lask], 25 denarii. ¹⁴ And for what this ¹⁵ for export [c]amel, for the load 13 denarii. ¹⁶ From a camel-load of sweet oil [which is imported] ¹⁷ in goa[t-s]kins, for im[por]t 13 denarii, and for expor[t 7 denarii]. ¹⁸ From a [donkey-loa]d [of sweet] oil which is imported ¹⁹ in the fl[as]k, [for import] 13 [denarii], and for export 7 denarii. ²⁰ From a donkey-load of [sweet] oil which ²¹ is imported in skin[s] . . . [for ex]port 7 denarii. ²² From

- 23 די עז למעלן טעון ג[מל]א ד פ — ///
- 24 ולמפקנא ד פ — [///]
- 25 מן טעון די מ[שחא] די [בו]קין תרתן די עז
- 26 למעל[ן] ט[עון]א די גמלא ד [ע //] ולפקנא ד [ע //]
- 27 מן טעון[ן] חמר די משה למ[עלנא] דע // ולמפקנא [דע //]
- 28 מן טעון דהנא די בוקין א[רבע] די עז די
- 29 טעון גמל מעלנא ד פ — /// ול[מפקנא] ד פ — ///
- 30 מן טעון דהנא די בוקי תרת[ן] די עז
- 31 למעון גמל למעלנא דע // ולמ[פקנא] דע //
- 32 מן טעון [דה]נא די חמר למעלנא [דע //] ולמפקנא [דע //
- 33 מן טעון [נוני]א מליחיא למעונא די [גמלא]
- 34 [למעלנא ד] פ — ומן מפק מנהון
- 35 א למעונא די גמלא למ ...
- 36 א די טעון חמרא למעלנ[א]
- 37 נא ינבא מכסא ד ///

a load of oil which is in] four goat-[ski]ns, ²³ for import, the ca[mel]-load, 13 denarii, ²⁴ and for export 1[3] denarii. ²⁵ From a load of oil which is [in] two goat-[sk]ins, ²⁶ for import, the camel-l[oa]d, [7] denarii, and for export [7] denarii. ²⁷ From a donkey-load of oil, for im[port] 7 denarii, and for export [7 denarii]. ²⁸ From a load of fat which is in f[our] goat-skins, which ²⁹ is a camel-load, import 13 denarii, and for [expo]rt 13 denarii. ³⁰ From a load of fat which is in tw[o] goat-skins, ³¹ for the camel-load, for import 7 denarii, and for ex[port] 7 denarii]. ³² From a donkey-load of [fa]t, for import [7 denarii, and for export] 7 denarii. ³³ From a load of salted [fish], for the [camel]-load, ³⁴ [for import] 10 [denarii], and from an exporter of any of them ... ³⁵ ... for the camel-load ... ³⁶ ... of the donkey-load, for import ³⁷ ... the tax-

| | |
|--|----|
| יֶאֱדָרֶה | 38 |
| מִן אֵם | 39 |
| יֶאֱדָרֶה [אֵם] רִין // | 40 |
| שֶׁאֲמַרְיָא לְמַעַן [לְנָא] רֶשָׁא חַד אֲסַרְא חַד | 41 |
| מִן [מַעַן] נָא גַמְלָא אֵ // | 42 |
| מִן אַרְבַּ אֵ [אֵ] פֶרִין .. // | 43 |
| מִן רֵ | 44 |
| מִן דִּי יְהוּא מוֹבֵן מִשְׁחָא | 45 |
| בְּשִׁימָא אֲסַרִין ... אֶף יִגְבָּא מִכְסָא מִן אִיתָא מִן | 46 |
| מִן דִּי שְׁקֵלָא דִינָר [אֵן] יְתִיר דְנָרָא חַד מִן אִיתָא | 47 |
| וּמִן מִן דִּי שְׁקֵלָא אֲסַרִין תַּמְנִיָּא | 48 |
| יִגְבָּא אֲסַרִין תַּמְנִיָּא | 49 |

ii b.

(1-12=Greek iii b 31-45; 22. 23=iii c 22-24; 43=iv a 27;
45-48=iv a 34-37.)

1 וּמִן מִן דִּי שְׁקֵלָא [אֵ] אֲסַרִין [שֶׁ] תָּא

2 יִגְבָּא אֲסַרִין [/ ע]

3 אֶף יִגְבָּא ... וְדִי חֵן [נֵן] תָּא וּפְטַפְלָא

collector shall levy 3 denarii ³⁸ ... 10 denarii ... ³⁹ ... from ...
⁴⁰ ... 2 assarii ⁴¹ ... lambs, for im[port] ... one head, one
assarius. ⁴² From a camel-[loa]d ... 2 ⁴³ ... from ? ... assarii ...
2. ⁴⁴ From ... ⁴⁵ ... from one (?) who shall sell sweet oil
⁴⁶ assarii ... Also the tax-collector shall levy from women,
from ⁴⁷ one who has taken a denarius [or] more, one denarius
from the woman. ⁴⁸ And from one who has taken eight
assarii ⁴⁹ he shall levy eight assarii.

ii b.

¹ And from one who has taken [s]ix assarii ² he shall levy
[6] assarii. ³ Also he shall levy ... and of the shop and

- 4 פ היך עדתא
 5 [לכל] יר[ח] מן חנותא ד /
 6 [מן כל] משך די [י]תאעל או יזבן למשכא אסרין //
 7 ... ימנתיא די הפכין במדיתא יהן מוט מבסא
 8 [לתש] מיש עינן תרתן די מ[י] די במדיתא ד ע ///
 9 [י]גבא מבסא לטעונא די חטא וחמרא ותבנא
 10 ו[כ]ל מדי דמא [להון לכ]ל גמל לארח חדא ד /
 11 לגמלא כרי יתאיעל סריק יגבא ד /
 12 היך [די] גב[א] קלקים בר חרי קיסר
 13 פ סא די תדמר ועינתא די מיא
 14 ומל יב . [מ]דיתא ותחומיה היך
 15 א [מבס]יא [די] אנר קדם מרינס היגמונא
 16 מעון די גמלא ד /// ומפקן ד ///
 17 מ[ן] מלמא לכל משך למעלנא ד /// ולמפקנא ד ///
 18 [אף] יגב[א] מבסא מן גנסיא כלהון היך די כתיב מן לעל

general store ⁴ . . . according to custom, ⁵ [every] mon[th] from the shop 1 denarius. ⁶ [From every] skin which shall be imported or sold, for the skin 2 assarii. ⁷ . . . clothiers (?) who shall barter in the city, their tax shall vary. ⁸ For the use of two wells of wa[ter] which are in the city, 800 denarii. ⁹ The tax-collector shall levy for a load of wheat and wine and straw ¹⁰ and suchlike, for each camel, for one journey 1 denarius. ¹¹ For the camel when it is brought in empty he shall levy 1 denarius, ¹² as Kilix, freedman of Caesar, levied. ¹³ . . . of Tadmor and the wells of water ¹⁴ . . . the town and its borders, as ¹⁵ . . the [taxes] for [which] they (?) contracted before Marinus the governor. ¹⁶ . . . the camel-load, 4 denarii, and export, 4 denarii. ¹⁷ From . . . a fleece, for each skin, for import 4 denarii, and for export 4 denarii. ¹⁸ [Also the tax-collector shall l]evy from goods of all kinds

- 19 ... טב .. עא באסרא חד למדיא די קסטון
 20 עשר תשת] ... מא די . יתבעא יתן [לה] לתשמישא
 21 . לא חשע לכל מדיא מן נמ[וס]א דנה ססמרטין ///
 22 מן יהוא לה מלח בתוך[מר] מאד
 23 ת[דמרי]א יכילנה ל א די מא (?) באסרא חד
 24 אי קי ... היגמונא
 25 .. חשבן טב בני תדמריא ל י
 26 ... קם מבס[מס] קי[סר]
 27 חיב לא הוא סא .. גרנא
 28 אלקמס וחת נמוסא יפרע מנכס]א
 29 משותף ד אדי ... יהוא
 30 פרע למבסא מן די מעל רגלין לתדמר
 31 [אן] לתחומיה ומפק לכל רגל י ..
 32 ו ... ' [מ]פק יפרע למב[סא] ד] כ — //
 33 די [על]ם וטרן . ד ע ///
 34 ... לכל מיא דנה

as it is written above. ¹⁹ ... one assarius for the modius of costus-roots. ²⁰ [Six]teen ... what shall be desired, he shall give [to th]em for use. ²¹ ... nine for every modius by this l[a]w, 4 sestertii. ²² Whoever shall have salt in Tad[mor] ... ²³ the T[admoren]es, he shall measure it ... at one assarius ²⁴ ... the governor. ²⁵ ... a reckoning ... the Tadmorenes .. ²⁶ ... cus Maxi[mus] Cae[sar], ²⁷ he is not liable ... ²⁸ Alkimus ... the law, he shall pay the t[ax], ²⁹ participating ... he shall ³⁰ pay to the tax-collector. Whoever imports any persons into Tadmor ³¹ [or] its borders, and exports (any), for each person ... ³² ... [ex]port, he shall pay to the tax-col[lector] 12 [denarii] ³³ ... who ... [sla]ve-veteran .. 8 denarii ³⁴ ... for

- 35 ... מעלן ה' וד' — ומפקנ[א] ע' //
- 36 מן די מפק עלם ומרן
- 37 ... חשבן כתיב בנמוסא
- 38 פרע ד' ע' ///
- 39 ... מ' לא כתיב בריל[די]
- 40 מדעם לא ... או ל'
- 41 לא דמיא
- 42 ומעלן מב
- 43 ודי עמרא נא די אפק ד' ///
- 44 תדמ[ר] .. מכסא פרעא תהוא עמרא
- 45 דיא מכסא למפקנא בתר
- 46 כות הוו ספון[ן] לא ע' מרא איטליק[א]
- 47 [י]הוא פרע למפקא
- 48 משחא ב[שימא די] בזקין די עז יהוא מכסא
- 49 ברילדי בטעון די

ii c.

(3-22 = Greek iv a 41-57.)

i כתב די טעא מכס[א] בן

each ... this ... ³⁵ ... import ... and 10 denarii, and export, 7 ³⁶ ... whoever exports a slave-veteran ³⁷ ... a reckoning ... written in the law ³⁸ ... pay 9 denarii ³⁹ ... is not written, because ⁴⁰ anything ... ⁴¹ is not like ... ⁴² and import ... ⁴³ and of wool ... which he exports, 3 denarii. ⁴⁴ Tadmor ... the tax ... she shall pay. The wool ⁴⁵ of (?) ... the tax for export afterwards ⁴⁶ as they have agreed ... Italian modius, ⁴⁷ shall he pay ... to the exporters. ⁴⁸ [Sweet] oil [which] is in goat-skins shall the tax-collector ⁴⁹ ... because by mistakes in the

ii c.

¹ document which the tax-collector committed ... ² ... in

- 2 מן . . שו בנמוסא . חיפא ד — י
 3 מבסא די קצבא אפי דנר חיב
 4 למתחשבו היך די אף גרמנקוס קיסר
 5 באגרתא די כתב לסמטילס פשק די
 6 הא כשר די . . מבסיא אפי אסר אימלקא
 7 גבן ומדי גו מן דנר חיב מבסא היך
 8 עדתא ע[ר]פן יהא גבא
 9 פגרינ די משתדן מבס לא חיבין
 10 למעמטא הי בנמ[ן]סא למענוא אקימת
 11 די יהוא מתנ[ב]א דנר
 12 מדי יהוא מ[ת]אעל[ל] בר מן תחומא או מאפק
 13 מן די מפק ל[קרי]א [אן] מעל מן קריא
 14 מבס לא חיב היך די אף הוו ספון
 15 אסטריביליא ומדי דמא להון אתחוי די
 16 לכל די עלל לחשבן תגרא יהוא מבסא
 17 היך ליביש היך די הוא אף במדינתא

the ? law, 15 denarii. ³ The tax on slaughtered animals by the denarius must ⁴ be reckoned, as also Germanicus Caesar, ⁵ in the letter which he wrote to Statilius, explained that ⁶ it was indeed right that . . the taxes (should be) levied by the Italian assarius, ⁷ and what is under a denarius, the tax-collector must according to ⁸ custom levy in small coin. ⁹ Dead bodies which are thrown away are not liable to taxation. ¹⁰ As to victuals, it (is said) in the law: For a load I have ordained ¹¹ that a denarius shall be levied, ¹² whenever it shall be imported from without the borders, or exported; ¹³ whoever exports to the [villages or] imports from the villages ¹⁴ is not liable to taxation, as also they agreed. ¹⁵ Pine-cones and such-like, it seemed good that ¹⁶ for all that comes into the market the tax shall be ¹⁷ as for dry goods, as has been also

- 18 אחרניתא
 19 גמליא הן מעינין והן סריקין יהן
 20 מתאעלין בר מן תחומא חיב כל
 21 גמל דנר היך בנמוסא והיך די אשר
 22 קרבולן כשירא באגרתא די כתב לברברס
 23 על גלדיא די גמליא חסא. ן כפרו די מבס
 24 לא גבן ס עשב[י]א וְתֵא אַתְחֹזִי דִּי יֵהֶן
 25 יֵהֶבִין מִבְּ[סֵא] בְּדִילְדִי אֵית בֵּהֶן תַּגְרָתָא
 26 מִכְסָא דִּי עֲלִימָתָא הֵיךְ דִּי נִמוּסָא מוּחָא פִּשְׁקָת
 27 הוּ מִכְסָא יִגְ[בֵּא מִבְּ]סָא מִן עֲלִימָתָא דִּי שְׁקֵלָא דִּנְר
 28 אֹו יֵתִיר לֹאִי[תָא דִּנְר]א וְהֵן חֲסִיר תְּהוּה שְׁקֵלָא
 29 מְדִי הֵתָת] שְׁקֵלָא [יִגְבֵּא מִן] צִלְמִי נַחְשָׁא אֲדִרְטִיָּא
 30 אַתְחֹזִי דִּי יִתְגַּבֵּא הֵיךְ [מִן נַח]שָׁא וִיְהוּא פִּרְעַ צִלְמִי
 31 בְּפִלְגוּתָא . . . וְצִלְמִין . . . מַעֲוֵן סַ עַל מִלְחָא
 32 קֶשׁ . . . [א]תְחֹזִי לִי דִּי בֹאֲתֵר דִּי דִמְסָא תְּהוּא

(the rule) in ¹⁸ other cities. ¹⁹ Camels, whether they be brought in laden or empty ²⁰ from without the borders, each camel is liable ²¹ for a denarius, as is in the law, and as ²² the excellent Corbulo established in the letter which he wrote to Barbarus ²³ about the camel-skins ? ? that they do not levy ²⁴ a tax. Herbs . . . it seemed good that they should ²⁵ pay the ta[x], because they are an article of merchandise. ²⁶ The tax of female slaves, as I clearly (?) explained the law, ²⁷ the said tax-collector shall le[vy the t]ax from female slaves who take a denarius ²⁸ or more, for (each) wo[man a denari]us, and if she take less, ²⁹ what she has taken [he shall levy. From] images of bronze, statues, ³⁰ it seemed good that (the tax) be levied as [from bron]ze, and the image shall pay ³¹ half . . . and images . . . a load. For salt ³² . . . it seemed

- 33 מתוכנא באתר די מתכנשין ומן מן ת[גרא]
 34 יובן לחש[בנ]ה יהוא יהב למדיא אסר איטלקא
 35 היך בנמוסא ואף מכסא [מ]לחא די יהוא
 36 בתרמר היך בה אפי אסר יהוא
 37 מתקבל ולמ[די]א יהוא מזבן היך עידא
 38 [מכ]סא די ארגונא ברילדי
 39 ק ארבעא ופלג
 40 מלכין ת וחיסא
 41 ד די יהוא
 42 א יהוא מתנבא
 43 מכסא היך די נמ[וסא] על ס למעלן שלחא
 44 אסרין // אשכ [יג]בא ולממפקנא
 45 למעונא [כות א]ף הו ספון
 46 ענא ת . ו ה מן תחומא . פהן
 47 א מכסא חייב או הן לנו מן
 48 על מדינתא למגז מכס לא חייב
 49 מ [ת]נותא ומן די היך יהון הון

good to me that in the public place it be ³³ sold, in the place where they assemble; and whoever of the merchants ³⁴ shall buy (it) at its reckoning, he shall give for the modius an Italian assarius, ³⁵ as is in the law, and also the tax of (?) the salt which is ³⁶ in Tadmor, as . . . by the assarius it shall be ³⁷ admitted, and by the mo[di]us it shall be sold, according to custom ³⁸ . . . the [ta]x on purple, because ³⁹ . . . four and a half . . . ⁴⁰ . . . kings (?) . . . ? ⁴¹ . . . which shall be ⁴² . . . shall be levied, ⁴³ the tax as the law . . . For import, skins (?) ⁴⁴ 2 assarii . . . [he shall l]evy, and for export ⁴⁵ ? . . . [as al]so they have agreed. ⁴⁶ Sheep (?) . . . from the borders . . . ⁴⁷ . . . the tax is liable, or if below ⁴⁸ . . . the city, to shear, a tax is not liable ⁴⁹ . . . the shop and because, as they shall

..... מכסא א היך בנמוסא דנר ... א ... נא
 מכסא לא יהוא מתגבא אלא ל. נ די יהוא מתאעל
 [תד]מר אן יצבא מכסא יהוא

be (?) ⁵⁰ ... the tax ... as in the law a denarius ... the tax shall not be levied except ... shall be brought in ... [Tad]mor, if he wish, the tax shall be.

The most valuable commentaries on this inscription are those of Reckendorf, *ZDMG* xlii (1888) 370-415, and of Dessau, *Hermes* xix (1884) 486-533 (Gk. text). With this Tariff are to be compared the Gk. Tariff of Coptos A. D. 90, Hogarth in Flinders Petrie *Koptos* (1896) 27 ff., and the Lat. Tariff of Zarai, CIL viii 4508. The T. of Palmyra is that of a local *octroi*, the T. of Zarai refers to an imperial *douane* at the port, the T. of Coptos is distinct from both.

i.

L. 1. דנפא די בולא The Senate promulgates this important decree (*δόγμα*) on its own account, without reference to Rome. The earlier tariff, however, of which this is only a readjustment, was in all essentials drawn up by the Roman authorities, see ii b 12. 15; c. 5. 22. פלחודין The office of *πρόεδρος*; ל is written instead of ר especially after ב, cf. the Talm. פרהודין and פרהודין *προέδριον*, פלמדין *πραιτώριον* &c.

L. 2. נרמטא The office of *γραμματεὺς*, נרמטא 122 2 n. אלכסדרס with נ assimilated, cf. 146 4 n., but without the assimilation in 121 3; cf. סקלמדיא Vog. 21, but סנק' 125 2. ארכונא *ἀρχοντες*, probably the same as *στρατηγοί* in 3rd cent. inscr. ; see 121 2 n.

L. 3. עלי *Ὀλαιοῦς* (gen.) = *عَلِيّ*. 132 1 n. כד חות ונ' *βουλῆς νομίμου ἀγουμενῆς*. For נמוסא cf. עידא *by custom* l. 5 &c. The vowel of the first syllable of נמוסא coming before the δ was prob. ε, as in Gk.; but in Syr. *ܢܡܘܣܐ*, in Arab. *كأوس*. אשורח ii c 21, Afel of שרר, Syr. *ܫܪܪ* lit. *firmum fecit*.

L. 4. מדי ii c 7. 27, א מא a 14, in Bibl. Aram. 2 28 &c., Talm. ד מה. 110 4 n. נרמטא *ἐν τοῖς πάλαι χρόνοις*. מה ד *χρόνος* is mas., but *ἡ πλειστάκις* l. 6 is fem., 121 5 n. Distinguish between נרמטא *tax*, cf. סקס Num. 31 28, and נרמטא *tax-collector* l. 6 &c. עבדתא Plur. of עבדתא 96 7, here in the sense of *articles* i.e. of merchandise. שניאן Cf. 121 5 סניאן and שניאן. The adjunct. absol. governing the accus., as often in Syr.; cf. פלמדין *פלאים* Deut. 6 11.

Gr. § 151). The δεκάπρωτοι *decemprimi* were specially concerned with the revenue.

L. 8. Af. impf. of בין, i. e. יְבִינָן lit. *cause to understand*. כְּפִס Af. ptc. pass., rather than a ptc. Hofal, τὰ μὴ ἀνελημμένα; the pass. ptc. (כְּפִיל) in the Aram. dialects is frequently used of past time, especially in Syr. and in the Talm., e. g. כְּפִיל גָּלְגַּלְתָּ: Nöld. *Syr. Gr.* § 278 a, Dalman *Gr.* 231. Other instances of the pass. ptc. in the Tariff are כְּכַסֵּל (not כְּכַסֵּל) l. 10. כְּאָסֶס (not כְּאָסֶס) ii c 12. נְבִי l. 13. נְבִי ii c 7. וּכְתַב The pass. of the tenses is normally expressed by the reflexive stems in the Aram. dialects, hence we should prob. point וְכָתַב Ethpeel (cf. וְכָתַב l. 5), and, with the same assimilation of ח (ד), וְכָתַב Ethpa. ii a 4 &c., וְכָתַב (or וְכָתַב Pael ptc. pass.) ii c 37 (cf. מְכַתְּבָא ii c 33); see Duval *Rev. Ét. Juiv.* viii 57–63. Others, however, such as Sachau *ZDMG* xxxvii 562 ff., Wright *Comp. Gr.* 225, regard וּכְתַב and the ptcps. in the note preceding as Hofal or Pual forms, וְכָתַב &c., on the analogy of Hofal forms in Bibl. Aram., e. g. וְכָתַב דָּנִיֵּל Dan. 4 33 &c. But, as Duval points out, these forms are artificially modelled upon the Hebrew, and prob. were never used in actual speech, certainly not in the vulgar dialect of Palmyra. Moreover in Bibl. Aram. these forms were only used for the *Perf.* 3 pers.; for the impf. and for the other persons the reflexive is employed to express the passive. Duval further tries to explain וְכָתַב and כְּתַב l. 9 as passives, but in spite of the difficulty of the construction it is better to treat them as actives. וְכָתַב וְכָתַב l. 5 n. 84 3 n. לְמַדְעָמָא לְמַדְעָמָא ἰδαι; see 75 2 n.

L. 9. וְכָתַב וְכָתַב וְכָתַב וְכָתַב The Gk. has καὶ ἐπειδὴ κυρωθῆναι τὸ μισθομῆναι, ἐνταφῆναι. This, however, is not the strict meaning of the Palm. וְכָתַב may = *when*, e. g. ii c 12, like the Syr. ܩܠܝܢ *whenever*, but elsewhere it = *that which*, e. g. l. 4. The two verbs must be taken as active, וְכָתַב Afel of וְכָתַב (not Ofal, see above), and since וְכָתַב cannot be pronounced as Ethpeel, it must be Peal; the verbs may be either 3 plur. defectively written (118 3 n.), or 3 sing. with 'the Council' understood as the subject. The perf. וְכָתַב cannot = *and that they should write*; this would require וְכָתַב וְכָתַב; the latter is read by Bevan, correcting the text, *Daniel* 215. וְכָתַב Lit. *a round*, so generally of drafted stone, e. g. וְכָתַב Ezr. 5 8. 6 4; the Gk. has στρογγύλη.

L. 10. וְכָתַב ἰσοῦ. רַב אֲסִירָא 'Παῖσις, apparently a divine name (p. 198). Both the Palm. and the Gk. texts imply that the new tariff was to be exhibited not merely in the same place but on the same stone as the old. Hence it ought to be possible to compare the new with the old, point by point; but the fragmentary state of

both texts renders this difficult, the more so as we cannot tell for certain where the new ends and the old begins. The new code appears to extend from ii a 1 to ii b 12; it is not unlikely, as Reckendorf argues, that the old code begins at ii b 13, which R. restores תרמר רי סכ[א רי תרמר]; references to it are found in ii b 15. 28. 37. 49. c 1 f. 19 ff. The following table gives such comparisons as can be made out:

| Old Tariff | New Tariff |
|--------------------|--------------|
| Slaves ii b 30-36. | ii a 1-5. |
| Sweet-oil b 48-49. | a 12-21. 45. |
| Victuals c 10-14. | b 9-10. |
| Camels c 19-22. | b 11. |
| Women c 26-29. | a 46-b 2. |
| Purple c 38. | a 10. |

לכבש Pael ptc. pass., ἐπιμελείσθαι τοὺς ἀρχοντας. The ptc. is used impersonally with \ and pers. pron. in the sense *it concerns*, \ חַבֵּי; this construction is frequent in Aram. רי הן The ptc. used of the future. כַּלְכֵּי וְכַן Cf. Jn. 5 4 וְכַלְכֵּי.

L. 11. סודקא סודקא. For the assimilation of נ cf. 146 4 n. נבא Peal ptc.

L. 12. טען גֹּמוֹס, a *qafāl* form like לַחֲשֹׁא; in Syr. חַבֵּי load, freight, Targ. טענא. קרם καρρικὸς = *carrus*. טענא Here an adj.; in Syr. ? חַבֵּי = *whosoever, as often as*; in Palest. Aram. כלום = טח כל *something, anything*, in questions and after negatives, Dalman *Gr.* 90. טענא A camel-load = about 6 cwt.

L. 13. נבא Peal ptc. pass., ii c 7 וְכַן, cf. in Bibl. Aram. נבא Dan. 2 30. טענא Ezr. 4 18.

ii.

חַבֵּי, λιμένα accus. of λιμὴν *portus*, 'custom-house.' חַבֵּי See p. 263 and 146 3 n.

a.

L. 1. טענא Afel ptc. plur. constr. from טענא *enter*, in the Tariff with the meaning *to import*, εἰσάγειν, εἰσκομίζειν, as opposed to טענא Afel from טענא, *to export*, ἐκκομίζειν. טענא Lit. *youths*, i.e. slaves, παῖδας, cf. טענא 1 S. 20 22; Targ. טענא, fem. טענא; Syr. חַבֵּי, חַבֵּי. The fem. plur. טענא ii c 26 = *harlots*. טענא Ettafal ptc.

L. 2. טענא Plur. with suff., ii b 14. 31, τὰ ὄρια; sing. טענא. טענא 1 S. 20 22, plur. ii b 30 וְכַן = Arab. رَجُلٌ *a man*; ἐκάστων

L. 32. The odd numbers in the foregoing lines (13-32), 26, 13, 7, imply that 1 denarius was charged on the beast (see ii c 21), and 24, 12, 6 on the freight. In the Rom. imperial tariff (Zarai, see p. 332) beasts were not taxed, 'pecora in nundinium immunia.'

L. 33. מלחיא or נחיא Cf. Neh. 13 16 נחיא . . סביאם דאנ . . ונחיא ונחיא.

L. 41. מלחיא (Schröder), Syr. ܡܠܚܝܐ, Targ. מלחיא, Arab. ܡܠܚܝܐ.

L. 46. מלחיא l. 47, cf. ii c 26-29. מלחיא, מלחיא, is the form in the Targ., = מלחיא; the vowel of the 1st syllable is short, in spite of the vowel letter. Elsewhere in Palm. the form is מלחיא *his wife*, e. g. Vog. 33 a. The women here referred to are *εταῖραι*; for references to their taxation in antiquity see Dessau 517, and cf. in the tariff of Coptos ll. 19 f. Γυναικῶν πρὸς ἐταιρισμὸν δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν δακτῶ (see p. 332).

L. 47. מלחיא ii c 3 &c. 115 3. The transcription רינר (only here) is exceptional.

L. 48. מלחיא Fem. with the mas. מלחיא.

ii b.

L. 3. חנות The reading in l. 5 is certain, lit. *a vaulted room*; cf. Hebr. חנות *cell*, in plur. Jer. 37 16, and Syr. ܡܢܬܐ = Hebr. חנות 2 K. 23 11; generally *a shop, bazaar*, sometimes (e. g. Jer. 37 16 Aq.) as here = *εργαστήριον* iii b 32. 35. מלחיא παντοπωλείων σκυτικῶν (*shoemakers*) iii b 33; the Aram. equivalent of the latter word is lost. For 'מלחיא see 146 4 n.

L. 6. ܡܠܚܝܐ Reflexive, i 8 n., the same form as ܡܠܚܝܐ.

L. 7. מלחיא Perhaps to be restored מלחיא [ח] *ματισσῶλαι* iii b 38; מלחיא is a possible reading. מלחיא ܡܠܚܝܐ *μεταβόλοι*, lit. *who change*, i. e. trade. מלחיא c 19 = מלחיא c 49 = מלחיא 76 D 3. מלחיא Lit. *they shall be unsteadiness* (i. e. *unsteady*) in taxation, i. e. *their tax shall be undetermined*, the noun (Syr. ܡܠܚܝܐ) in appos. instead of an adj.; cf. the Hebr. idiom, Driver *Tenses* § 189. 2. The Gk. has τὸ ἱκανὸν τ[ῶν] iii b 39.

L. 8. מלחיא Targ. מלחיא, Syr. ܡܠܚܝܐ. [ח] must be taken as a sing. = מלחיא; there is not room, according to Reckendorf, for the restoration [ח] l. 13. The amount of the tax obviously implies more than a single use of the wells; the Gk. has *χρήσεις πηγῶν β' ἑκάστου ἔτους* * ω' (i. e. 800 denarii) iii b 40. Palmyra was renowned for its supply of water; thus Pliny 5 21 'Palmyra urbs nobilis situ divitiis soli et aquis amoenis.'

the fir-cone is still esteemed in Syria as an article of food. The 'similar' fruits would prob. be nuts and almonds.

L. 16. ^{לל} For the uncontracted form cf. ^{לל} Dan. 4 4 &c. Kt., ^{לל} Qeri. ^{לל} Dan. 4 9; similarly in Talm. ^{לל} &c., Dalman Gr. 274. This form is specially common in the case of ^{לל}. ^{לל} Lit. *everything that enters into the reckoning of the merchants*, *δσα εἰς ἐμπορίαν φέρεται* iv a 52.

L. 17. ^{לל} Syr. ^{לל}, *ἐξήροφορον*; cf. ii a 6.

L. 19. ^{לל} See ii b 11 n.

L. 22. ^{לל} The famous Gnaeus Domitius Corbulo, consular legate of Cappadocia and afterwards of Syria A. D. 57-66, in the reign of Nero. ^{לל} = *κράτιστος* as a title.

L. 23. ^{לל} Syr. ^{לל}, Arab. ^{لجل} *skin*, once in Hebr., Job 16 15; perhaps the camel-hides used for packing merchandise. ^{לל} . . . ^{לל} Prob. ^{לל} intervened, as ^{לל} implies; cf. l. 31 f.

L. 24. Reckendorf proposes ^{לל} ^{לל} ^{לל} *herbs of the physicians*; cf. *Baba Bath.* 74 b ^{לל} *that herb serves for plaisters*.

L. 26. ^{לל} *ταρῶν* iv b 5; cf. ii a 46-b 2. ^{לל} Perhaps an error for ^{לל}. ^{לל} Nöld. conjectures ^{לל} Afel ptc. *showing*, as a correction.

L. 29. ^{לל} *ἀνδράνες*, Syr. ^{לל}, Targ. ^{לל} *idol*. The word here is a further description of ^{לל}.

L. 31. ^{לל} l. 39. The word is perhaps incomplete; ? ^{לל} for ^{לל}.

L. 34. ^{לל} *The price seems too small*; perhaps it is the amount of the tax, not the cost of a bushel of salt.

L. 35. ^{לל} Ptcp. fem.

L. 38. ^{לל} See a 10.

L. 43. ^{לל} The rendering is uncertain, *honey-comb* or *skin*—the Syr. ^{לל} has both meanings; or *weapons*, Targ. ^{לל}, Arab. ^{لجل}, Hebr. ^{לל}.

JEWISH

148 A. Benê Hēzîr. Chwolson 6. Circ. i cent. B.C. In situ.

- 1 זה קבר והמש[כ]ב לאלעזר חניה יעזר יהודה שמע[ן] יוחנן
 2 בני ים ב ואלעזר בני חניה
 3 . . . מבני חזיר

This is the tomb and resting-place of Eli'azar, Hānniah, Yō'azar, Yehudah, Simeon, Yōḥanan, sons of and Eli'azar, sons of Hānniah . . . of the sons of Hēzîr.

This inscr. is written over the entrance of the so-called Tomb of St. James at the foot of the Mt. of Olives, opposite the SE. angle of the Temple-area. The writing exhibits a form of Hebrew which is advancing towards the square character. Thus א, ה, ל, ע, ר are very near to their later forms; ב, ד, ז, ט still resemble the Nab. and Palm. types; ו and י are indistinguishable; נ has a final form, and when י follows joins on to it with a ligature; in the case of בני all three letters are thus united; cf. the use of the ligature in Palm. The form of י is peculiar, י; this is different from the Nab. and Palm. forms, and resembles the archaic י, without the two lower strokes. A somewhat similar י appears in Jewish ossuaria. Facsimiles of this and the following inscr. are given by Driver *Samuel* xxiii and xxv.

L. 1. Chwolson, *Corp. Inscr. Hebr.* 66, supplies the art. before קבר, following de Vogüé; the facsimile shows no trace of it. If the art. is written with כסכב, as appears to be the case in spite of Lidzb.'s text (p. 485), it is required with קבר. The reading כסכב is not quite certain; the last letter looks more like ד or ר than כ; for the word see 4 8 n.

L. 2. Chwolson reads [וליו]סף . . . ב . . . בני יוסף בן. But יוסף is very doubtful; the fifth letter may be ס, it is certainly not י.

L. 3. בני חזיר In 1 Chr. 24 15 חזיר is the ancestor of a priestly family, in Neh. 10 21 חזיר is one of the ראשי העם. It is not unlikely that the persons mentioned in the inscr. belonged to the priestly family of Hēzîr; de Vogüé conjectures further that Simeon, Yō'azar, and Eli'azar were the high-priests of the same names, belonging to the family of Boethos, who held office in B.C. 24-5, 4, and 4 ff., respectively

(Schürer *Gesch.* ii 217). The tomb is an imposing one, with an architectural façade in the Gk. style. It may be dated in the 1st cent. B.C. or A.D.; most probably it was executed in the reign of Herod the Gt. It cannot be later than A.D. 70, for a tomb on such a scale could not have been designed after the destruction of Jerusalem. The evidence of the writing is not decisive, but Meyer considers that it points to a date earlier than the 1st cent. B.C., *Entsteh. d. Judenth.* 143.

B. Kefr Bir'im. Chwolson 17. ii or iii cent. A.D. In situ.

יהי שלום במקום הזה ובכל מקומות ישראל יוסה הלוי בן
לוי עשה השקוף הזה תבא ברכה במעיוש.

Peace be upon this place and upon all the places of Israel!
Yōseh the Levite, son of Levi, made this lintel. May a blessing come upon his works!

This inscr. is written over the door of a ruined synagogue at Kefr Bir'im, a village near Safed in Galilee. The writing has a more finished and formed character than that of A; it is obviously later. The architectural style of the ruins perhaps belongs to the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. A.D. (Renan); Lidzb., however, suggests the 4th cent. (*Jewish Ency.* i 444). The \aleph has a form which is characteristic of later inscrr., with the left limb descending perpendicularly. The \daleth and $\dot{\daleth}$ are mere strokes, and only differ in the slight slope of \daleth to the left. The $\dot{\daleth}$ has a short stroke to the right, \wedge ; δ takes a final form \daleth . It is to be noticed that the *scriptio plena* is employed throughout.

יוסח This form, a diminutive of יוסף, occurs in the recently discovered Hebr. mosaic at Kefr Kenna in Galilee, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 314; it appears also in the Jer. Talm. יוסח and יוסא, otherwise usually יוסי; in the Bab. Talm. יוסף. The form seems to be Palestinian. שקוף = the O.T. משקוף Ex. 12 7. 22 f. מעיוש The stone-cutter left out the ψ after γ and then added it to the end of the word. After ψ is a perpendicular stroke, the meaning of which is not evident.

ARAMAIC, PHOENICIAN, AND JEWISH COINS

149 A 1-6. Aramaic Coins: Tarsus. iv cent. B. C. Brit. Mus.
Plate IX A 1-6.

The coins nos. 1-6 were struck in Cilicia. The legend בעלתרן connects them with Tarsus, the most important city of the province, and under the Persian empire a great military and naval depot. This money was issued by Persian satraps, not as governors for the use of their provinces, but as military commanders for the payment of their troops when occasion required. Thus, for example, after the occupation of Cyzicus in 410, Pharnabazus gave his soldiers two months' pay and large sums to the chiefs of the allied fleet (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 24-26). Besides the satraps on special occasions, various towns and petty dynasties who acknowledged the suzerainty of Persia, all of them, it is to be noticed, near the shores of the Mediterranean, were allowed to coin money of their own (e.g. B 1-3. 5-7. 9. 10. 13); and this local money was current simultaneously with the imperial coinage. See Babelon *Pers. Ach.* xxii f.

A 1.

Tarsus.

Obv. בעלתרן *Ba'al of Tarsus.* Type: the god seated on the diphros, wearing the himation over the left shoulder and about the lower limbs, his right hand resting on a sceptre: linear circle.

Rev. כלך פרנבז *Cilicia, Pharnabazus.* Type: a bearded male head wearing a crested Athenian helmet, perhaps the head of Ares: linear circle. Persian stater. Hill *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Gk. coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* (1900), p. 165, no. 21; Babelon *PA* no. 169.

For the term בעלתרן see § 18 n. Pharnabazus belonged to an Iranian family which was closely connected with Hellespontine Phrygia, and produced the satraps who governed this province; he succeeded his father Pharnacus in 413 B. C. Outside his own province, in Cilicia, he conducted military operations at three periods, B. C. 398-394, 391-389, 379-374, to the last of which his coins are generally assigned. After years of preparation (391-389), the expedition against Egypt took place; Pharnabazus had for his colleague in the

command Datames (nos. 2-4), who afterwards succeeded him, and this association accounts for the close similarity between the coins of the two satraps. Pharnabazus appears to have introduced the remarkable types of the heads of Ares (?) and Arethusa (no. 2). מִרְנָבוּ is a Persian name, cf. מִרְיָבוּ (Hill l.c. 164, no. 12); the final ף is explained by Marquart, *Philologus* liv 494 Anm. 35, as the vulgar-Persian ending of the genitive from which the normal f has fallen away, *Farnabāsō* being = *Frana(h)bāsauf*. Instead of כֹּלֶךְ some of the coins have חֹלֶךְ (never on the coins of Datames); for the interchange of כ and ח cf. מִנְכִּי and מִחְנִי, מִרְיָץ and מִרְיָץ, &c. (König *Lehrg.* ii 458).

The Carpentras stele 75 affords the nearest parallel to the Aram. characters on coins 1-6.

Tarsus.

A 2.

℞. Obv. Type: head of Arethusa with streaming hair and fillet, wearing earrings and necklace: circle of dots.

Rev. מִרְדָּמוּ *Tardamu*. Type: as no. 1, with circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 167, no. 30; *PA* no. 183.

The *obv.* type is found also on coins of Pharnabazus; it was copied from the famous Arethusa coins of Kimon of Syracuse (see Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* 106 f.). The reading of the satrap's name is not certain, owing to the similarity of ד and ר; it may be מִרְדָּמוּ or מִרְדָּמוּ. The satrap belonged to a Karian family, and *Tardamū* was probably the original form of his name in Karian, with the ending *amū* as in Παναμύης, Ἐξαμύης; the Gk. form Δατάμης, well known from the historians, probably represents the Iranian pronunciation of the name (Marquart l.c. 493)¹. Datames succeeded (circ. 386) his father Kamissares in the satrapy which comprised 'partem Ciliciae juxta Cappadociam quam incolunt Leucosyri' (Corn. Nep. *Dat.* i, corrected by Meyer to 'partem Cappadociae juxta Ciliciam,' *PA* xxxix). His coins were struck in Cilicia in 378, under the same circumstances and in the same mints as those of Pharnabazus, at the time when the troops of the Great King were being equipped for the expedition against Egypt. Datames succeeded Pharnabazus in the command of this war. In 369 he laid siege to Sinope, and struck coins of Sinopean type with the legend ΔΑΤΑΜΑ (*PA* no. 200; Bevan *House of Seleucus* i 80. 82). After taking part in the great revolt of the satraps in 362, he was assassinated towards the close of the same year.

¹ For other explanations see Hill l.c. lxxix; Babelon *PA* xxxviii.

Tarsus.

A 3.

R. Obs. בעלתרין Type: Ba'al of Tarsus seated on the diphros to right, wearing the himation about the lower limbs; his right hand holds a sceptre surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, his left an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes; beside him is the thymiaterion; below the diphros a lotus flower: the whole enclosed by a circle with projections.

Rev. תרדמו Type: the satrap Tardamu wearing the Persian head-dress, an under-garment with sleeves, a cloak, and Persian trousers; on his knees is a quiver; he holds in both hands an arrow, which he examines; before him is a bow, and in the field above the winged disk of Ormuzd: circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 167, no. 32; *PA* no. 187.

The *obs.* type is meant to suggest that the god is seated in his temple, the projections round the circle being intended to represent columns. The *rev.* type indicates that the satrap is preparing for the campaign against Egypt.

Tarsus.

A 4.

R. Obs. בעלתרין Type: as in 3, but the face and upper part of the body are turned to the front, and the diphros is seen in three-quarters view: circle as in 3.

Rev. תרדמו Type: the satrap Tardamu on the right, with his name in front, wearing a long chiton and himation, his right hand raised before his face in the attitude of adoration. On the left the figure of Ana, his right hand pointed towards Tardamu, the left lowered; the name אַנָּא, not visible in this specimen, is usually written behind; between them the thymiaterion: the whole enclosed by a linear square, bordered with dots on the top and two sides, with antefixa along the top. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 168, no. 35; *PA* no. 193.

The *rev.* type is variously interpreted. The two figures are evidently in a temple; Babelon takes them to be two deities, Ba'al of Tarsus on the right, Ana on the left. But the figure on the right is represented in the act of adoration, like Yehaw-milk in 3, and the name in front seems to signify that this is the satrap (Hill l.c. lxxx). Nothing is known of the god אַנָּא; it is not probable that he is the Assyr. Anu.

Tarsus.

A 5.

R. Obv. בעלתרן Type: as in 1, but here the god holds in his right hand an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes, his left rests upon a lotus-headed sceptre; under the diphros the ringed cross.

Rev. מזדאי Masdai. Type: lion attacking stag; the whole within a sunken square. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 169, no. 38; PA no. 201.

The *rev.* type is borrowed from Cyprus; it was the regular emblem of Kition (B 2. 3. 5. 6), and was probably adopted by Mazaeus at the time of the expedition which aimed at restoring Evagoras ii to the throne of Salamis (Diod. xvi 42), and probably used Kition as a convenient basis of operations (Hill l.c. lxxxii). Although Mazaeus is not mentioned in connexion with this war, yet he may have directed it and supplied the funds, for Cyprus belonged to the same satrapy as Phoenicia, where he was engaged in putting down a rebellion. It is to be noticed that the sunken square is also characteristic of the coinage of Cyprus, cf. B 1-7. Mazaeus was the greatest of the western satraps; he governed Cilicia from 361 to 333, and united under his rule Cilicia, Syria and Mesopotamia. The disastrous battle of Arbela, which gave to Alexander the empire of the Persian kings, only brought Mazaeus fresh advancement; he threw himself into Babylon with the wreck of his forces, and upon Alexander's approach surrendered the city (330); he was rewarded with the satrapy of Babylonia, and died in 328; see Bevan l.c. 245. The coins of Mazaeus, classified by Six in the *Numism. Chron.* (1884) *Le satrape Masaios*, are numerous and varied; for 30 years he issued money in Cilicia, and concurrently in Syria for 15 years under the Persian king, and for 3 years in Babylon under Alexander the Great.

Tarsus.

A 6.

R. Obv. בעלתרן Type: Ba'al of Tarsus as in 1, holding a lotus-headed sceptre in his right hand; in the field to left an ear of corn and a bunch of grapes, and the letter נ; under the diphros the letter ט: circle of dots.

Rev. מזדאי זי על עברנהרא חלק Masdai who is over the Country beyond the River and Cilicia. Type: two lines of walls, each with four towers one above the other; above a lion bringing down a bull: circle of dots. Persian stater. Hill l.c. 170, no. 48; PA no. 238.

The letter ט under the diphros has been explained as the initial of סלך; perhaps it merely indicates 'a moneyer or other subordinate of Mazaeus' (Hill lxxxiv). The letter נ may be a mint-mark. The *rev.* type of the lion and bull is an emblem of Tarsus; the walls below probably represent the fortifications of the city, rather than the Cilician Gates (Six, Babelon); they suggest an enclosure rather than a passage. The form of the relat. י occurs in the Cilician inscr. 68; see also p. 185. The 'Country beyond the River' (i. e. Euphrates) was N. Syria, the term being used from the standpoint not of Cilicia but of Persia, as עבר הנהר in Neh. 2 7. 9. 3 7. Ezr. 8 36, עבר נהר, Ezr. 4 10. 5 3 &c. Cf. 7 1 n., and for חלך see no. 1 n.

149 B 1-15. Phoenician Coins. v-ii cent. B. C. Brit. Mus., and Bibl. Nat., Paris. Plate IX B 1-15.

Cyprus, Kition.

B 1.

R. Rev. לבעלמלך (*Coin*) of *Ba'al-milk*. Type: lion seated, with open jaws; the whole within a sunken square bordered with dots. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. Cf. *PA* no. 647 (a tetrobol).

The reign of Ba'al-milk i is to be placed between the defeat of Xerxes in B. C. 479 and the occupation of Kition by the Athenians in 449. In the disaster of 479 the Persian fleet almost entirely perished, and with it the princes of Cyprus and Phoenicia; hence Xerxes found it necessary to send for the Tyrian Ba'al-milk to become king of Kition and found a new dynasty. The Tyrian origin of Ba'al-milk is shown by the type which he introduced upon his coinage, the figure of the Tyrian Herakles (Melqarth), as on the *obv.* of this coin; cf. B 4-6.

Kition.

B 2.

R. Rev. לעובעל Of *'Az-ba'al*. Type: lion devouring a stag; border and square as 1. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 670.

After the brief occupation of Kition by Kimon in 449 B. C., the Athenians evacuated the city, and 'Az-ba'al succeeded his father Ba'al-milk i as king from 449 to 425. His coins bear the Tyrian Herakles on the *obv.* (see B 1); but on the *rev.* a new type appears, the lion devouring the stag, an emblem of the Persian triumph over the Athenians. 'Az-ba'al was the first to style himself 'king of Kition and Idalion.'

Kition.

B 3.

R. Rev. לבעלמלך *Of Ba'al-milk.* Type: as B 2. Persian stater:
Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 679.

Ba'al-milk ii was the son and successor of 'Az-ba'al; he reigned
from B. C. 425 to 400.

Kition.

B 4.

R. Rev. [ל]מלך דמכּו *Of king Demonicus.* Type: the bearded
Herakles, with lion-skin on shoulders, marching to right;
his left hand holds in front of him a bow, his right
brandishes a club; sunken square. Persian stater:
Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 695.

Demonicus reigned at Kition from B. C. 388 to 387. He owed his
position to the protection of Athens; and the fact that the Athenian
domination in Kition did not last longer than the expedition of
Chabrias in 388 accounts for the shortness of his reign. Demonicus
himself was an Athenian, and the influence of Athens appears on his
coins. They are the work of Greek, not oriental, engravers, hence
the figure of Herakles differs noticeably from the figure on the coins
of the native dynasty (cf. B 5. 6); the *obv.* type is a reproduction of
the statue of Athene Promachos, erected on the Acropolis after
Marathon to express defiance of the Persians; and on some of his
coins Demonicus uses the Gk. language, the only king of Kition to
do so. דמכּו = Δημόνικος; the omission of ν is due either to accident
or to the difficulty of transcribing a foreign name.

Kition.

B 5.

A. Obv. Type: the bearded Herakles, wearing a lion-skin on his
head; his left hand, covered with another lion-skin, holds
a bow in front, his right brandishes a club above his head;
in the field the ringed cross: circle of dots.

Rev. [ל]מלך מלכיתן *Of king Milk-yathon.* Type: lion devouring
stag; sunken square with border of dots. Hemi-stater:
Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 699.

Milk-yathon, king of Kition and Idalion (12-14. 26. 30), was the
son of Ba'al-ram (23-25), and reigned from B. C. 392 to 361. In the
series of inscrs. which refer to him a break occurs in the 4th year of
his reign, i. e. 388, the date of the Athenian investment and the
usurpation of Demonicus. When the Athenians abandoned Kition,
Milk-yathon was restored by the Persians. He was the first king of
Kition to mint gold coins.

Kition.

B 6.

Æ. Obv. Type : as B 5.*Rev.* [למלך פמי] *Of king Pumi-[yathon]*. Type : as B 5; in the field to right *Ν Ν* (i.e. year 40). Hemi-stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 722.

Pumi-yathon, king of Kition, Idalion, and Tamassos (12. 13. 26), was the son and successor of Milk-yathon. He reigned from B. C. 361-312, for at least 47 years; see p. 56.

Lapēthos.

B 7.

Æ. Obv. [לצדקסל] *Of Sidqi-milk*. Type: head of Athene to left, wearing Corinthian helmet and earrings, her hair arranged symmetrically down her neck.*Rev.* [לצדקסל] Type: head of Athene to front, wearing close-fitting helmet ornamented with two bull's ears and two cristae; her hair arranged symmetrically on each side of her head; a necklace round her throat; the whole within a sunken square. Persian stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 783.

Sidqi-milk (cf. O.T. מִלְכִּי צִדְקִי, Sab. לַצִּדְקִי Hal. 193 1, Hommel *Süd-Ar. Chr.* 106), king of Lapēthos, reigned from about B. C. 449 to 420. He began to reign after the departure of the Athenians in 449 (see on B 1 and 2), when the Persians recovered possession of the island. The helmet of Athene in *rev.* recalls Herodotus' description of the armour of the Chalybians in the host of Xerxes, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κράνεα χάλκεα· πρὸς δὲ τοῖσι κράνεσι, ὠτά τε καὶ κέρα προσῆν βοῶς χάλκεα· ἐπῆσαν δὲ καὶ λόφοι vii 76.

B 8.

Laodicea of Libanus.

Æ. Rev. On the right ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, on the left [ללארמא אש כנען] *Of Laodicea which is in Canaan*. Type: Poseidon facing, half naked, wearing the chlamys, his right hand holding a patera, his left leaning on the trident; in the field to left ΛΑ, on the right a mint-mark. Chalkous (= $\frac{1}{8}$ of an obol): Bibl. Nat. Babelon *Rois de Syrie* no. 660.

The *obv.* has the bust of Antiochus crowned with a diadem. Λαοδίκεια ἡ πρὸς Λιβάνῳ (Strabo 643 ed. Müll.), so called to distinguish it from Λαοδίκεια ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσει, was an important city of Coele-Syria, founded by Seleucus Nicator on the plain SE. of

Hemesa in the region of the upper Orontes. The coin bears the name of Antiochus iv Epiphanes, B. C. 175-164. For the reading אש instead of אם (Babelon) see p. 46 n. 3; the title אם *metropolis*, lit. *mother*, occurs on coins of Sidon, e. g. B 16, and of Tyre אם צידנא *RS* p. 86, but probably not on the coins either of Laodicea or of Berytus. It is interesting to find the biblical name כנען = Phoenicia on these coins, cf. Is. 23 11. Zeph. 1 11. Josh. 5 1 LXX &c.; it occurs besides only on the coins of Berytus which have the legend ללארנא *ללארנא* (p. 46 n. 3).

Byblus.

B 9.

Æ. Rev. $\text{גבל אֶל־פָּאֵל מלך}$ *El-pa'al king of Gebal*. Type: lion devouring bull, the body of the bull incused, the head in relief: circle of dots. Graeco-asiatic stater: Bibl. Nat. *PA* no. 1344.

Of the kings of Gebal under the Persian empire two, Yehaw-milk and Uri-milk, are mentioned in 3, but the exact date of their reigns is not known. The two later kings of Gebal, El-pa'al (cf. אֶל־פָּאֵל 1 Chr. 8 11 ff.) and 'Az-ba'al (B 10), whose coinage is illustrated here, were reigning probably in B. C. 360 and 340 respectively, at any rate shortly before the Greek conquest, for Alexander would not have allowed them to issue money in their own names. The type of the lion and bull is an acknowledgement of the Persian supremacy (cf. A 6).

Byblus.

B 10.

Æ. Rev. $\text{גבל אַז־בָּאֵל עובד מלך}$ *'Az-ba'al king of Gebal*. Type: lion devouring bull: circle of dots. Graeco-asiatic stater: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 1357.

See on B 9 above.

Byblus.

B 11.

Æ. Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (right) ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ (left). Type: the Phoen. Kronos (see p. 20) with six wings, standing to left, holding a sceptre in the right hand; on his head-dress a four-branched ornament (see Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 569); in the field above גבל *Of Gebal*, below קדש *the holy*: circle of dots. Chalkous: Bibl. Nat. *RS* no. 671.

The *obv.* has the bust of Antiochus crowned with a diadem. This is a specimen of the bronze coinage of Gebal under the Seleucids. The 'king' is Antiochus iv Epiphanes, 175-164 B. C. For the epithet *קדש* in connexion with Gebal see p. 21.

Tyre.

B 12.

R. Rev. Type: an owl, holding under its left wing the Egyptian crook and flail; in the field to right the number 35 (i. e. year): circle of dots. Attic didrachm: Brit. Mus. *PA* no. 2022.

The series of Tyrian coins of which this is a specimen reflects the disturbances of the period from B.C. 312 to 275. In 312 Tyre was taken from Antigonus by Ptolemy, the ally of Seleucus; coins were struck at once, and continued for 3 years (*PA* nos. 2007-2013). Then there comes a break for 20 years; in 287 Tyre passed into the hands of Seleucus; the period was too disturbed for the minting of money. Then the coins begin again in the 23rd year and continue till the 37th (*PA* 2014-2022; Cl.-Gan. *Ét.* i 59 f.). This brings us to 275, when Tyre was recaptured by Ptolemy ii Philad., and started a new era as an autonomous city (95 n.). Thus the years numbered on the coins are in fact the years of Ptolemy, beginning with his capture of the city in 312, and closing with his recapture of it in 275. The *rev.* type is noticeable: the owl is Greek, the crook and flail are Egyptian, the symbols of Osiris; the combination indicates the range of the mercantile relations of Tyre, and the influence of Athens and of Egypt upon the city. The *obv.* type, Melqarth riding on a sea-horse with a dolphin below, is a native emblem, symbolizing the claim of Tyre to the empire of the sea. A special interest attaches to the Tyrian coins of this size and value; they were used by the Jews, who had no coinage of their own, as 'the sacred shekel' for the payment of religious dues (Ex. 30 13. Lev. 5 15. 27 3. 25. Num. 7 13. 86 &c. P); it is expressly enjoined in the Talm. that these dues are to be paid in Tyrian money, e.g. B. *Bekoroth* 49 בולם בשקל הקדש במנה צורי כ. See Kennedy *DB* iii 422; cf. also 8 2 n.

B 13.

Sidon.

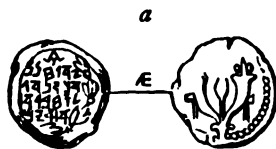
R. Obv. A Phoenician galley at sea, with oarsmen; in the field above ||| (i. e. year 3): circle of dots.

Rev. Type: the Persian king, Artaxerxes iii Ochus, in his chariot, driven by his charioteer, followed on foot by an attendant who holds in his right hand a sceptre terminating in an animal's head, and in his left an oinochoë; in the field above the letters עב: circle of dots. Quadruple Phoen. shekel: Brit. Mus. Cf. *PA* no. 1607 (12th year).

in the archaic character which had long ago fallen out of use, and given way to the square character developed in Aramaic. The writing varies so little during the 170 years that it affords no indication of date. The following forms of letters are characteristic of the coins:

נפפן, הַבַּ, הַבַּ, יִפְּ, יִפְּ, זֶ, קֶ.

In antiquity the right of coinage was the exclusive privilege of the sovereign power; it was a sure sign of rebellion if any subject state took upon itself to issue money. Under the Seleucid kings certain semi-independent towns were allowed to issue bronze pieces bearing the head of the king on one side and the name of the city on the other, e.g. B 8 and 11; and a privilege of the same kind was bestowed upon the Jewish state by Demetrius ii (145-138 B.C.), and afterwards confirmed to Simon the Maccabee by Antiochus vii Sidetes (138-129 B.C.): 'I give thee leave to coin money for thy country with thine own stamp' (ποιῆσαι νόμισμα ἰδίων νόμισμα τῆς χώρας σου) 1 Macc. 15 6. The concession implied that Judaea was recognized as a free state under the suzerainty of Syria. To what extent Simon availed himself of the privilege is not known, and it was soon withdrawn (1 Macc. 15 27). If he issued money at all it would have been in bronze, not in silver; but, according to the view adopted here, no coins, whether bronze or silver, can be assigned to him. His son and successor, John Hyrcanus (135-104 B.C.), was the first Jewish prince to issue money in his own name. The following is a specimen of his small bronze coins:



Obv. יהוחנן הכהן הנ[ר] ל[ר] חבר ה[י] הוויים A.

Rev. A double cornucopiae with a poppy head in the centre.

The A at the beginning of the legend is taken to be the initial of Alexander ii Zebina (128-122? B.C.), the nominal over-lord of Hyrcanus; it may indicate the alliance between the two in 128, Ἀλέξανδρος . . . φιλικῶς ποιεῖται πρὸς Ὑρκανὸν τὸν ἀρχιερέα Jos. *Ant.* xiii 9 3; possibly, however, it denotes the 'year 1' (Madden *Coins of the Jews* 81). The letter is not found on the later coins of Hyrcanus.

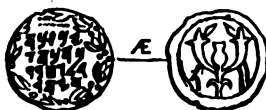
The two cornua-copiae he prob. adopted from Zebina, on whose coins they first appear. The official title of Hyrcanus is 'the high priest,' though in character he was more of a secular prince than a religious pontiff; the Jewish commonwealth regarded itself not as a kingdom but as a church, and the priest at the head of it was not an autocrat, but the chief of a community. The earlier coins of Hyrcanus are issued jointly by him and the community; his later coins, however, are issued in his name alone **רִאשׁ חֲבֵר הַיְּהוּדִים**. Nestle (*ZATW* 1895, 288–290) has suggested that **רִאשׁ חֲבֵר** = *ἡνάρχης*, used of Simon 1 Macc. 14 47. 15 1. 2, but without sufficient grounds. The precise meaning of **חֲבֵר וַיְהוּדִים** is disputed. In Hebr. **חֲבֵר** = *company, association*, Hos. 6 9 **חֲבֵר כְּחָנִים**. It is natural, therefore, to regard **חֲבֵר** as a corporation or college within the Jewish nation, the *γερονσία* or senate mentioned in 1 Macc. 12 6. Judith 4 8 &c.; so Madden 77, Wellhausen *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.*² 282 n. But it seems that the *γερονσία* (= the later Sanhedrin) was not of sufficient importance at this period to be named upon the coins. The Pun. **חֲבֵרִים**, referred to by Renan in this connexion, were not the senate but the *colleagues* of the suffetes, 42 2. 19. 55 4. The general opinion is that **חֲבֵר** = *the community of the Jews*, as similar or equivalent terms were in use, e. g. **חֲבֵר עִיר** *a city community* Mishnah *Berakoth* 30 a, **τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων** 1 Macc. 8 20, **τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἰ.** ib. 12 3; Reinach *Monnaies Juives* 23, Kennedy, art. Money *DB* iii, Schürer *Gesch.*³ i 269. Kennedy makes the attractive suggestion that **חֲבֵר** = **τὸ κοινόν**; the LXX renders **בֵּית חֲבֵר** Pr. 21 9 *ἐν οἴκῳ κοινῷ*, cf. 25 24, and elsewhere uses *κοινωνέω, κοινωνός* to render derivatives of **חֲבֵר**. The expression **τὸ κοινόν** has various meanings; thus in Jos. *Vita* 12. 49 &c. **τὸ κοινόν τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν** is apparently the executive authority of the *δῆμος*, = **τῶν Ἱερ. οἱ πρῶτοι** ib. 7; in classical Gk. **τὸ κοινόν** = *respublica*, and is often used of Gk. states or cities, e. g. **τὸ κ. τῶν Κρηταίων** Michel 439, **τὸ κ. τὸ Ταρμανῶν** ib. 1188–1190. We do not know enough of the constitution of the Jewish state at this time to determine exactly the relation between **τὸ κοινόν** and **חֲבֵר**.

The following are specimens of the coins of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.), whose long reign was marked by much violence and bloodshed, and by an increasing cleavage between the adherents of the Maccabees and the party, including the Pharisees, which cherished the traditional ideals of Judaism. The high-priesthood in the person of Alexander became thoroughly secularized. His Jewish name Jannaeus, Talm. **יַנְיָא** i. e. **יַנִּי**, is contracted from **יַנְיָאן**, **יַנְיָאן**.

δ 

Obv. יתנתן חמלך Type: a half-opened flower.

Rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ round a circle. Type: an anchor with two cross-timbers.

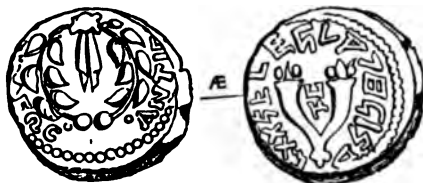
 ϵ 

Obv. [יתן הכהן הנזל חבר היהודים] within a wreath.

Rev. Double cornucopiae with a poppy head in the centre.

Jannaeus issued a double series of coins, regal and pontifical. The interest of the regal series (δ) lies in the appearance of חמלך for the first time on Jewish coins, and in the use of the Gk. legend on the reverse. The adoption of these novelties was probably one of the causes which led to a breach with the Pharisees. The anchor on δ , and the double cornucopiae on the pontifical coins ϵ , are borrowed from the Seleucid kings, and illustrate the continued influence of their coinage.

The following is a specimen of the coins of Antigonus-Mattathias, B. C. 40-37, the last prince of the Hasmonaean dynasty:

 α 

Obv. [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΓ[ΟΝΟΥ] round a wreath.

Rev. מתתיה כהן גדל חבר יה Type: a double cornucopiae, with ש i. e. year 1 in the centre.

After having been a prisoner in Rome, Antigonus attempted to obtain the kingdom in B.C. 42, but was defeated by Herod. With the help of the Parthians, however, he succeeded in taking Jerusalem in B.C. 40, and was made king. Not long afterwards Herod, who had received the nominal title of king of Judaea through Roman influence, laid siege to Jerusalem and, aided by the Roman general Sosius, captured it in 37; Antigonus was ignominiously executed with the axe. These coins show that he had adopted the name of Mattathias, the founder of his dynasty; they are the first Jewish coins which bear a date.

Coins of the First Revolt, A.D. 66-70. Plate X 1-5.

e (1)

R. Obv. שקל ישראל Type: a broad-lipped chalice, on either side a pellet, above the cup the letter א = *r*.

Rev. ירושלם קדשה Type: a flowering lily.

f (2)

R. Obv. חצי השקל Type: a chalice with jewelled rim, above the cup the letters שח = *year 2*.

Rev. ירושלים הקדושה Type: a flowering lily.

g (3)

R. Obv. שקל ישראל Type: as *f*, above the cup the letters שד = *year 4*.

Rev. ירושלים הקדושה Type: as *f*.

h (4)

R. Obv. לנאלח ציון Type: as *f*.

Rev. שנת ארבע Type: a *lilab* with an *'ethrog* on either side.

i (5)

R. Obv. שקל ישראל Type: as *f*, above the cup the letters שה = *year 5*.

Rev. ירושלים הקדושה Type: as *f*.

These coins have been usually attributed to Simon Maccabaeus (142-135 B.C.), e.g. by Madden 65 ff., and others; but there is now a general agreement among experts that they belong rather to the

period immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. It will be observed that the shekels are dated from the first year to the fifth; if they belong to Simon's reign, which lasted 7 years (1 Macc. 13 14 f. and 16 14), the two years at the close must be left without coins; no reason can be found for the increasing rarity and entire cessation of the shekels in the fifth year. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that, if Simon had issued silver coins, his successors would not have done the same; but the Hasmonaean princes, in accordance with their constitutional position under the suzerainty of Syria, only minted bronze money; and their money bears the names of the princes, while the shekels, in striking contrast, have no name to show who issued them. On technical grounds of style and fabric they are related to the tetradrachms of Nero and Vespasian minted at Antioch, and not to the Seleucid silver coins of the Maccabaeen period. The issue of such coins with the legend *Jerusalem the holy* is in itself an assertion of independence; it proves that the Jews were in revolt against the sovereign power; and since there was only one other occasion when the independence of Jerusalem was not constitutional but usurped, viz. in 132-135 A. D., and the coins of the latter age are well known in detail, there remains the period of the First Revolt against the Romans in 66-70 A. D. The shekels and half-shekels must have been coined by the executive authority of Jerusalem which undertook the defence of the city and the conduct of the war. The fact that they appear in considerable numbers during the first three years, and then become rarer, until they cease altogether with the exceedingly rare shekel of the fifth year (Apr. to Aug. A. D. 70), agrees exactly with the history of the revolt from its successful start to its gradual collapse. See Kennedy, art. Money in *BD* iii, whose arguments are incorporated above, and Schürer *Gesch.*³ i 762 ff. Reinach, *Mon. Juives* 47 f., suggests that the coins were especially designed for the payment of the temple tax, the shekel for two persons (cf. Mt. 17 24-27), the half-shekel for one, and to take the place of the Tyrian tetradrachms (or staters) and didrachms which had formerly been used for this purpose (cf. on B 12).

ε (1) The chalice probably represents the temple vessels. The broad rim is characteristic of shekels of the first year, so also the pellets, probably intended for jewels, and the letter α alone without ψ = שנה. The dating of the coins is perhaps imitated from the Tyrian staters, but cf. *d.* יהושע ישראל Note the *script. defect.*, and the absence of the article. The legend is perhaps copied from that on the Tyrian staters, *Τύρου ἑμῶν καὶ δούλου*; the minting of these staters at Tyre

ceased in A. D. 56, so that probably it would have been necessary in A. D. 66 to provide fresh coins of the same value for use in Jerusalem (Reinach).

h (4) This is a specimen of the *bronze* money of the fourth year; varieties of the legend on the reverse are שנת ארבע חצי and שנת ארבע רביע; it is supposed that these coins represent $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ shekels respectively, and that they were siege tokens to be redeemed by silver money when the relief came. This explanation, however, is uncertain, for there are silver shekels (g 3) and half-shekels of the fourth year, beside these supposed tokens. The chalice shows that they belong to this period. לנאלת ציון *Belonging to the redemption of Zion*, cf. לנבל B 11. 14 &c., and לחרות י' k; less prob. ל = *at the time of*. The *lilab* לילב lit. *palm branch* was a bundle of myrtle and willow with a palm leaf, the 'ethrog, אֶתְרוֹג, a citron, carried in each hand at the feast of Booths; Lev. 23 40.

Coins of the Second Revolt, A. D. 132-135. Plate X 6-9.

j (6)

- Æ. *Obv.* שבעון נשיא ישראל in three lines within a laurel wreath.
Rev. שנת א[חח לנאל]ת ישראל Type: a vase with two handles.

k (7)

- Æ. *Obv.* שבעון within a wreath.
Rev. לחרות ישראל Type: a palm branch. Restruck on a denarius-drachm of Trajan.

l (8)

- Æ. *Obv.* שבעון Type: a palm tree.
Rev. לחר[ות] ישראל Type: a vine leaf.

m (9)

- Æ. *Obv.* שבעון Type: a conventional figure of the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (?); above, a star.
Rev. לחרות ירושלם Type: a *lilab* with 'ethrog. Restruck tetradrachm of Antioch.

The evidence for the course of events which led to the Second Revolt in the 16th year of Hadrian is conflicting; it seems probable, however, that the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a heathen city, with the

name Aelia Capitolina, was begun during Hadrian's visit to Syria in 130 A. D. He was again in Syria in 131, and his visit was commemorated by coins which bear the inscr. *adventui Aug(usti) Judaeae*. The foundation of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Jewish temple is probably to be connected with this occasion (Schürer *Gesch.*³ 680 ff.); but whether the temple was founded before or after the revolt, the policy of Hadrian had been sufficiently coercive to incite the Jews to revolt. The fuel was ready to be ignited when Bar-Kokba applied the spark. The Jewish leader at once signaled his rebellion by issuing coins in his own name, 'Simon, the prince of Israel' (י), and in the name of 'Eliazar the priest,' who appears on the coins of the first year, and seems to have been joint-leader. Simon is called by Christian writers Bar-Kokba (*Βαρκαχβας*) = *בֶּרֶךְ כֹּכְבָא* *son of the star*, alluding to Num. 24 17, but by Rabb. writers *בֶּרֶךְ כֹּזֶבָא* or *בֶּרֶךְ כִּי*, *Kōzēba* being the name either of his father or his native town, probably the latter; *Chosiba* was a well-known place on the road to Jericho. He claimed to be the Messiah, and he received the support even of the great Rabbi Aqiba, who applied to him the prophecy of Num. 24 17, e.g. Jer. *Ta'anith* 68 d כֹּחֲבָא מִיַּעֲקֹב דִּרְךָ כֹּחֲבָא מִיַּעֲקֹב 68 d. The revolt spread widely throughout Palestine; it was finally suppressed by the Roman general Jul. Severus; Jerusalem was recaptured, and Simon's cause collapsed with the fall of Beth-ther, now Bittir, 3 hours SW. of Jerusalem, where he and his followers made their last stand, in the 18th year of Hadrian, 134-5 A. D.

j (6) The types on these coins represent either objects connected with the Temple and its worship, vase or sacrificial flagon, lyre, trumpets, or the characteristic products of the country, vine-leaf (l) palm (k, l), grapes. This coin and l are dated the 1st and 2nd year of the revolt. Beside these bronze coins there is a silver issue, dated in the same way.

k (7) The silver coins of this period are all, probably without a single exception (Kennedy), imperial denarii, drachms, and tetradrachms, restruck with Jewish types and legends. Sometimes, as in m, no trace of the original appears, but very often, as in this case, the legend of the imperial coin can still be read in part. ^לחרות *Of the emancipation of Israel*; cf. k n. ^חרית is a noun from ^חרר, in Syr. ^{ܫܠܝܬܐ}; for the root see 97 i n.

m (9) The signification of the type is not certain. The star above the Temple probably alludes to Simon's pretensions.

SEALS AND GEMS

150.

Plate XI gives some specimens of Aram., Phoen., and Hebr. seals, dating from the 8th cent. B. C. onwards. The seals afford interesting illustrations of the archaic character; they are all chosen from the British Museum collection, Semitic Room cabinet.

I

למלכרם *Belonging to Milk-ram*, on an ivory brooch found underneath a colossal bull in the palace of Nimroud. The inscr. is Phoen. rather than Aram. (Levy *Siegel u. Gemmen* 5 no. 2); pr. nn. compounded with מלך are exceedingly common in Phoen., e. g. מלכיתן 12 2 &c. יחוסלך, 3 1 &c.; for the second part of the compound cf. the pr. n. רמבעל CIS i 99 1. The Egypt. style of the cartouche and the ornament above it is in favour of Phoen. (cf. p. 27) rather than Aram. workmanship. The writing is very early, prob. 8th cent., the date of the building of the palace at Nimroud.

2

CIS ii 75. A seal in the form of a cylinder. The treatment and costume of the figures are Assyrian. In the centre is the eunuch worshipping the god Hadad, who wears a crown with rays, and holds in his right hand what may have been intended for a flower. Behind the eunuch is a priest, assisting or initiating him. The inscr., which is in Aram., and belongs prob. to the 7th cent., runs as follows: גברד לאכרבן בר נברר סרסא וי הקרב לחדד *Belonging to Akdban, son of GBRD, the eunuch, who made offering to Hadad.* אכרבן is explained by Levy as derived from כרב = Hebr. כזב with א prosth., and meaning lit. *the false one, callidus*. Sachau reads אכברו *the strong one* (ZA 1891, 432); but comparing the fifth letter with the ר in הקרב it will be seen that the former reading is prob. right. נברר According to Sachau l. c. *Gabbarud* = Assy. *garparuda* or *galparuda*. Another suggestion is made in JA (1892) xix 565 that the name = בר נברר *client of Barud* (a deity). For וי see 61 1 n. אפל הקרב, as in Dan. and Ezr. = *bring an offering*; for the ה retained in Aפל, contrary to ordinary Aram. usage, cf. 61 29. 62 4. 18. 64 11. 65 3. 97 i, and Bibl. Aram. הרד See 61 1 n. Macrobius describes the image of Hadad as surrounded with rays and holding a flower in his hand, *Saturn.* 1 23.

3

CIS ii 77. A cylinder seal from Assyria. The worshipper, attended by winged deities or genii, is offering his devotions to the god *Ilu* in the form of a disc with wings and a human head (?). Two rays descend from under the wings of the disc, one of them touches the worshipper. In the centre is a figure which is taken to represent the flowing water of a mystic fountain. The inscr. is in Aram., and dates from the 8th-7th cent.:—**בר הרעדיר ירמאל** *Yirp-el son of Hor'-adad*. The pr. n. **ירמאל** may = **יְרֵמָאֵל** Josh. 18 27 i.e. **יְרֵמָאֵל** *El will heal*, cf. **רְפָאֵל** 1 Chr. 26 7. But since **רמא** does not occur in Aram., Levy (p. 7) takes **ירמ'** to be the *Asel* of **רפי**, and explains *El will set free*. The engraver has turned **א** the wrong way both times. **הרעדיר** The last two letters look alike; the **ר** is closed at the top, but in the word **בר** it is open, hence **הרעדיר** *Horus helps* may be right; **עדר** = **עזר**, as **כרב** in **אכרבן** no. 2 may = **כזב**, though **ר** = **ז** is remarkable in Aram. of the 8th cent. The reading **הרעדיר**, however, is uncertain; the right-hand stroke of **ר** in **בר** is slanting, but in the last letter of the pr. n. it is perpendicular. How **הרעדיר** is to be explained, if that is the correct reading, is not clear.

4

CIS ii 94. An Aram. seal of the 5th cent., Persian period. **לתמכאל** **בר מלכמ** *Belonging to Tamak-el, son of Milkom*. **תמכאל** = *El holds, sustains*, again in Phoen., Cl.-Gan. *Sceaux et cachets* no. 23; the verb **חמך** *hold fast* is well known in Hebr. and is used in the Targ. The explanation suggested in the Corp. **תם כאל** *perfect as El*, is most improbable. Notice the beginning of a ligature at the foot of **ר** following **ב**.

5

Levy no. 18, p. 31. A Phoen. seal with the inscr. **לבעליתן אש** **אלם** *Belonging to Ba'al-yathon, a man of the gods (?)*, *who belongs to Melqarth-resef*. **אש אלם** Possibly **אלם** may have a sing. meaning, as in the pr. n. **מתנאלם** (?) 33 6 n., but the expression *man of the gods* i.e. *divine servant* is unusual, and it may be more correct to render *the nobleman*; for **אלם** as a title cf. 10 2 n., and for the idiom cf. the Hebr. **איש רעים** Prov. 18 24 lit. *a man of friends*, i.e. *a friendly man*, **איש דברים** Ex. 4 10. **ט' רצף** A complex divinity; see 10 3 n. **רצף** = **רשף** 12 3 n. Date, 5th-4th cent.

6

Levy no. 7, p. 39. A seal with Hebr. inscr. לעבר אלמב בן שבועה *Belonging to the servant of Eli'ab, son of Shid'ath. The servant of Mattath, son of Sedoqa.* Here apparently two persons have combined to adopt a common seal. It is probable that עבר-אלמב are two words, *servant of Eli'ab*; and similarly עבר-מתח *servant of Mattath.* For אלמב cf. the O.T. מליאב 1 S. 16 6. Other seals of slaves are Levy no. 8 לשבניו עבר עזיו and no. 9 לאביו עבר עזיו. A slave does not give his genealogy; see p. 134. Cf. the O.T. שבע 2 S. 20 1. מתחיה Prob. abbreviated from מתחיה, cf. 149 C d. צדק Cf. the O.T. צדק, צדק 1 K. 1 26 &c. Date, 7th-6th cent.

7

Levy no. 11, p. 42. A scarab of green jasper in Egyptian style, with Hebr. inscr. לזכר הרשע *For a memorial of Hôshé'a.* The form of the ה is to be noticed; it occurs on the coins of Eliazar the priest (pp. 359 and 353). The curve in the shaft of כ is an indication of later date. The Hebr. name הרשע has been found recently at Tell ej-Judeideh on a Jewish seal, Lidzb. *Eph.* i 183. Above the inscr. is engraved the figure of a winged sphinx, with the *pshent* head-dress. Date, 8th-4th cent.

8

Levy p. 54. A Hebr. seal on both sides of a crystal. On one side is engraved in Egypt. style the figure of the god Harpocrates sitting on a lotus flower; on the other is the inscr.:—לעשיו בן יקם *Belonging to 'Asiyu, son of Yôqim.* The words are separated by small strokes. For עשיו cf. the O.T. עשיו 2 K. 22 12. עשאל 1 Chr. 4 35. עשאל 2 S. 2 18; the final י is a fragment of יהוה, cf. עזיו above, and the form עשיו on a Jewish seal, Cl.-Gan. *Rec.* iii § 32. יקם Abbrev. from יהו'קים, 2 K. 23 34. Date, 5th-4th cent.

INDEX I

NORTH-SEMITIC

[The following special abbreviations are used where necessary: d. = deity, n. = noun, pr. = pronoun, pre. = preposition. The words and forms are those mentioned in the notes.]

| | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| א' = ה 136. 150 | אדיל 76 | אחור(י) 51. 119. 191 |
| א' fem. 25 | אדינת 285 f. 290 | אחרן 209 |
| א' suff. 42. 64. 94. 110. | אדלן 29 | אחתבו 201 |
| 133. 146 | אדם 35. 91. 98. 121 | אחתמילכת 142 |
| אב = ב 84 f. | ארמת 154 | אמבן 139 |
| אב Ab 228. 253. 273 | ארן מלכם 38. 47. 51. | אמוטמא 119 |
| &c. | 78. 81 | אי 29 |
| אב, אבי 64. 71 | ארנ(י) 54. 79. 85 f. | איבל 33. 122 |
| אבה 175 | 134 | איה 169 f. 176. 178 f. |
| אבחי 184 | ארנבעל 129. 145. 158 | איחשבר 147 |
| אבחון 299 | ארנשמש 75 | אימלקא 33 |
| אבנם 65. 79 | אדר Adar 276 | איכרמא 146. 155 |
| אבענהם 141 | אדר 35. 38. 51. 60. | איל 117. 119 |
| אבגר 309 | 91. 100. 106. 129. | אינצם 108 |
| אבר 5. 8 | 154 | איסמן 146 |
| יחאברו 189 | ארטמא 340 | איר 78. 229. 250 |
| אבה pr. n. 200 | ארמו 250 | א(י)ש 11. 67. 78. 209. |
| אביטב 202 | אישו 259 | 361 |
| אביץ 227 | אונא 227 | את, אית 22. 82. 122. |
| אבל 25 | אושאלבעלי 259 | 170 |
| אבן 43. 139. 143. 150 | אז pr. 26. 54. 60 | איתי 223 |
| אבסלי 201 | אז 166. 177 | איחיבל 248 |
| אבסת 69. 91 | אורם 33 | אכרבן 360 |
| אברו 168. 184 f. | אדת 59 f. | אכל 166. 168 f. 177. |
| אברוק 303 | אח 51. 79. 237. 246 | 203 |
| אנבר 190 | אחת 225. 232 | אכלן 110 |
| אנן 120 | אחו 5. 11. 185. 190 | אכסררא 309 f. |
| אנר 219. 333 f. 338 | אחיז 232 | אכסניא 282 |
| אנרת 121 | אחרה 189. 191. 217 | אל d. 41. 51. 165 |

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| אלם 21. 24. 91. 96. 99. 101. 121. 154 אל pr. 26. 39. 79. 128. 166 אלה 26. 231. 243 אלו 26. 204 אלך 26. 210 אלן 26. 266 אל=אל 259 f. אל=אל 245 אלב 362 אלב 171 אלנשיא 271 אלה n. 175 אלחא d. 199. 205. 239. 244. 279. 295 אלה 170. 175. 229. 233. 239. 243. 245. 254 f. 299 אלה(י) 165. 180. 185. 198. 210. 268 אלן 302 אלה d. 165 אלה pr. n. 303 אלהת 222. 253 אלול 215. 295. 299 f. אליית 89 אלבוף 225 אלכסי 217 אלכסנדרוס 279. 312. 332 אלם n. 49. 361 אלנם d. 21. 24. 35 f. 91. 99 אלן 37. 51. 66. 79 אלף n. 117. 210 אלף v. 219 אלפעל 91. 350 אלת d. 135. 158. 222. 252 f. 275 f. אלתברש 145 | אלתחם 11 ff. אם 46. 350. 352 אם d. 59. 131 אם 24 f. 35. 117 אמית 234 אמן 167. 180 אמעשתרת 36 אמר n. 120. 337 אמר v. 12. 33. 170. 180. 206. 305 אמרשא 267 אמתעשתרת 62 אנ neg. 13 אנ pr. n. 91 f. אנא d. 345 אנה pr. 182. 190 אנו pr. 243 אנו(ו) 180. 219. 234. 236. 311 אנשי 170 אנך 6. 19. 27. 62. 93. 163. 185 אנכי 19. 179 אנחן 36 אנה 8 אנמי 198 אנתת(א) 228. 231. 337 אס(י) 21. 91. 99. 213 אסוחא 340 אסטרביליא 339 f. אסטרטג 279 אסטרטוריא 282 אסיר 21. 59. 202. 205 אסכן 100 f. אסמן 204 אסנב 176 אסף 95 אספסנא 272 אספרן 193 אספת 101 אסר 336. 339 | אסרי 13 אסרשטר 103 אעילמי 266 אעלא 262 אערא 238 f. 254 f. אפא 352 אפטרפא 288 אפי 339 אפכלא 223. 295 f. אפצא 232. 240 אפתו 231 אפתח 230. 232 אפתיו 225. 240 אצדק 226. 230 אצמלי 268 אצלא 243 אצר 176 f. אראל 11 ארבעי 125 ארנבמא 289 ארונא 336. 340 ארומיא 250 ארום 56 ארום 231 אריכס 236 ארך 24. 190 ארכוניא 264. 332 ארכתא pr. n. 64 ארכתא 199. 255 ארטלך 20 ארן 28 ארנבי 296 f. ארנן 13 ארטכסח 237 ארטנאם 51. 79 ארעא 166. 260 ארץ 41. 166 ארצו 295 ארצת(א) 187 ארק(א) 166. 183. 185. 192 |
|--|---|---|

- ארקרשף 167
 ארש 70. 106. 129
 איש see איש
 איש rel. 20. 46. 78. 108.
 129. 134. 349 f.
 אשח 5. 10
 אשולכרתי 194
 אשירא 198
 אשל 47
 אשם 168. 185
 אשמן 36 f. 109
 אשמנארני 60 f.
 אשמנעור 33
 אשמנעמס 108
 אשמנפלט 130
 אשמנצלח 64. 101
 אשמנשלם 101
 אשנם 56. 75
 אשר rel. 5
 אשר n. 170 f. 179.
 185. 188. 194
 אשרם 150
 אשרת 50 f.
 אשתח 67
 את pr. 28. 188. 191
 את pre. 29. 33. 77
 את 99
 אתא 279
 אתהמו 191
 אתך 136
 אתנם 66. 89
 אתפני 276
 אתרנ 358
 ב of place 183, refer-
 ence 117. 121. 224,
 time 115 &c.; upon
 5. 8, with 7. 13,
 from 99, of 54. 96,
 for 183
 בן 34
 בנם 35. 126. 128
 ב double 192
 ב for מ 33. 87
 באמלקא 275. 277
 באש 191. 206
 יחבאשו 191
 בבא 309
 בנרת 229. 250
 בר 41. 95. 134
 ברדא 56. 59
 בריל 266. 332
 ברמלקרת 44. 95. 108
 ברנם 35
 ברעשתרת 41. 95. 130
 ברץ 122
 ברחנת 133
 בוא 128
 בול d. 267. 274
 בולא 264. 266. 332
 בולחא 293. 310
 בולנורעתח 309
 בולא 267 f. 307
 בוץ 126
 בטל 335
 במן 209
 ביר 201
 בידא 271
 בילומא 284
 בין 234
 ב(י)ת 13. 36. 96. 115.
 166. 184. 299. 307
 242 f.
 בתי(א) 242 f.
 בת אלנם 36. 96
 בת במת 13
 בת רבלחן 14
 בל d. 101. 248. 269.
 297
 בל Bul 32. 55. 76
 בל neg. 33
 בלגרי 179
 בלחר 235 f.
 בלל 121. 125
 בלל pr. n. 139
 בלעדחן 234
 בלעקב 284. 305
 בלח 29
 בלחי 21
 במת 6
 בן 19. 36. 79
 בנה 9 f.
 בני 341
 בנה 33. 36. 41. 47. 51.
 66. 139. 158. 167.
 215. 257
 בן 36
 בנהבל 257
 בנהרש 63. 89. 100
 בנת pr. n. 202
 בססא 225
 בעור 17
 בעל d. 102. 218.
 260
 ב' בית 180
 ב' חמן 104. 133. 145
 ב' ימם 69
 ב' לבנן 54
 ב' מרבח 222
 ב' מען 7. 10. 14
 ב' פער 7
 ב' צדן 37. 99. 102
 ב' צר 74. 102. 218
 ב' שמם 45 f. 101.
 108. 282. 295 f.
 ב' תרז 343 ff.
 בעל owner
 ב' הובח 118 f.
 ב' חרש 129 f.
 ב' כסף 183
 ב' כפירי 171
 ב' רבב 171
 בעל citizen 50. 142
 בעלחנא 108. 131. 134

| | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| בעלמלך 347 f. | בחובי 292 | גרמאלהי 259 |
| בעלצלח 42 | בחכח 23 | גרמטוס 264. 282. 332 |
| בעלרם 71. 74 | בחר 338 | גרמלקרת 63 |
| בעלשלך 107 | | גרסכן 130 |
| בעלשלם 81. 101 | נאלח 356. 358 | גרעשתרת 84. 130 |
| בעלת d. 20. 131 | נבא 333. 335. 339 | גרצד 9 |
| נבל 20. 218 | נבל pr. n. 19 ff. 350. | גרש 13 |
| נב' החררת 131 | 352 | גרשם 255 |
| בעמלקרת 142 | נבל 39. 85 | גר 223 |
| בער 67 | נבר 5. 12. 197 | |
| בעשא 267 | נברתח 171 | גר 285 |
| בצר 13 | נברד 360 | גר = דר 336 |
| בצרא 239. 285 | נר 79. 157. 245. 269. | גר, דא, דח 26. 214 |
| בקע 5 | 311 | גר דאר 38 |
| בקרב 5 | נרא 120 | גר v. 33. 280 |
| בקש 149 | נריו 255 | גר ידברנך 35 |
| בר adv. 339 | נרלו 250 f. | גר n. 17. 104 |
| בר n. 163 & c. | נרעת 79 | גרמא 332 |
| בר, בת חרי 134. | נר 96. 98 | גרדא 301 |
| 249 f. 298. 338 | נרא 242. 339 | גרדחנא 336 |
| בנוחי 246. 306 | נחיא 237. 242 | גרדח 11 |
| בני 271 f. 282. 293 f. | נול 105 | גרדחנא 288 |
| 303. 306 | נומחא 237. 310 f. | גרדחנא 218 |
| בניהם 256 | נזאת 237 | גרדחנא 266. 282. 333 |
| ברזל 139 | נול 33 | גרדחנא 6. 13 |
| ברך pr. n. 146. 156 | נולב 67. 79 | גרדחנא 256 |
| ברך v. 43. 47. 200. | נולגל 178. 183 | גרדחנא 204 |
| 205 | נולריא 340 | גרדחנא 258 |
| ברך 258. 297. 300 | נולחמו 228 | גרדחנא 234. 243. 260 |
| בריכי 266 f. | נוללא 334 | גרדחנא 117. 121. 128. |
| ברכבא 359 | נולף 205 | 130 |
| ברמנתון 294 | נול 8. 166. 176. 179 | גרדחנא 46 f. 67. 87 |
| ברעתא 250 | נול 335 | גרדחנא 169 |
| ברמא 298 | נול 171 | גרדחנא 225 |
| ברצד 175 | נול 171 | גרדחנא 262 |
| ברק 299 f. | נול 242 f. | גרדחנא 348 |
| בררכב 165. 175. 179. | נול 213 | גרדחנא 179 |
| 182 | נול 12. 63. 67 f. 305 | גרדחנא 301 |
| ברח 220 | נול 274 | גרדחנא 26 |
| ברח(ח) 178. 229 | נול 178 f. | גרדחנא 274. 337. 339 |
| בשימא 336 | גרמאלבעלי 260 | גרדחנא 44. 94. 101 |

| | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 94 דעמצלח | 240. 249 הנאו | 273. 279. 303 זברלא |
| 155 דערבן | 142 f. הנכת | 295 זברעבו |
| 198 דקלן | 188. 191 חנס | 256 זכרת |
| 96 דרכמונים | 264. 287 המטיקא | 107. 121. 146. v. זבח |
| 96 f. דרכנמ | 337 הפך | 168 |
| 153 דרת | 226 המסחיון | 119 ff. 124 n. זבח |
| 45 דשמוי | 289 המקא | 59 זבחששם |
| | 231. 240 המרכא | 273. 291 זבי |
| | 260 f. המרכיה | 291. 271. 266. זב(י)רא |
| art. 6. 21 f. ה | 129 הר | 295 |
| suff. 8. 79. 185 ה' | 361 הראדר | 203. 209. 119. v. זבן |
| fem. 25 ה' | 5. 171. 175 f. 185 הרנ | 333. 334. 336 f. |
| for א 188. 219 ה | 13 הרם | 280. 332. 335 n. זבן |
| 5. 24. 78. 168. 339 הא | 8 השלכן | 17. זרה |
| 224. 336 הו | 183 f. התנאבו | 292 זקתא |
| 12. 243 הם | | 274 זור |
| 243 אנו | conv. 5. 17. 39. ו | 283 זחין |
| 209. 243 חמו | 118 f. 122. 124 ו | 164. 185. 192. 194. זי |
| 36. 39. 85 חמת | 217 f. with impf. ו | 346 f. 360 |
| 198 הא זא | suff. 8. 16 ז' | 73. 107 זיבקים |
| 223. 257 הבלו | 106 f. 221. זאלו, ואלת | 78 זיו |
| 194 חנס | 236 | 168 v. זכר |
| 164. 168. 360 חדר | 230 זאלן | 180. 185. 170 f. n. זכר |
| 263. 335 חדרינא | 5 זאעש | 362 |
| v. הוא | 11 f. זאשב | 171 זכרו |
| 175 הות | 169. 185 זדר | 177 זלת |
| 176 היית | 224. 240 זחבאלהי | 248. 257. זמנ(י) |
| 333 חוו | 232. 303 זחבו | 26. 185. 187. זנה |
| 340 הייא | 222. 291 f. זחבלת | 210 |
| 335 חין | 336. 338 זמין | 213 זער |
| 337 יחן | 8 זיענו | 336 זקין |
| 191 הום | 284. 287 זרוד | 120. 170 זר |
| 362 הושע | 146 זרוסן | 25. 29. 168 זרע |
| 279 הינמונא | 194 זשונש | 166 זררי |
| 17 היח, היח | 229 זשחי | |
| 282. 334 ח(י)כלא | 170. 185 זח | 53. 110. 131 ח=אח' |
| 203 חלו | 245 זחרא | 225 חבו |
| 12. 17. 209 חלך | | 225. 240 חביבו |
| suff. 39. 184 f. חם | | 197 v. חבל |
| 209. 221. 253 חמו | 26. 165 ז, זו | 311 חבל |
| 191. 203 suff. חמו | 6. 26. זא, זאת, זח | v. 310 חבר |
| 170. 234 חן | 143. 168. 209 | |

- חבר n. 116. 145 f.
 354
 חברמיסן 204
 חגו 276. 303
 חגר 129
 חגרא 236
 חר 170. 176. 183
 חדרת 126. 131
 חרש v. 74. 105. 130.
 256
 חרש n. 66. 84. 86
 חוא 142
 תחו 24
 אחיי 255
 (חור) 200. 232. 236
 חורין 14
 חושבו 225
 חות 135
 חותו 240
 חוז 190. 203. 210. 333
 חזיר 341
 חזענם 17
 חזת 120
 חטבת 231
 חטה 166. 176. 338
 חטישו 245
 חמר 165
 חמרמסכר 154. 156
 חיטמו 259
 חים 62. 64. 79. 81. 86.
 91. 147 f. 189. 199.
 245 f. 256. 295
 חיר 78. 129
 חירן 266. 285
 חירתא 304
 חית 85
 חלב 117. 121
 חלבה 165. 168
 חלרו 256
 חל(י) 230. 234. 276.
 302 f.
- חליקת 220. 225
 חלך 344. 346 f.
 חלם 203
 חלף 8. 99. 209. 236
 חלפאלחי 115
 חלצת 260
 חמלנו 230
 חמלכת 158
 חמלך 131
 חמלת 228. 231
 חמם 203
 חמן 50 f. 104
 חמנא 104. 299
 חמם 169
 חמר 213. 305
 חמרא 336
 חן 24. 87. 91
 חנא v. 168. 178
 חן pr. n. 94. 107
 חנומם 108
 חנינו 226. 245
 חנן 36
 חנת 153. 337
 חסנם 110. 157
 חסיו 206
 חסך 274. 280
 חסתמה 201
 חפי 202
 חפצבעל 92
 חצב 17
 חצרת 153
 חקלא 198
 חקק 171. 185
 חרב 176. 261
 חרג 243
 חרות 358 f.
 חרוז 128. 155
 חרמית 128
 חריא 288
 חרישא 243
 חרם v. 5. 12
- מחרם 198. 220. 230
 מחרמתא 256 f.
 מחרם n. 225. 243. 268
 מחרם pr. n. 53
 מחרמו pr. n. 221
 מחרץ 22 f. 76. 96. 98.
 128
 מחרש 67. 72 f. 130. 139
 מחרשא 284
 מחרתא 215 & c. 250 f.
 מחרתתי 223
 מחרש 149. 339
 מחרשן 338. 340
 משיארש 201
 משרש 293
 מתי 303
 מתם 100
 מתמי 202
- מב 184. 190. 259. 295
 מבארשא 158
 מבע 44
 מבח 221
 מוריא 242 f.
 מנא 115. 142. 147.
 150. 158
 מינא 158
 מינא 58 f. 64. 79.
 84. 98
 מען 335 f.
 מעמא 250
 מעמתא 339
- 'Ifl 58
 ' impf. 168 f.
 ' suff. 41 f. 58. 64. 79.
 104. 119
 יא 126
 יארי 163 f. 175. 177 f.
 יאל 106

| | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| יאנא 225 | ירח 85. 129 | ביחר 213 |
| יבל n. 119 f. 180 | ירחבול(א) 267. 280 f. | ביסה 275. 302 |
| יבל v. 176. 180 | 295 f. 299. 303 | ביצא 184 f. |
| יבש(א) 300. 340 | ירחי 280. 282. 302 | כל 179. 203. 234. 243 |
| ירא 278. 289 | ירפאל 361 | כלה . . כלח 229 |
| ירי 273 | ירש 5. 8 | כל מה 184 f. 335 |
| יריעבל 299. 303 | ירח 230 | כלאי 13 |
| ירב 213. 225. 235 | ירש 9. 91. 176. 179. | כלאפתר 86 |
| ירורים 353 ff. | 185 | כלבא 237 f. |
| ירוחנן 353 ff. | ירשע 5 ff. | כלבם 67 ff. |
| ירח 12 | ישראל 356 | כלי 12 |
| ירבעל 19 | ישראל(ו) 36. 171 | כליבת 221 |
| ירבעי 149 | ירח 170. 279 | כלירבא 226 |
| ירסח 342 | ירבחה 169 | כלך 343 f. |
| ירקם 362 | ירמר 166 | כלל 117 f. 124 |
| ירחא 276 | ירחן 38 | כלמו 184 |
| ירחמלך 19 | ירח 85 | כח suff. 170 |
| ירחבעל 130 | ירחן 122 | כחאש 24. 51. 128 f. |
| ירמב 183 | ירחנבל 101 | כחב 352 |
| ירל 217 | ירח 167 | כחולת 246 |
| ירלל 146 | ירח 176 | כחבם 221 |
| ירם 86. 125 | | כחר 126. 146. 187. |
| ירמח 9 | כח = כי 136. 146 | 199. 252 |
| ירם 55. 58 f. 74. | כח(ו) 167. 177 f. | כחא pr. n. 293 f. 303 |
| 78 | 185 | כחש 7 |
| ירמא 300 | כחרת 48 f. | כחשנר 6 |
| ירמתיא 337 | כחי 202 | כחשכן 6 |
| ירסך 136 | כחילו 217. 306 | כחנ 98 |
| ירסף 13 f. 24. 39 | כחלן 230 | כחנן 32. 294. 306. 310 |
| ירעוד 107 | כחן 27. 85. 101. 129. | כחנא 277 |
| ירעלי 262 | 150. 353 ff. | כחורמן 145 |
| ירעמרו 247 f. | כחל 338 | כחסאען 145 |
| ירעסכחען 142. 156 | כחמן 204 | כחען 349 f. |
| ירעצאחען 142 | כחן 29. 35. 39. 51. 79. | כחפרס 78 f. |
| ירען 13 | 118. 124 | כחש v. 209 |
| ירמא 38 | כחנא 225 | כחש 145 f. |
| ירמאם 77 | כחח 280 | כחאם 86 |
| ירלח 118 | כחי 194. 210. 276. | כחלול 288 |
| יר 37. 139 | 282. 338 | כחף 43. 88. 118. 124. |
| ירר 155 | כחל 189 | 136. 302 |
| ירושלם 356 ff. | כחי 209 | כעבו 218 |

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| כען 203 | לחורחוי 236 | מבקע 12 |
| כפיו 225 | לחיתו 248 | מגר 268. 283 |
| כפירי 166 f. 177 | לחם 126 | מגרת pr. n. 299 |
| כפרא 219. 224 | לחש 210 | מגמר 225 |
| כפתא 296 | למדם 110 | מגן 275 |
| כר 88 | ללה 12. 169. 185 | מגן pr. n. 92 |
| כרך 272 | לילעי 145 | מדי 332. 334. 338 f. |
| כרכא 242. 272. 274 | ליש 184 f. | מדיא 338. 340 |
| כרטים 61. 74. 183 | לכא 279 | מדיחא 266. 281 f. 291 |
| כרצי 206 | לכר 69 | מדנחא 237 |
| כרר 77. 146 | לכנ 99 | מדי (ח) 38 f. 86. 122. |
| כשירא 340 | למח=לם 39. 134 | 155 |
| כתב v. 98. 122. 148. | למא 311 | מח . . מן 234 |
| 154. 230. 334 | למב' 62. 79. 119. 129 | מהרבא 8 |
| כתב n. 217. 220. 224 | למחח 97 | מחוי 307 |
| כתב (י) 56. 66. 78. 352 | למנא 335 | מהרבעל 108 f. |
| כחש 171 | למען 191 | מורא 300 f. |
| | לספח 42 | מורדי 169 |
| ל pre. 32. 122. 347. | לעי 171 | מוט 337 |
| 358. 360 | לען v. 218. 221 | מוכרו 177 |
| ל=לו 149 | לען before 24. 91 | מוצא 17. 49. 178 |
| לם 35. 119 | לפט 85 | מוקא 178. 185 |
| לחם 184 | לפי 122 | מות 189. 236 |
| ל=אל 259 | לפני 5. 11 | מומת 169 |
| ל=לא 190 | לפסי 111 | ממתתה 191 |
| ל impf. 169. 171. 185 | לקח 126. 206 | מותב 199. 221 f. 243. |
| לא 203 | לקרת 17 | 255 |
| לאדכ(א) 46. 349 | לשמש 275 | מובה 56. 81. 100. 110 |
| לאל 275 | לשן 166 | מורי 42. 346 f. |
| לאמר 33 | | מזל 82. |
| לב' 121 | מ=מח 165. 168. 190 | מזון 149 |
| לבוא 145 | מ' suff. 39 | מזרח 121. 145 f. 153. |
| לבנן 128. 132 | מאא 149 | 157 |
| לבנת 126 | מאזנם 128 | מח 126 |
| לניונא 285 | מאכסמוס 312 | מחח 97 |
| ל=לה' 147. 158 | מאן 191. 213 | מחוח 153 |
| לחן 197. 219. 233. 236. | מנם 29. 34. 128 | מחיר 201 |
| 243 | מארח 109 | מחנת 178 |
| לו . . לו 177 | מאש 158 | מחסר 119 |
| לולב 358 | מאח(ו) 13. 129. 229 | מחצב 107 |
| לחח 189 | מבנת 96 | מחרת 12 |

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| מט 36 | מלכרם 360 | מצבת 60. 62. 98. 139. |
| מטבח 130 | מלכת d. 135 | 147 |
| מטלכות 280. 333 | מלכת n. 246 | מצלח 136 |
| ממנא 91 | מלך 61. 74 | מצעה 170. 177. 183 |
| מיומם 122 | מלקרת 74. 84. 102. | מצרם 91. 209 |
| מילל 149 | 109 | מקבר(תא) 242. 244. |
| מ(י)ן 13. 206. 311. | מלקרתרצף 361 | 247 |
| 337 | ממלחת 110 | מקדש 105. 115. 130. |
| מיקם אלם 149 | ממלכת 21. 34 ff. 149 | 148 |
| מישר 149 | pr. 167 f. 188. 191 | מקימאל 214 |
| מיחא 306 | pre. 167 f. 230. | מקימו 214. 266 |
| מיתוחא 279 | 256. 332 f. | מקם 167 |
| מכל 67. 76. 89 | מן די 294 | מקמו 276 |
| מכסא 126. 332 f. 337 | מ(נ)רעם 205 f. 243. | מקנא 121 |
| מכפון 145. 149 | 282. 333 f. | d. 65. 109 |
| מכתערם 142 | מנה 192 | מרא 178. 209. 225. |
| מלא 275 | מנ(ו)עת 227. 234. 255 | 243. 255. 287 f. |
| מלאך 48 | מנותו 219 | 295 f. |
| מל(א)כת 24. 67. 128 | מנחם 71. 89 | מרת 287. 293 |
| מלח 338 | מנחת 42. 87 f. 117. | מראנרא 311 |
| מלחת pr. n. 278 | 121. 124. 155 | מרוח 95. 121 f. 303 |
| מלמא 336 | מנן 47. 250 | מרחשון 32 |
| מלך d. 49. 154 | מנע 169 | מריחי 65. 79 |
| n. 116. 149. | מנקצת 92 | מרפא 58 |
| 192. 225. 238. 348 | מסנרא 238. 248. 255 | מרקע 75 |
| מלך אדם 137 f. | מסנרת 176 | מרקש 179 |
| מלך מלכם 38. 201. | מסחבא 145 | מרתו 256. 278 |
| 205. 290 | מסולי 157 | משאנך 84 |
| מלך v. 176 | מסך 33 | משאתח 115 |
| מלכי 32 f. 40. 76 f. | מסכר 42. 154 | משבת 175 |
| מלכבל 268 ff. 297. | מספנתח 23 | משות 180 |
| 299. 302 f. | מעזין 295 | משח(א) 210. 336 |
| מלכבעל 104 | מעיוש 342 | משך 225. 230 |
| n. 179. 185 | מעיתי 305 | משכב 29. 34. 62. 72. |
| pr. n. 239 f. 253 | מעל(א) 36. 155 | 341 |
| f. 257 | מען 309 | משיכי 179 |
| מלכין 226 | מענן 199 | משל 71. 84 |
| מלכיתן 56. 74. 76. 111. | מעריש 145 | משליים 149 |
| 348 | מערת 131. 242. 308. | משמעת 14 |
| מלכם 361 | 310 | משע 6 |
| מלכעשתרת 49. 104 | מפע 40. 85 | משפון 85 |

| | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|
| משקל 88. 110. 118 f. | נכל 188 | סגר 35. 39 |
| משריתא 248. 282. 304 | נ' suff. 39 | סרקיא 264. 266. 312. |
| משרח 97 | נמוסא 332. 340 | 335 |
| משת 176 | נמעתי 206 | סוית 126 |
| משתתף 338 | נסח 189. 197 | סוסיא 262 |
| מת 167. 176. 185 | נסחת 235 | סותא 197 |
| מתא 155 | נסכב 139 | סחב 11 |
| מתא pr. n. 266 | נעם 82. 84. 147. 149 | סחה 25 |
| מתבול 294 | נף 92 | סיון 289 |
| מתנא) 46. 303 | נפק 199. 210. 335 f. | סכן d. 100. 130 |
| מתת(יה) 355. 362 | 338 f. | סח n. 53 |
| | יהנפק 199 | סכר n. 47. 84. 147 |
| demonstr. 29. 34 f. | נפקחה 212 | סכר v. 88 |
| 39 f. 209 | נפש 69. 199. 214. 247. | סלריא 156 |
| du. pl. 5. 10. 39 | 312 | סלוקוס 283 |
| נאספת 95 | נפת 126 | סלמת 75 |
| נאתח 240 | נצב n. 103 f. 108. 164. | סלעין 223. 225 |
| נבה 7. 12 | 175. 180 | סלק 272. 275. 333 f. |
| נבוכר 288 | נצב v. 111. 166. 253 | סמדת 87 |
| נבחבר 296. 303 | נצח 76 | סמיחא 302 |
| נבמו 215 f. 225 | נצר 189 | סמכא 242 |
| נביות 115 f. | נקבה 71 | סמל(ת) 58. 74. 76. |
| נבש 168. 179 | נקידו 250 | 154 |
| נרבה 171 | נקיה 213 | סנקלטיקא 264. 266. |
| נדר 79. 157. 245 | נרב 187 | 285. 312 |
| נדרבול 301 | נרגל 101 | ססטרטין 338 |
| נחירא 285. 287. 292 | נרנך 85 | ססם 62 |
| נח 100 | נרקים 298 | ססמי 81 |
| נונא 337 | נשא n. 96. 98. 358 | סעד 168 |
| נורבל 307 | נשא v. 13. 99 | סף 43 f. |
| נורי 303 | נשא pr. n. 293. 299. | ספא 281 |
| נחם 204 | 332 | ספון 338 |
| נחמי 79 | נשיב 234 | ספממיוס 285. 287 f. |
| נחן 36 | נשך 188 | 290 f. 293 |
| נחשא 256 | נשנכיה 229 | ספק 149 |
| נחשת 2. 54. 87 | נחך 169 | ספר 67 |
| נחת n. 62. 72 | נחן 38. 166 f. 169. | סרבנין 333 |
| נחת v. 210. 271 f. | 210. 217 | סריק 340 |
| נמראל 254 | | סרן 205 |
| ניסן 218 | ם=ז 156 | סרסא 360 |
| ניעממן 146 | סבג 145 | סרטרם 10 f. |

| | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| סתרִיא 193 | עזבעל 347. 350. | עלחא 299. 304 |
| ע' fem. 25 | עזו 283. 295 f. | עם 154. 215. 245. 253. |
| עבר v. 166. 221. 287 | עזמלך 44 | 256 |
| עבר n. 49 f. 53. 183. | עז pr. n. 71. 77 | ע' גול 105. 107 |
| 362 | עזרתבעל 74 | ע' צדן 95 |
| עבר בת 58 | עזרנמי 213 | ע' צר 47 |
| עבראבסח 69 | עטהד 63 | ע' קרתחורשת 134 |
| עבראלם 46 | עטר 96. 154 | kinsman 245. 253 |
| עבראסר 59. 62. 64. | עטרת 10 | pre. 223. 253. 282 |
| 79. 91. 103 | עידא 333 | עט(ו)ר 23. 275 |
| עברארש 129 | עידו 217. 240 | עמנר 223 |
| עברבול 274 | עין 13 | עמס 34. 121. 124 |
| עברחרות 226 | עיר v. 230 | עמק 155 |
| עברלאי 129 | עיר 223. 234 | עמר n. 280. 338 |
| עברמלך 62 | עכבר 130 | pr. n. 199 |
| עברמלכו 250 | על over 96. 98. 115. | עמרת 136 |
| עברססם 62. 79 | 130. 146, upon 226. | עמח 154 |
| עברעבורח 224 | 237. 311, beyond | ען אש 98 |
| עברעשחור(ת) 72. 352 | 122, for 79. 213. | ענא 304 |
| עברפמי 75 | 295, because of 250 | ענה v. 209. 300 |
| עברח pr. n. 239. 244 | על פן 22. 118. 122. | ענישו 246 |
| עבדו 230. 304 | 128 | ענמו 237. 304 |
| עבדח 242. 248. 332 | עלא adv. 219 f. 230. | ענש 122 |
| עבנת 142 f. | 247 | ענת 80 f. |
| עבר 42 | עלא v. 146 | עסר 32. 225 |
| עברטורא 346 f. | על[א]רה 14 | עפל 13 |
| עברחא 248 | על pr. n. 256. 332 | עפרח 136 |
| עבת 356 | עליתא pr. n. 277 | עצמת 39 |
| ענא 283 | עלל v. 309. 335 f. 338. | עקב 69 |
| ענילו 303 | 340 | ערב 98 f. |
| ענלבל 301 ff. | עלם youth 164. 336. | ערביא 261 |
| ענלח 72 f. 302 | 338 | ערח v. 39 |
| ענדו 255 | עלימא 335 | ערחחא 242 f. |
| עריה 201 | עלמח 70 | ערכת 106 |
| ערד 272 | עלימחא 340 | ערער 13 |
| ערד v. 305 | עלם n. 128 | ערפן 339 |
| ערד pr. n. 303 | עלמא eternily 295 ff. | ערפת 23. 48. 98 |
| עוע 141. 150 | 300. 307 | ערק 89 |
| עוח 309 | עלצא 136 | ערשא 199. 296 |
| עז 81. 336 | עלח upon 24. 28. 35. | ערח 22 f. 119. 155 |
| | 39. 97. 126 | עשביא 340 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| עשיו 362 | פלם 175 | נ. פתח 22 f. |
| עשרתא 264. 333 | פלכש 141 | פתלמים 51. 78. 81. 84 |
| עשתורנא 309 | פלם 130 | |
| עשרת pr. n. 271 | פם 170. 184 | צבו 262. 272. 294. 333 |
| עשתר כמש 7. 12. 49 | פמו 165. 190 | צבת v. 309 |
| עשתרת 27 f. 50. 91. | פמי 75 | צבתי n. 203 |
| 99. 127 | פמייתן 55. 58. 349 | צר d. 91 |
| ע' שם בעל 37 | פמן 201 | צר n. 117. 120 |
| עח 106. 115. | פן בעל 37. 106. 132 f. | צידא 194 |
| עחא, עתא, עתח 79. 269 f. | פנמו 163. 176 | צדיחי 91 |
| עחיק 274 | פנת 124 | צדמבעל 105 f. |
| עחנורי 303 | פס 122 | צדן 91. 95. 134. 213 |
| עחנתן 306 | פסלא 226 | צדנם 46. 54. 95. |
| עחנעחא 28. 269 f. | פעל 23. 43 | 350. 352 |
| עחתר 28. 269 | פעלחן 20. | צדנת 101 |
| | פעל נעם 24. 51 | צדק v. 197 |
| ע=ל 165. 185. 223. | פעלאבסח 91 | צדק n. 25. 86. 180. |
| 309 | פעלח 69. 74 | 183. 190 |
| עא=א 153 | פעם d. 55 | צדקחא 197 f. |
| עא=פ 168. 171 | פעם n. 47. 119. 130 | צדקא pr. n. 362 |
| עאמי 212 | פעאל 246. 309 | צדקמלך 349 |
| עאמלן 55 | פעיו 259 | צדנת 133 |
| עארין 339 | פעץ 243 | צדנתא 242. 245 |
| עאלא 141 f. | פקר 74 f. | צדנרם 12 |
| עאנש 209 | פקרון 243 | צדנא f. 124 |
| עאק 28 | פקת 88 | צדנא 204. 213 |
| עאק 299 | פר 36. 126 | צדנא pr. n. 299 |
| עאקי 178 | פרן 231 | צדנא 256. 299 |
| עאקירמחרט 204 | פרכם 67 | צדנא ציון 356. 358 |
| עאמון 245 | פרנא 282 | צדנא 147 |
| עאמנתר 205 | פרנבוז 343 f. | צדנא 253 |
| עאמסרי 197. 204 | פרנך 298 | צלם 106. 196 f. 199 |
| עאמלא 337 | פרנס 282. 294 | צלמחא 278. 292 |
| עאמל 91 f. | פרס 176 | צלמשוב 197 |
| עאמי 177 | פרסי 17 | צמח 86 |
| עאמיתא 213 | פרע 338 | צער 245 |
| עאמל 46. 210 | פרש 304 | צענח 213 |
| עאמלף 79 | משק 339 | צער 229. 210 |
| עאלהריותא 264. 332 | משש 177 | צמלי 49 |
| עאמל 167 | מתורא 226 | צמר 120 |
| עאלחא 286 | מתח v. 28. 35. 311 | צמרא pr. n. 277 |

- צץ 117. 120
 צד d. 175
 צד n. 170
 צד Tyre 43 f. 46. 51.
 54. 74. 352
 ציל 117. 120
 צריחא 237. 242
 קבל 193. 309 f.
 קבר v. 142 f. 217
 קבר n. 341
 קדם adv., pre. 86. 190.
 260
 קדם(ח) 120. 126. 177.
 257. 332
 קדר 215
 קדש v. 81
 קדש 120. 126. 154.
 350. 352. 356
 קום 170
 קים 217. 236. 300
 קים 164. 179. 271.
 281. 291. 339
 קמו 276
 קחון 295
 קמין 203
 קמרי 312
 קמרת 126
 קיומה 289
 קימא 209
 קינו 229. 231
 קיניא 289
 קי(י)סר 249. 252. 262.
 288
 קיר 5. 11. 14. 166
 קיר חרש
 קישא 219. 235
 קל(א) 94. 104. 110. 133
 קלבי 212
 קלדים 252. 268
 קלול 213
 קלניא 279
 קלקים 249. 338
 קנאם 148
 קנמי 33 f.
 קנס 223. 235
 קסנתון 234
 קפא 66
 קצבא 339
 קציו 252 ff.
 קצץ 39
 קצרת 118. 124
 קר 67
 קרא 21. 24. 155. 167.
 252
 קרא 256. 283.
 307
 קרב 295. 268. 360
 קרבחא 201 f.
 קרבלון 340
 קרחא 7
 קרמסמא 291. 293
 קריא 339
 קרית 11
 קריתון 10
 קרל 163. 167. 176
 קרני 119
 קרם 335
 קרתחורשת 53. 69. 134
 קשמ v. 311
 קשמא 312
 קשמון 338
 קתל 177
 קר=רב 106. 115
 קראח 5. 8
 קראשת 54
 קרב 42. 101. 84. f. 101.
 106. 129. 153. 280
 קרבח 21. 36. 58 f.
 91. 99. 127. 131 f.
 135. 158. 213
 קבאל 239. 250 f. 255
 קבאסירא 334
 קרבח pr. n. 303
 קרבח 273
 קרבע 190
 קר' שלשת 237
 קרבעתארק 178. 183
 קרברבן 183. 185
 קר. n. 312
 קרנו 28. 169
 קרניא 250
 קרנל 335 f. 338
 קרן 219
 קרוח 253. 304
 קרומא 235. 237
 קרומו 225
 קרן 183
 קרוזין 280
 קרחם d. 276
 קרחם 245. 266. 288.
 300 f. 305
 קר' עמח 215. 245.
 256
 קרחמא 295. 300
 קרחמח 5. 12
 קרית 5. 11
 קרב 177
 קרבאל 165. 183. 302
 קרע 17
 קרעי 285
 קרעם 69
 קרע f. 150
 קרעא 110
 קרעא 29 f. 35
 קרמי 177
 קרצו 233. 296
 קרצא 232 f.
 קרצף 361
 קרקי 167 f. 185
 קרש n. 13. 264. 285
 קר pr. n. 111. 147

| | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| רשי v. 170. 234. 236 | שיע אלקום 255. 304 | שמש d. 75. 101. 104. |
| רשף 56 f. 67. 165 | שירתא 271 f. | 165. 188. 222. |
| ר' אליית 89 | שכב 148 | 267. 269. 276. |
| ר' חץ 56 f. | שכוחו 238 | 297 f. 299 |
| ר' מכל 76. 79. 89 | שכיתח 280 | שמש v. 279. 283 |
| רשפיתח 61. 74 | שכרא 295. 304 | שמח n. 29 |
| ש 108. 110 f. 129. 139. | שלה v. 210 | שמשרם 298. 311 |
| 147. 187. 190 | שלו 223 | שן num. 103 |
| שא 355 | שלחא 340 | שנא v. 243 |
| שאה 176 | שלי 232. 240 | שנלא 198 |
| שאלא 283 | שלימח 234 | שנח n. 169 |
| שאר 118 f. 203 | שלך 107 | שנרבח 187 |
| שבא 268 | שלכי 158 | שני 42 |
| שבח 225. 302 f. | שלם v. 81. 99. 111 | שנת 175. 267 |
| שבי 177 | שלם n. 67. 117 f. 124. | שח 5 f. 40 f. 47. 51. |
| שבלח 150 | 203. 258 ff. | 78. 95. 106. 110. |
| שבעי 175 | שלם pr. n. 79. 84 | 115 f. 130. 148. |
| שבעח 362 | שלמו 220. 225. 234 | 196 |
| שבת pr. n. 268 | שלמלח 275 | שנת pl. 32. 40 f. |
| שנ(י)א 203. 280. 332 | שלמן d. 42 | 55. 85. 141 |
| שנית 85 | שלמן pr. n. 299 | שעדאלהי 361 |
| שנל 309 | שלשן 176. 185 | שעדלח 304 |
| שד 37 f. 85 | שם n. 47. 190. 197 f. | שעודח 234. 246 |
| שדא 339 | 297. 300 | שע(י)רו 234. 260. 288 |
| שדק 14 | שם בעל 37. 106. | שעלריא 142 |
| שדח 187 f. | 132 | שערה 166. 176 |
| שדח 309 | שמאל 182 f. | שערם 13. 138 |
| שוק 280 | שמדח 223 | שמח 121 |
| שורה 176 | שמזבל 71 | שמח 44. 63. 100. 106. |
| שוב 197. 255 | שמי 166 | 110. 115 f. 129 f. |
| שח 125 | שמם 45. 157 | 146. 157. |
| שחרבחל 147 | שממאדרם 36 | שצף 120 |
| שחח 170. 175 | שמן num. 77 | שקר 126 |
| שמיפתא 336 | שמן n. 120 f. | שקוף 342 |
| שמר 47. 228. 240. | שמע 24 | שקילח 246 |
| 243. 334 | שמעא 58 | שקל 118. 176. 356 |
| שמרב 176 | שמעבעל 96 | שקלן pr. n. 147 |
| שם 104. 170. 180. | שמעון 278. 358 f. | שקן 309 |
| 191. 197 | שמר 72. 107. 148 | שרדל 61 |
| שימחא 198 | שמרג 179 | שרח 111 |
| | שמרת 129 | שרח 194. 212 f. |

| | | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| שריכו 277 f. 312 | תחומא 335. 339 | תמנחא 205 |
| שריתא 275. 295 | תחמי 205 | תמנחא תמניא 337 |
| שחן 12. 41 | תחת 29. 35 | תמש 56 |
| שרר 332. 334 | תמלילא 276 | תנא 243 f. |
| שרש 36 | תידרוס 272 | תנן 194. 279 |
| שתא 168. 305 | תימא 197 | תנת 37. 127 f. 132 f. |
| שתוא 184 | תימניא 225. 229 | תנתלו 259 |
| | תימאלחי 228. 262. | תסחדא 209 |
| | 269 | תע 27 |
| אית = ת 147. 149 f. | תימו 237. 303 | תעבת 29 |
| 155 | תימי 269 | תעת 153 |
| ת fem. 5. 25 | תימעמר 303 | תצביתא 277. 282. |
| תאר 38 | תימצא 307 | 302 |
| תבא 205 | תימרצו 233. 273. 303 | תקל 209 |
| תבנת 27. 33 | תינ 126 | תקן 291 |
| תברת 124 | תירא 301 | תקף 217. 231 |
| תגלתפלסר 178. 183. | תכלת 47. 66 | תקף 344 f. |
| 188 | תלה 210 | תריבו 344 |
| תגמא 287. | תלת 262 | תרינ 237 |
| תגרא 271. 287. 333 | תלחין 237 | תרויהק 266 |
| תגר 263. 335 | תם 95 | תרת(א) 247. 282 |
| תגרמא 268. 284 | תמה 206 | תשמיש 337 |
| תהך 209 | תמנאל 361 | תשרי 252. 283 |
| תורא 238 | | |

INDEX II

ARABIC

| | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| أ conj. iv 58 | برم 294 | داص 122 |
| اثر 50 | بغى 115 | دحق 309 |
| اثنان 56 | بلى 21 | دعم 44 |
| اخذ 11 | تار 242 | ديان 6 |
| اخر 191 | تلمر 263. 284 | ذا 168 |
| ارسوف 57 | تكة 136 | ذريح 237 |
| ارض 166 | تيم الله 228. 237. 269 | ذو 45. 218 |
| ارة 11. 56 | تين 126 | ذو الشرى 218 |
| ارى 11 | جاه 242 | ذو اللصة 260 |
| اريكة 255 | جار 63. 305 | راس 285 |
| اسم 168 | جنة 223 | رب العالمين 296 |
| امل 243 | جدعان 79 | رجل 335 |
| افعل conj. viii 11 | جرم 259 | رحام 276 |
| انكل 223 | جمر 225 | رزا 280 |
| اقتال conj. viii 13 | جنة 120 | رماه 167. 233. 273 |
| اكرم 155 | حرج 243 | رعى 97. 167 |
| آل 245 | حرس 243 | رعو 98 |
| المجر 214. 236 | حرم 12. 220 | رعى 97 f. |
| الى 214 | حور 200 | رهن 219 |
| الف 219 | حير 304 | زيد 271 |
| اللات 222 | حية 135 | زبل 71. |
| امر 120. 337 | خبين 143 | زرم 33 |
| امهات 47 | خرط 128 | زنجيرلو 163 |
| انا، انى 225 | خزن 71 f. | سجد 238 |
| آبا 22 | خلف 8. 230. 234 | سحب 11 |
| باب 309 | خلّة 33 | سرسور 70 f. |
| بابة 212 | خليقة 220 | سك 33 |
| باس 191 | دار 153 | سلاح 340 |
| باع 115 | | |
| برا 124 | | |

| | | |
|-------------------|--------------|---------------|
| سلام 252 | ف 165. 217 | محرمه 198 |
| سلك 8. 107 | فخذ 299 | مسمار 87 |
| سمرة 129 | فرمان 294 | معن الله 199 |
| سيارة 271 | فص 243 | مكتبر 142 |
| شاه 184 | فلت 177 | ملحت 278 |
| شلو 223 | فما ذا 165 | من البيان 230 |
| شهر 187 | قالب 212 | منازل 82 |
| شيع القوم 304 | قتل 177 | مناة 219 |
| مدقة 197 | قلة 213 | نباوة 12 |
| معد 245 | قيس 219 | ندب 171 |
| ملحة 253 | قين 229 | نسخة 235 |
| مهوة 242 | كان 79 | نسب 234 |
| موة 197 | كبر 48 | نصب 103 |
| فمك 184 | كرجين 163 | نقب 17 |
| متر 170 | كرسى 61 | نيرب 187 |
| فريج 237 | كسوة 126 | هبر 124 |
| مهوة 242 | كفر 219 | هبل 223. 257 |
| طار 242 | كلا, كلان 13 | هجم 197 |
| ظلم 106. 196 | كله 179 | هد 164 |
| | وكنى 98 | هنا 198 |
| | كيهك 213 | هذا الذي 78 |
| | | هوى 176 |
| عشر 187 | ل 47. 169 | وائل 106 |
| عدى 201 | لحى 189 | وئب 243 |
| عسلان 187 | لعن 218. 223 | ود 169 |
| علاوة 28 | ليس 184 | وصب 38 |
| علمى 136 | ليل 169 | وصر 38 |
| عم 245 | ما 184 | وصل 118 |
| عمر 199 | ما .. من 234 | وما 166 |
| عمران 199 | مادبا 8 | وضع 38 |
| غرفة 23 | مائنات 13 | وهب 224 |
| غفر 239 | مجانا 275 | ين 13 |
| غير 223. 230. 234 | مجد 268 | |

INDEX III

SYRIAC

| | | |
|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| ܐܚܐ 309 | ܐܚܐ ܕܥܡܐ 242 | ܐܚܐ 338 |
| ܐܚܐ 333 | ܐܚܐ 298 | ܐܚܐ 339 |
| ܐܚܐ 340 | ܐܚܐ 32 | ܐܚܐ 335 |
| ܐܚܐ 227 | ܐܚܐ 301 | ܐܚܐ' suff. 209. 311 |
| ܐܚܐ 209 | ܐܚܐ 336 | ܐܚܐ 310 |
| ܐܚܐ 55 | ܐܚܐ 243 | ܐܚܐ 22 |
| ܐܚܐ 248 | ܐܚܐ 311 | ܐܚܐ 209 |
| ܐܚܐ 338 | ܐܚܐ 225 | ܐܚܐ 48 |
| ܐܚܐ 206 | ܐܚܐ' suff. | ܐܚܐ 293 |
| ܐܚܐ 120. 337 | ܐܚܐ 339 | ܐܚܐ 170 |
| ܐܚܐ 12 | ܐܚܐ 191 | ܐܚܐ 237 |
| ܐܚܐ 228 | ܐܚܐ 283 | ܐܚܐ 335 |
| ܐܚܐ 336 | ܐܚܐ 198 | ܐܚܐ 277 |
| ܐܚܐ 271 | ܐܚܐ 231 | ܐܚܐ 242 |
| ܐܚܐ 237. 336 | ܐܚܐ 335 | ܐܚܐ 334 |
| ܐܚܐ 296 | ܐܚܐ 280 | ܐܚܐ 339 |
| ܐܚܐ 296 | ܐܚܐ 120 | ܐܚܐ 189 |
| ܐܚܐ 332 | ܐܚܐ 338 | ܐܚܐ 184 |
| ܐܚܐ 338 | ܐܚܐ 304 | ܐܚܐ 279 |
| ܐܚܐ 184 | ܐܚܐ 188 | ܐܚܐ 335 |
| ܐܚܐ 190 | ܐܚܐ 33 | ܐܚܐ 334. 339 |
| ܐܚܐ 339 | ܐܚܐ 175 | ܐܚܐ 29 |
| ܐܚܐ 298 | ܐܚܐ 153. 337 | ܐܚܐ 13 |
| ܐܚܐ 335 | ܐܚܐ 273 | ܐܚܐ 299 |
| ܐܚܐ 307 | ܐܚܐ 198 | ܐܚܐ 205 |
| ܐܚܐ 225 | ܐܚܐ 284 | ܐܚܐ 237 |
| ܐܚܐ 298 | | ܐܚܐ 337 |
| ܐܚܐ 170 | | |
| ܐܚܐ 340 | | |

| | | |
|----------|----------|----------|
| ܡܚܠܐ 279 | ܡܚܠܐ 302 | ܡܚܠܐ 300 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 332 | ܡܚܠܐ 280 | ܡܚܠܐ 312 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 199 | ܡܚܠܐ 339 | ܡܚܠܐ 285 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 276 | ܡܚܠܐ 333 | ܡܚܠܐ 119 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 311 | ܡܚܠܐ 339 | ܡܚܠܐ 336 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 336 | ܡܚܠܐ 304 | ܡܚܠܐ 283 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 248 | ܡܚܠܐ 335 | ܡܚܠܐ 271 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 206 | ܡܚܠܐ 338 | ܡܚܠܐ 340 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 291 | ܡܚܠܐ 120 | ܡܚܠܐ 223 |
| | ܡܚܠܐ 270 | ܡܚܠܐ 188 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 126 | ܡܚܠܐ 243 | ܡܚܠܐ 309 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 213 | ܡܚܠܐ 213 | ܡܚܠܐ 212 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 256 | ܡܚܠܐ 294 | ܡܚܠܐ 287 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 332 | ܡܚܠܐ 339 | ܡܚܠܐ 271 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 212 | ܡܚܠܐ 210 | ܡܚܠܐ 276 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 213 | ܡܚܠܐ 213 | ܡܚܠܐ 243 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 188 | ܡܚܠܐ 338 | ܡܚܠܐ 279 |
| | ܡܚܠܐ 339 | ܡܚܠܐ 277 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 188 | ܡܚܠܐ 312 | ܡܚܠܐ 13 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 197 | ܡܚܠܐ 289 | ܡܚܠܐ 333 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 198 | ܡܚܠܐ 209 | ܡܚܠܐ 282 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 33 | ܡܚܠܐ 34 | ܡܚܠܐ 337 |
| ܡܚܠܐ 223 | ܡܚܠܐ 339 | |
| ܡܚܠܐ 333 | | |

INDEX IV

GREEK

| | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Ἀβδήλιμος 46 | Ἄπης 202 | Βεελμάρι 65 |
| Ἀβδήμονος 104 | Ἀπόλλων Ἀγνεύς 57 | Βεελσάμην 37. 46 |
| Ἀβδημίλων 62 | „ Ἀλασιώτης 89 | Βήλθης 21 |
| Ἀβδουβάστιος 69 | „ Ἀμυκλός 76 | Βητομαρσεια 122 |
| ἀγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον 76 | ἀργαπέτης 289 | Βοσόρ 13 |
| Ἀγλιβῶλος 301 | Ἀρέτας 215 f. | Βουδάστρατος 41 |
| ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῇ 96 | Ἄρης 129. 296 | βουλευτής 284 |
| ἀγορανομήσαντα 280 | Ἄρκη 89 | βουλή 264. 294. 332 |
| Ἀγρεύς 91 | Ἀρσινώ 51. 79 | Βύβλος 19 |
| ἀδελφός 246 | Ἀρτίμιδες 133 | Βυζάντιον 158 |
| Ἀδωδος 164 | Ἀρτεμίδωρος 133 | |
| Ἄδωνις 61 | ἀρχηγέτης 102 f. | Γαῦδος 105 |
| Ἄζιζος 296 | ἀρχιερεύς 101 | γερουσία 116. 354 |
| Ἀθάρα 269 f. | ἀρχιπραγματευτής 71 | γῆμος 335 f. |
| Ἀθήνη 81. 222 | ἀρχοντες 279. 332 | γραμματεὺς 282 |
| Ἀθηνίδωρος 222. 291 | Ἀσκληπιός 36 f. | Γῶγ 16 |
| -αι 266 | ἄσσανιον 336 | |
| αἰώνιος 307 | Ἀσταρτεῖον, τὸ 27 | Δαιβών 6 |
| Ἄκτια Δουσάρια 219 | Ἀστάρτη 21. 27 f. 36 | δαίμων Καρχηδονίων |
| ἀλάβαστρον 336 | Ἀταργάτις 28. 49. 269 f. | 107. 132 |
| Ἀλέξανδρος 353. 355 | ἀτελής 134 | δαρεικοί 97 |
| ἄλες 110. 338 | ἀτομητός 119 | Δατάμης 344 |
| Ἀλιεύς 91 | Ἀττικαί 283 | δικάπρωτοι 334 |
| Ἀλιλάτ 222 | αὐτοκράτωρ 290 | Δερκετώ 269 f. |
| Ἀμμάς 131 | ἀφειδεῖν 274. 280 | δέρματα 118 |
| Ἀμμονεύς 104 | Ἀφροδισίον 27 | δέσποινα 287 |
| ἀναγράψαι 98 f. | Ἀφροδίτη 27. 270 | δεσπότης 287 |
| ἀναθήματα 220 | „ Βυβλίη 21 | Δημήτηρ 131 |
| Ἀναίτις 133 | Ἀψάσωμος 62 | Δημόνικος 348 |
| ἀνακτες 74 | Ἀψητος 91 | δῆμος 264. 294 |
| ἀνασσαι 74 | | δημοσιώτης 333 |
| ἀνδράντες 340 | Βασιλλήχ 101. 107 | δηνάρια 274. 336 |
| Ἀνίβας 108 | Βαρσαββᾶς 268 | δικαιοσύνη 197 |
| Ἀντίγονος 230. 355 | βασιλεῖς 115 | Διονύσιος 59. 103 |
| Ἀντίοχος 230. 349 f. | βασιλεύς 290 f. | Διόνυσος 218 f. 222. |
| Ἀντίπατρος 93 | βασιλίσσα 290 f. | 239 |
| Ἀπειλῶνι ἔλεϊται 89 | βάσις 225 | Διοπεΐθης 96 |

- Δίος 294
 δόγμα 332
 Δομανῶ 94. 101
 Δομσάως 94. 101
 Δουσάρης 218 f.
 δραχμή 96 f.
 Ἐθας 270
 εἶδωλον 29
 Εἰθώβαλος 27
 -εις, -ει, -ειν 266
 εἰσκομίζειν 335
 ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων 256
 ἐκατομβαιών 59
 ἐκήβολος 57
 ἐκκομίζειν 335
 ἐλεημοσύνη 197
 Ἑλλωτία 158
 ἐνύπνιον 203
 ἐξέδρα 309
 ἐπαρχία 231. 261
 ἑπαρχος 231. 281
 ἐπιμελητής 72. 107. 280
 ἐπίτροπος 245 f. 288
 ἐργαστήριον 136. 337
 ἐρμηνευτής 61
 Ἑσμούνος 37
 Ἑστυμσελήμον 101
 ἐταῖραι 337. 340
 εὐεργέτης 51
 εὐμέτης 149
 εὐχαρίστως 300
 εὐψύχει 206
 Ἐφκας πηγῆς 72. 280
 Ζεβεδαῖος 271
 Ζεὺς Βῆλος 288. 303
 „ ἐν Κύπρῳ 89
 „ Θαλάσσιος 37
 „ Μαδβαχος 222
 „ μέγιστος 295 f.
 Ζεὺς Ξένιος 46
 „ Ὀλύμπιος 46
 „ θρεῖς 54
 „ σωτήρ 100
 „ ὕψιστος 291.
 297 f.
 Ζηνοβία 291 f.
 ἡγεμών 279
 Ἡλιόδωρος 75. 280. 302
 Ἡλλίου πώλις 91
 Ἡρακλῆς 74. 102. 107
 -ης, -η, -ην 267. 275
 Θαβεννι 27
 Θαδάμορα 263
 θέατρον 225
 θεοὶ ἀδελφοί 51. 79
 θεοποιοῦσι 244
 θεὸς ὕψιστος 298
 Θήρων 91
 θίασος 121
 Ἱεραβῶλος 280. 312
 Ἱεράκων νῆσος 108
 ἱεροθύτης 107
 ἱματισπῶλαι 337
 Ἱόλαος 106 f.
 ἱππικός 284
 Κάβειροι 37
 Καῖσαρ 252
 κανηφόρος 78 f.
 Καρνάιν 269
 καρμικός 335
 καταδῶ 135 f.
 κατ' ἄνδρα 213
 κειράδας 7
 κελωλ 213
 κέρμα 339
 Κίτιον 158
 κλεινοσηγός 72
 κλίσση 187
 κοινόν, τὸ 96. 354
 κοπρία 319
 κόπρον 25
 Κοσγήρος 234. 305
 Κονσταανος 234
 κόστος 338
 κράτιστος 340
 Κρόνος 20 f. 350
 κρίστης 291
 Κυθέρεια 27
 κύνης 68
 Κύπρις 27
 Κύπρος 63
 κύριος βασιλείων 38
 λάκκος 10
 λαμπρότατος 285. 287
 Λαοδικαία 46. 349 f.
 Λάπηθος 57. 85
 Λάρναξ 85
 Λεάσταρτος 275
 Λειββαῖος 145
 λειτουργία 99
 λείοντας, δύο 56
 Λεῦκος 128
 Λιβανίτις 27
 λίβανος 126
 λιμένα 335
 λίτρα 110
 Λῶος 273
 Μαιουμας 122
 Μάκαρ 108
 Μαλαχβήλος 104. 268.
 301
 Μαλίχας 239
 μαντιάρχης 72
 Μάρθα 278
 Μάρνας 65. 109
 μεγαλόδοξος 51

μέγαρον 131
 Μελέα 275
 Μελλάβρος 74
 Μέρβαλος 109
 μηλωτής 333
 μηρρη 109
 Μήτηρ, ἡ 131
 μισθωτής 333
 μνᾶ 96
 Μινασίας 89
 μόδιον 338
 Μονιμος 199

 Ναβαταῖοι 216
 Νήραβος 187
 Νίσιβις 104
 νόμισμα 353
 νόμος 332
 Νουμήγιος 63

 Ξανδικός 289
 ξένοι 282
 Ξέρξης 201

 'Οβόδης 244
 ὀβολός 121
 ὀγδοος 37
 οἶνος 213. 305
 ὄρια 335
 'Οροσῶλ 222. 239
 'Οσιρις 61. 206
 Οὐαβάλλαθος 291
 Οὐρανία 27 f. 222

 Πάλμυρα 263. 294. 312
 Παταμνής 163
 παντοπωλείον 337
 παράσιτος 63
 πάροικος 63
 πάταϊκοι 23
 Παωφί 212
 πεμφθείς 49

Πέρσης, ὁ 71
 Πέτρα 215
 πολιτευσάμενον 280
 Ποσειδῶν 81
 Πραξίδημος 81. 84
 Πράξιππος 84
 πρόεδρος 332
 πρόπυλον 98
 προστάτης 289
 πρόστωιον 98
 Πυγμαλιών 56
 Πυμάτος 56
 πυραμίδες 214

 'Ραβασείρη 198. 334

 Σαγχουνιάδων 100
 Σαλαμβώ 106
 Σαλάμιοι 220
 Σαμψιγέραμος 298
 Σαραπίων 103
 Σεβαστή 291
 Σεβαστός 291
 Σελαμανης 43
 Σεληναίη 28
 σελήνη 28
 Σεπτίμιος 285. 291
 Σέσματος 62. 81
 σημείον 302
 Σιδωνίων 352
 Σίλας 283
 Σισίνης 62
 Σπασίνου Χάραξ 272
 στατήρ 223
 στεφανῶσαι 96
 στήλη 98. 102. 334
 στοά 23
 στρατηγοί 248. 279.
 332
 στρατιώτης 285
 στρόβιλοι 339

συγκλητικός 285
 σύγκλητος 116
 Συλλαίος 232. 245
 συμποσίαρχος 288. 303
 σύμφωνοι 338
 σύνδικοι 335
 συνοδία 271
 συνοδιάρχης 271
 σύνοδος 95. 102
 συσσιτία 122
 Σωτήρ 255
 Σώχαρις 42

 τάγμα 287
 Ταυνίδα 132
 τελώνης 333
 τέμενος 50. 269
 Τέννης 27
 Τεώς 204
 Τιτανίδες 133
 τοξόται 312
 τόπος 167
 Τύνης 128. 132
 Τυρίων 352
 τύχη 82. 84. 219. 245.
 269

 ὕδωρ 206
 ὑπατικός 287. 290
 'Υπερβερεταῖος 252. 283

 Φιλόπατρις 215

 Χααβον 218
 χαίρε 203
 χάριτας ἀξίας 99
 χιλίαρχος 226
 χρήματα τοῦ Θεοῦ 99
 χρυσός 23
 χωνευτά 108
 χωρία 339
 χωράρχης 84

INDEX V

BIBLICAL REFERENCES

⓪ = LXX, Ⓢ = Syriac, ℣ = Targum, ℣ Psj. = Targum Pseudo-Jonathan.

| GENESIS. | | 28 12 | 75 | 29 f. | 179 | 20 3 | 118 |
|-----------|----------|------------|-----|-------------|----------|-------------|------|
| 1 10 | 300 | 22 | 104 | 48 7 | 17 | 5 | 190 |
| 31 | 97. 125 | 32 3 | 168 | 50 7-13 | 179 | 24 | 117 |
| 2 5 | 126. 166 | 32 | 133 | 25 | 179 | 25 | 17 |
| 4 18 | 24 | 34 12 | 109 | 26 | 28 | 21 22 | 122 |
| 9 3 | 78 | 35 16 | 49 | | | 30 | |
| 21 | 8 | 20 | 60 | EXODUS. | | ℣ Psj. 223 | |
| 10 9 | 120 | 36 11. 15. | | 3 15 | 37 | 23 13 | 168 |
| 17 | 89 | 42 | 145 | 4 10 | 361 | 18 | 121 |
| 11 1 | 17 | 15 ff. | 210 | 6 14 | 13 | 19 | 54 |
| 12 5 | 69 | 21 | 238 | 7 20 | 24 | 20 ff. | 37 |
| 14 5 | 10 | 38 | 130 | 9 23 | 12 | 20. 23 | 304 |
| 13 | 119 | 43 | 299 | 10 2 | 20 | 25 11 ff. | 120 |
| 18 | 101 | 37 4 | 35 | 11 7 ℣ | 199 | 23 ℣ | 226 |
| 15 9 | | 19 | 119 | 12 7. 22 f. | 342 | 27 | 154 |
| Sam. ℣ | 120 | 28 | 118 | 22 | 43 | 26 31 ff. | 67 |
| 18 5 | 168 | 38 25 ℣ | 210 | 39 ℣ | 78 | 36 | 33 |
| 19 23 | 178 | 39 6 ℣ | 126 | 13 19 | 179 | 27 8 | 155 |
| 26 | 103 | 14 ℣ | 279 | 14 14. 25 | | 28 11 | 22 |
| 27 | 99 | 40 9-11 | 213 | ℣ Psj. | 76 | 29 2 | 121 |
| 20 16 | 118 | 41 45 | 91 | 15 10 | 38 | 14 | 119 |
| 22 18 | 35 | 42 4 ℣ | 311 | 15 | 49 | 30 8 | 126 |
| 23 9. 20 | 237 | 23 | 61 | 27 ℣ | 198 | 13 121. 351 | |
| 19 f. | 308 | 25 ℣ | 274 | 16 5 | 122 | 13 ℣ | 223 |
| 24 12 | 24 | 43 9 | 99 | 15 | 311 | 36 ℣ | 171 |
| 27 | 179 | 16 Ⓢ | 212 | 22 | 96 | 33 10 | 49 |
| 25 13 | 215 | 44 13 | 34 | 34 | 24 | 14 f. | 132. |
| 15 | 197 | 32 | 99 | 17 10 | 200. 232 | | 304 |
| 28 | 120 | 45 4 | 20 | 15 | 7 | 34 1 | 155 |
| 26 10 | 170 | 46 21 | 111 | 18 23 | 128 | 5 f. 37. | 106 |
| 29 | 24 | 26 | 299 | 25 | 13 | 7 | 190 |
| 27 19. 31 | 35 | 47 13 | 13 | 19 13 | 29. 120 | 34 | 126 |
| 31 | 8 | 22 | 198 | 15 | 55 | 36 3 | 67 |

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------|-----------|---------|--------------|---------|-----------|-------|
| 38 | 23 | 21 5 | 67 | 22 | 229 | 4 | 120 |
| 38 8 | 96 | 22 11 | 69 | 25 1-3 | 7. 122 | 12 | 29 |
| 17 | 23 | 23 40 | 126.358 | 6 | 24 | 19 4 | 17 |
| 39 3 | 75 | 25 13 | 120 | 26 54 | 122 | 20 20 | 78 |
| 37 | 23. 242 | 26 1 | 179 | 27 12 | 248 | 22 19 | 122 |
| | | 27 2 ff. | 106 | 31 8 | 201 | 23 14 | 128 |
| LEVITICUS. | | 3. 25 | 351 | 28 | 33. 332 | 18. 19 | 68 |
| 1 | 120 | 28 f. | 12 | 32 14 | 13 | 25 7 | 198 |
| 1-2 | 117 | | | 34-38 | 5. | 18 X | 171 |
| 1 14 | 120 | NUMBERS. | | 10. 12. 13 | | 28 4 ff. | 117 |
| 2 4 | 121 | 1 10 | 175 | 33 46 | 14 | 4. 18. 51 | 27 |
| 4-6 | 121 | 3 24 | 275 | 52 | 179 | 39 | 166 |
| 12 f. | 120 | 50 | 17 | 34 25 | 298 | 63 | 198 |
| 14 ff. | 121 | 7 9 | 97 | | | 32 4 | 175 |
| 3 3 ff. | 121 | 13 ff. | 118 | DEUTERONOMY. | | 8 | 166 |
| 5 7. 11 | 117 | 13. 86 | 351 | 2 11 | 5 | 10 | 209 |
| 15 | 351 | 9 20 | 33 | 32 | 12 | 23 | 57 |
| 6 15 f. | 117 | 11 5 | 166 | 34 | 12 | 37 | 110 |
| 19 | 117 | 18 | | 36 | 13 | 33 10 | 117 |
| 7 8 | 119. 124 | X Psj. | 281 | 3 6 | 12 | 27 | 13 |
| 8. 15-19. | | 13 10 | 79 | 10 | 12. 253 | 34 7 | 190 |
| 31-34 | 117 | 16 14 X | 76 | 11 | 187 | | |
| 10 | 121 | 34 X | 311 | 4 3 | 37 | JOSHUA. | |
| 15-19 | 118 | 17 3 | 75 | 16 | 58 | 1 4. 15 | 49 |
| 31 f. | 118 | 18 12 | 120 | 43 | 13 | 5 1 ⑥ | 350 |
| 8 15 | | 21. 31 | 99 | 5 25 | 104 | 6 5 | 120 |
| X Psj. | 280 | 19 5 | 119 | 6 11 | 17. 332 | 17-19 | 12 |
| 17 | 119 | 20 19 | 177 | 7 13 | 27. 117 | 8 1 | 12 |
| 10 1 | 126 | 21 2 f. | 12 | 25 | 29 | 9 5. 14 | 120 |
| 11 16 | 108 | 19 f. | 13 | 8 9 | 17 | 15 | 96 |
| 29 | 256 | 23 | 12 | 13 12 | 25 | 12 5 | 253 |
| 12 6. 8 | 117. 120 | 29 | 7 f. | 17 | 117 | 23 | 38 |
| 13 2. 18. | | 30 | 8 | 14 9. 10 X | 120 | 13 9 | 8 |
| 24 X | 219 | 22 2 | 277 | 14 | 108 | 9. 16 f. | 12 |
| 14 4 | 120 | 38 | 170 | 15 2 | 17 | 15-28 | 5. 10 |
| 21 | 117 | 41 | 13 | 8 | 119 | 14 7 | 11 |
| 16 3 | 7 | 23 5. 12. | | 20 | 226 | 15 19 | 20 |
| 12 | 126 | 16 | 170 | 17 1 | 29 | 34 | 72 |
| 19 6 | 118 | 24 17 | 359 | 3 | 165 | 58 | 175 |
| 27 f. | 67 | 20 | 191 | 20 | 24 | 59 | 80 |
| 20 5 | 24 | 21 f. X | 220 | 18 3. 4 | 117 | 17 11 | 38 |

C C 2

| | | | | | | | |
|---------|----------|-------------------|---------|------------|----------|--------------------|----------|
| 7 | 176 | 9 | 8 | 43 9 | 218 | 25 23 | 197 |
| 11 | 9 | 10 4 | 21 | 44 19 | 176 | 30 20 | 86 |
| 15. 16 | 178 | 23 | 98 | 45 4 | 98 | 31 27 | 126 |
| 11 2 | 169 | 32 | 121 | 46 1. 3 | 34 | 33 1 | |
| 18 | 46 | 11 1 | 165 | 47 11 | 17 | © Hex. 282 | |
| 12 10 | 17 | 14 | 14 | 48 4 | 97 | 15 | 86 |
| 15 29 | 178 | 14 9 | 29 | 13 | 22 | 35 | 305 |
| 16 7 | 178. 183 | 21 | 130 | 49 2 X | 128 | 36 10 | 49 |
| 8 | 177 | 15 1. 4 | 12 | 8 | 138 | 22 | 184 |
| 10 | 178 | 2 ff. 5 ff. 9. 12 | | 52 8 | 85 | 37 16 | 153. 337 |
| 17 | 22 | 5 | 14. 248 | 53 2 | 36 | 38 14 | 22 |
| 17 12 | 245 | 16 6 | 35 | 54 8 | 120 | 42 18 | 169 |
| 18 | 8 | 7. 11. 12 | 7 | 56 5 | 47 | 46 15 | 202 |
| 24 | 12 | 8 | 177 | 57 2 | 34 | 47 3 | 178 |
| 29 | 100 | 17 10 | 175 | 58 8 | 12 | 48 1 ff. 5. 10. 12 | |
| 30 | 101 | 18 7 | 37 | 10 | 28 | 3 ff. | 14 |
| 31 | 80 | 20 4 | 177 | 61 7 | | 5 | 248 |
| 20 20 | 16 | 21 11 | 12 | © Hex. 282 | | 9 | 120 |
| 21 7 | 51. 104 | 14 | 197 | 63 9 | 132. 304 | 18. 22 | 6 |
| 22 1 | 201 | 22 9. 11 | 16 | 65 10 | 38 | 19 | 13 |
| 12 | 362 | 15 | 53 | 66 23 | 86 | 21 | 12 |
| 14 | 256 | 23 11 | 350 | | | 22 | 14 |
| 23 4. 7 | 51 | 24 23 | 104 | JEREMIAH. | | 23 | 10 |
| 5 | 82. 146 | 26 7 | 130 | 1 12 | 126 | 24 | 11 |
| 11 | 165. 337 | 13 | 168 | 5 22 | 209 | 30 | 35 |
| 17 | 147 | 14. 19 | 29 | 6 21 | 17 | 31. 35 f. | 7 |
| 34 | 362 | 16 | 210 | 7 30 | 104 | 46 | 7 |
| 24 12 | 77 | 28 15. 18 | 120 | 8 1 | 34 | 51 39 | 8 |
| 25 8 | 53 | 25 | 176 | 10 7 | 126 | 51 | 105 |
| 28 | 178 | 29 1 | 11 | 9 | 75 | 52 19 | 43 |
| | | 30 1 | 13 | 11 | 26. 166. | | |
| ISAIAH. | | 15 | 62 | | 184 | EZEKIEL. | |
| 1 13 | 66 | 24 | 117 | 13 19 | 179 | 1 1 | 177 |
| 3 18 | 187 | 32 14 | 13 | 14 3 | 129 | 11 | 191 |
| 5 2. 17 | 126 | 33 7 | 11 | 16 5 | 121. 122 | 5 1 | 67 |
| 28 | 178 | 36 2 | 16 | 18 20 | 10 | 8 3. 5 | 58 |
| 6 4 | 43 | 37 31 | 36 | 21 10 | 24 | 9 7 | 176 |
| 7 3 | 16 | 38 10 | 33 | 22 14 | 23. 146 | 10 3 | 32 |
| 8 6 | 16 | 12 | 153 | 19 | 11 | 12 20 | 176 |
| 14 | 176 | 40 19 | 76 | 23 | 36 | 16 55 | 177 |
| 9 8 | 179 | 20 | 121 | 23 5 | 86 | 17 6 | 95 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------|------------|-----|------------|----------|---------------|---------|
| 13 | 49 | 9 | 36 | ZECHARIAH. | | 50 13 | 168 |
| 20 40 | 115 | 3 15 | 184 | 8 23 | 178 | 23 | 35 |
| 23 14 | 171 | 5 26 | 196 | 12 3 | 34 | 51 19 | 59 |
| 24 6 | 210 | 6 6 | 4 | 11 | 164 | 21 | 117 |
| 25 4 | 36 | 7 | 121 | MALACHI. | | 52 7 | 189 |
| 9 | 5. 10 | 8 4 | 261 | 3 24 | 189 | 55 3 | 191 |
| 27 9 | 19 | 5 | 66 | PSALMS. | | 59 11 | 8 |
| 13 | 69 | 14 | 11 | 2 2 | 154 | 61 8 | 189 |
| 28 17 | 11 | JONAH. | | 7 | 176 | 64 8 | 189 |
| 30 13 | 92 | 1 3 | 38 | 7 18 | 36 | 66 15 | 126 |
| 17 | 91 | 7. 12 | 266 | 8 6 | 96 | 68 14 | 23 |
| 32 25 | 29 | 3 5 | 129 | 8 | 117 | 21 | 6 |
| 33 22 | 190 | MICAH. | | 9 3 | 36 | 26 | 70 |
| 30 | 170 | 3 12 | 13 | 11 3 | 67 | 69 4 | 97 |
| 34 8 | 294 | 6 7 | 168 | 12 8 | 26 | 72 19 | 297 |
| 36 11 | 177 | 16 | 9 | 15 1 | 63 | 73 12 | 85 |
| 35 | 176 | 7 4 | 33 | 3 | 166 | 28 | 201 |
| 40 2 | 96 | 17 | 176 | 18 3. 44. | | 74 17 | 166 |
| 16 | 191 | | | 49 | 175 | 75 7 | 49. 178 |
| 18 | 154 | | | 4 | 36 | 76 4 | 57 |
| 26 | 128 | | | 11 | 165 | 8 | 36 |
| 43 15. 16 | 11 | NAHUM. | | 33 | 60 | 78 12. 43 | 213 |
| 21 | 74 | 2 4 | 9 | 46 | 176 | 48 | 57 |
| 44 20 | 67 | 3 6 | 11 | 19 7 | 104. 178 | 50 | 130 |
| 30 | 203 | HABAKKUK. | | 12 | 69 | 81 4 | 66. 86 |
| 45 12 | 192 | 2 13 | 29 | 21 5 | 24 | 85 5 | 85 |
| 17 | 198 | 3 2 | 110 | 11 | 25 | 88 11 | 30 |
| 48 21 | 105 | 5 | 57 | 22 3 | 203 | 89 2. 3. 38 | 8 |
| HOSEA. | | 10 | 9 | 25 2 | 136 | 93 4 | 38 |
| 2 13 | 66 | 11 | 71 | 14 | 77 | 96 8 | 99 |
| 6 9 | 354 | ZEPHANIAH. | | 27 1 | 81 | 101 5 | 166 |
| 9 13 | 121 | 1 11 | 350 | 28 8 | 81 | 103 4 | 96 |
| 12 2 | 97 | 2 9 | 13 | 33 1 0 | 126 | 104 1. 2 | 63 |
| JOEL. | | | | 37 3 | 97 | 107 30 2 | 97 |
| 4 14 | 98 | HAGGAI. | | 41 3 | 25 | 113 2 | 297 |
| AMOS. | | 1 4 | 23 | 44 21 | 170 | 116 1. 13. 17 | 22 |
| 2 1 | 34 | 8 | 168 | 45 10 | 194 | 13 | 7 |
| 2 | 5. 11 | 9 | 78 | 46 1 | 70 | 118 7 | 8 |
| | | | | 47 10 | 36 | 119 65 | 24 |
| | | | | | | 122 | 99 |
| | | | | | | 131 | 184 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---------|---------------|-----|----------|---------|--------|---------|
| 123 | 29. 139 | 18 13 | 95 | 5 10. 12 | 183 | 9 | 340 |
| 128 3 | 85 | 16 | 36 | 7 14 | 259 | 13 | 219 |
| 136 18 | 35 | 19 23 | 218 | 17 | 33 | 15 | 339 |
| 26 | 45 | 20 8 2 | 203 | 8 17 | 266 | 16. 21 | 178 |
| 139 9 2 | 120 | 23 | 209 | 10 17 | 249 | 24 | 197 |
| 140 12 | 166 | 22 2 | 100 | 12 5 | 307 | 27 | 180 |
| 141 3 | 47 | 16 | 33 | | | 33 | 334 |
| | | 30 | 29 | ESTHER. | | 5 1 | 225 |
| PROVERBS. | | 23 8 | 12 | 1 1 | 201 | 2 | 191.218 |
| 2 22 | 189 | 24 23 | 9 | 2 3. 9. | | 7 | 336 |
| 3 4 | 24 | 26 5 | 30 | 12 6 | 277 | 10 | 166.176 |
| 13 | 28 | 27 6 | 177 | 15 | 221 | 22 | 45 |
| 32 | 29 | 30 5 | 96 | 3 7 | 218 | 25 | 176 |
| 6 1 | 99 | 32 20 | 109 | 9 29 | 217 | 29 | 218 |
| 8 35 | 28 | 33 23 | 61 | | | 6 3 | 219.247 |
| 11 20 | 29 | 34 9 | 100 | DANIEL. | | 4 | 76 |
| 13 21 | 99 | 38 32 | 82 | 1 10 | 39 | 9. 18 | 243 |
| 14 4 | 117 | 39 26 | 108 | 21 | 225 | 11 | 126.248 |
| 15 14 | 97 | | | 2 5.8.20 | 209 | 18 | 266 |
| 25 | 166 | CANTICLE. | | 6 | 170 | 25 | 206 |
| 18 24 | 361 | 1 7 | 39 | 6. 9 | 197 | 7 12 | 189 |
| 21 9 | 354 | 10 | 128 | 8 | 22 | 17 | 78.204 |
| 24 | 19 | 2 11 | 184 | 11 | 209.219 | 24 | 189 |
| 22 4 | 69 | 3 4 | 177 | 12 | 203 | 8 5 | 120 |
| 24 13 | 126 | 7 7 | 206 | 20 | 171.297 | 9 25 | 128 |
| 25 24 | 354 | 12 | 167 | 23 | 184 | 10 9 | 104 |
| 27 22 | 171 | 8 6 | 57 | 28 | 248.332 | 12 11 | 46 |
| 31 1 | 275 | | | 30 | 335 | 12 | 55 |
| | | RUTH. | | 35 | 12 | | |
| JOB. | | 2 16 | 203 | 37 | 205 | EZRA. | |
| 1 9 2 | 275 | 4 5. 10 | 198 | 43 | 210 | 1 2 | 45. 74 |
| 3 23 | 33 | | | 44 | 204 | 2 48 | 250 |
| 6 19 | 197 | LAMENTATIONS. | | 3 1 | 225 | 53 | 234 |
| 7 14 | 35 | 3 18 | 77 | 6 | 242 | 69 | 96 |
| 8 7. 11 | 85 | 45 | 25 | 8 | 206 | 3 7 | 170 |
| 9 4 | 106 | 5 21 | 86 | 10 | 338 | 4 5 | 295 |
| 32 | 203 | | | 12 | 170.210 | 10 | 12 |
| 15 2 | 209 | QOHELETH. | | 23 | 191 | 10. 23 | 209 |
| 3 | 100 | 1 14 | 98 | 28 | 219 | 12 | 166 |
| 16 15 | 340 | 17 | 180 | 4 4 | 340 | 13 | 170.189 |
| 22 | 12. 110 | 2 6 | 13 | 5 | 35 | 18 | 335 |

Index V: Biblical References

391

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|----------|----------------|----------|---------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| 21 | 210 | 6 2 | 167 | 24 15 | 341 | 14 | 129 |
| 22 | 39 | 10. 15 | 215 | 22 | 274 | 34 4 | 299 |
| 24 | 248 | 7 50 | 250 | 23 | 267 | 21 | 169 |
| 5 3 | 170 | 70-72 | 96 | 26 7 | 361 | | |
| 3. 9 | 41 | 10 21 | 341 | 27 1 | 226 | 2 ESDRAS. | |
| 4 | 184 | 11 7 | 248 | 25 | 167 | 2 12 © | 289 |
| 5 | 209 | 8 | 201 | 29 | 38 | | |
| 8 | 193. 334 | 12 7 | 201 | 28 13 | 67 | SIRACH. | |
| 10 | 209 | 22 | 71 | 18 | 22 | 48 17 | 16. 17 |
| 17 | 97. 206 | 47 | 216 | 29 7 | 96 | 50 3 | 10 |
| 6 1 | 206 | 13 15 | 34. 120 | 11 | 77 | | |
| 4 | 212. 334 | 16 | 337 | 29 | 225 | JUDITH. | |
| 9 | 45 | 25 | 25 | | | 4 8 | 354 |
| 11 | 189. 243 | | | 2 CHRONICLES. | | | |
| 7 16 | 339 | 1 CHRONICLES. | | 3 5 ff. | 155 | 1 MACCABEES. | |
| 17 | 209 | 1 15 | 89 | 7 | 22 | 1 11 | 47 |
| 18 | 97 | 30 | 197 | 4 20 | 67 | 5 25 | 216 |
| 23 | 39 | 2 40 | 62. 81 | 5 9 | 22 | 26 ff. | 13 |
| 8 27 | 96 | 3 22 | 245 | 8 4 | 263 | 43 | 269 |
| 35 | 120 | 4 35 | 362 | 9 18 | 96 | 8 20 | 354 |
| 36 | 347 | 5 16 | 12 | 13 11 | 67 | 9 35 | 216 |
| 10 4. 12 | 97 | 24 | 19 | 15 8 | 74 | 10 29 | 338 |
| 27 | 283 | 6 9 | 20 | 16 | 51 | 11 35 | 338 |
| 28 | 291 | 7 2 | 92 | 16 14 | 34 | 12 3. 6 | 354 |
| | | 6 | 299 | 17 16 | 108 | 13 14 f. | 357 |
| NEHEMIAH. | | 8 11 | 202 | 20 10 | 169 | 28 © | 214 |
| 2 1 | 218 | 11 ff. 91. 350 | | 24 | 128 | 14 47 | 354 |
| 7. 9 | 347 | 26 | 147 | 21 11 | 7 | 15 1. 2 | 354 |
| 14 | 16 | 9 13 | 67 | 24 4. 12 | 74 | 6. 27 | 353 |
| 3 4 | 197 | 27 | 97 | 6. 9 | 115 | 16 14 | 357 |
| 7 | 347 | 40 | 215 | 11 | 39 | | |
| 10 | 245 | 11 31 | 248 | 12 | 67 | 2 MACCABEES. | |
| 15. 16 | 16 | 15 13 | 62 | 26 10 | 17 | 5 8 | 216 |
| 17 f. | 46 | 20 | 70 | 27 3 | 13 | 6 2 | 46 |
| 20 | 291 | 16 29 | 99 | 28 7 X | 289 | 12 26 | 269 |
| 27 | 13 | 18 3 | 166 | 29 14 | 19 | 13 11 | 109 |
| 31 | 75 | 20 8 | 26 | 35 | 7 | | |
| 4 11 | 34 | 21 25 | 118 | 30 3 | 62 | ST. MATTHEW. | |
| 15 | 12 | 31 | 180 | 32 2 ff. | 16 | 6 1 | 197 |
| 5 4 | 39 | 22 13 | 118. 124 | 30 | 16. 17 | 9 9 | 333 |
| 15 | 118 | 14 | 67 | 33 7. 15 | 58 | 10 3 | 145 |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|-----------|-----|----------|-----|----------------|-----|
| 29 | 336 | 7 46 6 | 336 | 14 2 6 | 227 | 13 43. 50 | 298 |
| 20 3 6 | 55 | 12 6 | 336 | 18 10 | 239 | 15 22 | 283 |
| 24 3 6 | 279 | 14 28 6 | 212 | 19 41 | 242 | 28 11-13 | 257 |
| 26 7 6 | 336 | 19 8 | 333 | 21 12. | | 2 CORINTHIANS. | |
| | | 22 30 | 168 | 15 6 | 194 | 11 32 | 215 |
| ST. LUKE. | | ST. JOHN. | | ACTS. | | APOCALYPSE. | |
| 2 44 | 271 | 2 15 6 | 339 | 1 23 | 268 | 12 5 | 222 |
| 3 1 f. | 84 | 5 4 6 | 335 | 2 7 | 29 | 15 6 6 | 76 |
| 12 f. | 333 | 9 7 | 15 | 10 2. 22 | 298 | 22 15 | 68 |
| 31 | 275 | | | | | | |

INDEX VI

GENERAL

| | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| Abias 253 | Amathous 61 | Aramaic, Bibl. 12. 26. |
| Abydos (Asia M.) 193 | Amma 131 | 166. 175. 184. |
| (Egypt) 90 | Ana 345 | 218 ff. 264. 334 |
| Accounts, daily 212 | 'Anath 80 f. | &c. |
| Accus. sign 22. 170. | Anatum 80. 133 | of Egypt 185. 200 |
| 279 | Antigonus (the Ma- | N. Arabia 196 ff. |
| Aelia Capitolana 359 | ced.) 250 | Nabataea 215 |
| Aesculapius 36. 38 | (Mattathias) 355 f. | Nérab & Bab. |
| Afel forms 189. 199 | Antioch 292 | 185 |
| Agbar 190 | Antiochus iv 350 | Old 5. 26 &c. |
| 'Agli-bôl 269. 301 f. | xii 250 | of Palmyra 264 f. |
| Ahab 4. 9 | Antony 254 | in Pers. Emp. 193. |
| Ahaziah 9 | Aphrodite 21. 27. 270 | 200. 343. 347 |
| Alexander the Gt. 47. | Apis 202 | of Zenjirli 184 f. |
| 346. 350 | Apollo 57. 76. 89 | Archers, Palm. 312 |
| Jannaeus 354 | Apposition 22. 118. | Ares 7. 296. 344 |
| Severus 279 | 124. 337 | Aretas, <i>see</i> Harethath |
| Zebina 353 | 'Aqiba, Rabbi 359 | Arethusa 343 |
| Allât 158. 222. 253 | Ar 11 | Ariel 11 |
| Al-'Uzza 222 | A'ra 238 f. 253. 255 | Arnon 4 f. |
| Alphabet, old Gk. 52. | Arabia 197. 215 f. 261 | 'Aro'er 13 |
| 193 | Arabic 5. 185. 215. | Arsinoë 51. 79 |
| Altiburus 145 | 264 | Artaxerxes iii 351 |

- As 336
 Ashērah 50 f.
 Ashqelon 27. 269 f.
 'Ashtart 21. 27 f. 37 f.
 128. 131 f. 270
 Asia Min., Gk. in-
 scri. 223
 Assarius 336
 Assyrian:—
 abkallu 296
 Agbaru 190
 andku 6
 aširtu 50 f.
 Ašratum 51
 ašru 50
 asumitu 197
 Atar-samaim 270
 Asrijdu 164
 Bilit ša Gubla 20
 Budu-ilu 41
 Dad-'idri 164
 dannitu 244
 Dādu 11
 Du'ru 38
 ērēšu 70
 ēšra 175
 garparuda 360
 harimtu 68
 hazdnu 71
 Hirummu 54
 Iau-bi'di 164
 igaru 129
 Ilu 361
 Ilu-bi'di 164
 illanabriḫ 184
 Jaudi 164
 kabdru 48
 kakkubu Šalmu 106
 kaldmu 184
 kalbu-šarri 68
 kamdru 187
 Kemoš-nadab 7
 kibratu 49. 178
 kimahḫu 237
 Kummuḫ 179
 ḫadištu 68
 Karti-ḫadast 53
 Ḫauš-malaka 219.
 234
 Ḫidraai 215
 mana ša šarri 192
 mannu 168
 mansaltu 82
 Marduk-sir-bāni
 187
 mālu 167
 mutu 167
 Nabaaiti 215
 Nabu-šar-iddin 288
 Nabu-šinibanni 197
 nišḫu 235
 paḫḫti 178
 pulug(g)u 46
 rakiḫ narkabti 165
 rēmēnu laidru 301
 ša 187
 sakānu 100
 šalamanu 299
 Šalm-muḫinib 197
 šar kiššati 296
 saltuku 198
 šeu 176
 šmtu 198
 sinibu 176
 Sin-sir-ban 187
 Šulmanu 43
 šunūti 36
 supur 193
 sabdlu 71
 sukini 53
 'Athar-'atheh 269 f.
 Athene 81. 222. 348 f.
 Athenians in Cyprus,
 347 f.
 Athirat 51
 'Attārūs 10
 Augustus 262. 290 f.
 Aurelian 291 ff.
 Aurelius 279
 Auspices 120
 'Az-ba'al 347. 350
 Azizus 296
 Ba'al-ḥammān 50.
 104. 132 f. 154
 shamem 45 f. 295
 of Harran 182
 Lebanon 53 f.
 Sidon 37. 99
 Tarsus 343 ff.
 Tyre 21
 Ba'alath of Gebal 20 f.
 Ba'al-milk i & ii 347 f.
 Ba'al-ram 74
 Ban, the 12
 Barbarus 339
 Barbers, temple- 67
 Bar-rekub 182
 Bast 69. 91
 Beasts, taxed 337 f.
 Bel 101. 248. 269.
 297
 Berber 139. 145
 Berytus, coins of, 46.
 350
 Bilit 20
 Bittir 359
 Bod-'ashtart 41
 Boethos, family of 341
 Bōl 274. 280. 301 f.
 Bosporus, Gk. inscr.
 298
 Bostra 239

- Bostra, era of 261 f.
 coins of 219
 Bowls, bronze 52
 Breeders, sheep- 14
 Brokers 61
- Caesars, the three 262
 Camels 335. 338
 Canaan 349 f.
 Caracalla 262
 Caravan 258. 263.
 271 ff.
 god of 304
 Carthage 115. 131-
 136. 140. 352
 constitution of 44.
 115 f. 129
 in Cyprus 53
 people of 134
 Cave 131. 308
 Ceres 128
 Chabrias 348
 Chalkous 349 f. 352
 Charax 271 f.
 Chariot 73. 165. 178
 Chief-priest 101. 129
 Cilicia 194
 coins of 343-347
 Cippus, *see* Pillar
 Ciria 137 f. 149
 Claudius 252
 Cleopatra 86 f.
 Client 41. 134
 Coelestis 27. 133. 157
 Coinage, copper 339
 right of 343. 353
 Coins, re-struck 359
 see Berytus, Bostra,
 Cilicia, &c.
 Colleagues 116. 145
 Colonia 263. 279
- Colonnades at Pal-
 myra 275
 Consular 264. 287.
 290
 Coptos, Tariff of 332 f.
 337
 Corrector 291
 Cos, Gk. inscr. 41.
 125
 Cross 300
 Crown, golden 98
 Cuniculus 16
 Curses 135 f. 223
 Customs 264. 332 f.
 335
 Cyprus 53-57. 59.
 61. 78 f. 81. 85 ff.
 89. 347-349
 Cyrenaic, Legion iii
 285
 Cyrene 148
- Damascus 215 f. 251.
 253
 coins of 215
 Darics 96. 155
 Datames 344 f.
 Date, threefold 84.
 Decemvirs 130
 Deification of kings
 78. 81. 85 f. 224.
 244
 Deity, complex 49.
 60 f. 104. 154
 unnamed 21. 49.
 218. 239. 297
 Demeter 59. 128. 131
 Demoniac 349
 Demonstr. pron. 26
 Denarius 283. 336
 Derceto 270
- Deus aeternus 296
 Didrachms 357
 Dionysos 218 f. 305
 Division of words 5
 Dogs 67 f.
 D'om 44. 94
 Dor 38
 Dots 5. 62
 Doves 120
 Drachmae 96. 283
 Dreams 203
 Dual ending 10. 12 f.
 Dumêr 249
 Dûshara 21. 218 f.
 239. 245. 305
- Edessa 107. 199. 296.
 307
 Egypt, Phoenicians in
 27. 90 f.
 Aramaecans in 200 f.
 209
 under Palmyrenes
 290 f.
 Persian expedition
 against 343 f.
 Egyptian Aram., *see*
 Aramaic
 funeral scenes 200.
 205
 measures 212 f.
 names 91. 197.
 200-213
 symbols 351. 362
 wine 213
 El 165. 361
 Elath 135. 158
 El-Hejaz 214. 219
 El-Hejra 214. 222.
 236. 258
 El-Mer 244

- El-Ölâ 8. 214. 258
 El-pa'al 350
 El-Qanawât 245
 Elul 215
 Eparchy 261
 Erotimus 216
 Eshmun 36 f.
 Eshmun-'azar 27. 32 f.
 38
 Eshmun Merre 109
 Ethanîm 66. 89
 Ethiopic 13. 29. 36.
 109. 117 f. 243
 Et-Tayyibe, inscr. of
 187. 296. 312
 Exedra 309 f.

 Female descent 299
 Fem. ending=emph.
 st. 235
 Fem.sing in Phoen. 25
 Figs 126
 Fine 198. 223. 229
 Fir-cones 340
 Fowl, domestic 120
 Freed-man, -woman
 134. 249 f. 298.
 338
 and husband 250
 Funeral rites 93. 201.
 206

 Gad-Tyche 245. 269
 Gallienus 286 ff. 290
 Garden-tombs 242 f.
 Gaulus 105. 107
 Gebal 19. 350. 352
 coins of 21
 dialect of 25
 Gerjin 163. 183
 Germanicus 339

 Geta 262
 Giḥon 16
 Grave 34. 149. 198.
 221. 307, *see*
 Tomb, Pillar
 Greek inscr. imitated
 95
 Gold-plating 76
 Guest 63. 68. 305
 Gurgum 178 f.

 Hadad 164. 360
 Hadrian 263. 279.
 358 f.
 Hafel, *see* Afel
 Hair-offering 53 f.
 Hairan, Sept. 264.
 285.
 Hammān 50. 104
 Hammon 48. 50
 Harethath iii 216.
 253
 iv 215. 246 &c.
 Harpocrates 204. 362
 Harran 187 f.
 Hasmonaean coins
 44. 352 ff.
 Hathor 21. 28. 154
 Hauran 222. 252 f.
 Hauronān 14
 Hawwath 135
 Hebrew 5. 16. 185.
 341 f. 352 f.
 Heliopolis 91
 Herakles 74. 102.
 347 f.
 Hermes 100
 Herod the Gt. 245.
 254. 356
 Antipas 215. 246 f.
 Agrippa 252

 Herodes 286
 Hezekiah 16
 Hezir 341
 Hierapolis 270
 Hifl in Phoen. 58
 High-priest 354
 Himilco 131
 Hiram 53 f.
 Hiyyar 78. 129
 Holocaust 117
 Hom̄ 281. 292
 Honorary inscr.
 (Palm.) 266
 Hōshe'a 362
 Huldu 246. 256
 Hyrcanus i 353 f.
 ii 254

 Idalion 56. 349
 Ilu 361
 Impf. with waw conv.
 5. 39. 119
 with 5 169. 171
 Imprecations 24. 33.
 135. 169. 191
 Imtān 255
 Incense 126
 Infin. absol. 5. 29. 191
 with 5 121. 126.
 169
 Interpreter 61
 Ishtar 12. 27 f.
 Isis 21. 28. 68
 Isle of Hawks 108

 Jeroboam i 4
 Jerusalem, water-sup-
 ply of 16
 siege of 357. 358 f.
 Jewish and Phoen.
 sacrifices 117

- Jewish colony at Palmyra 278.298.300
 inscr. 341 f.
 coins 352 ff.
 Jol 149
 Joppa 38
 Judge 44. 100
 Judices 116
 Jugurtha 149
 Julian calendar 250
 Julius Philip 281
 Jupiter Dolichenus 296
 Capitolanus 359

 Kanatha 245
 Kanephoros 78 f. 85
 Karhu 7
 Kefr Bir'im 342
 Kemosh 6 f.
 Kemosh-nadab 7
 Kerak 7. 14
 Kilix 338
 Kimon 344. 347
 King of kings 201.
 205. 290. 264
 Kinsman, legal 226
 Kition 56. 347 f. 352
 era of 78
 Koiḥak 213

 Lambaesis, Lat. inscr.
 of 16
 Laodicea 46
 of Libanus 349 f.
 Larnax Lapēthos 80.
 85. 349
 Latin inscr. with Pun.
 109, NPun. 141.
 158, Palm. 250.
 268. 312

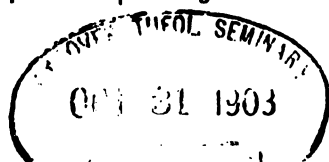
 pr. nn. 145. 155 f.
 (NPun.) 279. 283.
 285. 291 (Palm.)
 words in Palm. 265
 Lead 135 f.
 Lebanon 53 f.
 (Carth.) 128
 Letters, forms of
 Moabite 5
 Hebrew 16
 Jewish 341 f.
 coins 353
 Phoen. 102 f. 105.
 111. 360
 Punic 137
 Neo-Punic 140. 145
 Old Aram. 163.
 361
 Arabian Aram. 196.
 199
 Egypt. Aram. 205 f.
 Aram. coins 344
 Sinaitic 258
 Lihyan dialect 219.
 232
 Limassol 53
 Lion-weights 192
 Local ending 10
 Luḥith 248
 Luli 54
 Lycia, Gk. inscr. 223
 Lycurgos 305

 Maccabees 216. 353.
 357
 Macedonian calendar
 250. 267
 Macherus 248
 Majuma 122
 Maktar 142. 145.
 152 f.

 Malak-bel 268 f. 301
 Male descent 299
 Māliku i 254. 257
 ii 239. 246. 253
 Malta 102 f. 107
 Manāt 219
 Mancipia veterana
 336
 Manna 311
 Mar 65
 Marseilles 115
 Marzeah 94. 121 f.
 303
 Maṣṣēbah 60. 62. 64
 Massinissa 138. 149
 Massylii 138
 Ma'sūb 48
 Mazaïos 42. 346 f.
 Medeba 8 f. 247 f.
 Mehîr 201
 Melqarth 74. 84. 102.
 347 f. 361
 Member 41. 259, *see*
 Client
 Mesgida 238
 Mesha' 4. 6. 9 f.
 Metropolis 350
 Micipsa 140. 149
 Milk d. 49
 Milk-offering 121
 Milkath 135
 Milk-yathon 59. 74.
 348
 Mina 192
 Minaean 8. 45. 223
 Miskar 42. 154
 Mizrah 121. 145 f.
 153. 155
 Moab, Moabite 4 ff.
 Monotheism 45.
 296 ff.

- Moon-god 182 (Ba'al
Harran). 187
(Sin). 301 ('Agli-
bôl), *see* Sahar,
Sin.
goddess 28 ('Ash-
tart). 222 (Allât?)
Mosaic of Medeba 122
Mound (Ophel), the
13
- Nabataean 215 f. 258.
304
kings 215 f. 251
coins 215 f. 221.
223. 246
trade 257. 258
Name of Ba'al 37 f.
Nazirite vow 305
Nebo 4. 12. 288
Negative in Phoen. 33
Neith 146
Neo-Punic 140
Nêrab 185 ff.
Nergal 101
New-moon 63. 66
Nikal 188
Nimroud, bowls 52
seals 360
Ningal 188
Numerals 43 f. 55.
110. 119. 175 f.
250. 261. 275. 356
Numidia 138 f. 140.
149. 155
Nusku 188
- 'Obadath 239. 244 f.
Octo-drachm 351
Odainath 263 f. 285 f.
290
- Offerings, list of 125
Oil 121. 336
'Omri 4. 9
Ormuzd 345
Osiris 90. 92. 103.
200. 203
Ostraka 203 f.
- Pa'aloth 69
Palm-trees 198
Palma, Corn. 216
Palmyra 263 f. 289.
294. 332. 337
Palmyrene 264 f. 306 f.
Panammu 163. 183
Paopi 210
Papyrus 203. 209. 213
Parthians 263. 285
Passive in Aram. 334
Patronus 289
Payments to priests
118
Perf. with waw conv.
118 f.
in imprecations 218
Persephone 128. 131
Persian 193. 200. 209.
289. 298. 347. 351
coinage 343
Petra 215. 218. 242.
244. 250
Pharnabazus 343 f.
Phoenicia, language
19. 21. 23-25. 39 f.
79. 97. 108. 117.
126. 141 &c.
religion 20 f. 27 f.
36 f. 41. 45 f. 49 f.
56 f. 59. 63. 67 f.
74. 76. 80. 89. 99.
104. 109. 117 f.
127. 131 ff. 135.
154, *see* Ashtart
&c.
government 27. 38.
42. 44. 47
colonies 95. 100 f.
103. 107 f.
and Cyprus, *see*
Cyprus
and Carthage, *see*
Carthage, Punic
commerce 70 f. 95.
351
money-standard 44
coins 347-352
seals 361
and Persia 19. 347 f.
349. 350. 351
and Egypt 21. 23.
27. 42. 64. 90 f.
154. 351
and Ptolemies 38.
56. 78 f. 81. 85 ff.
351
and Seleucids 27.
47. 81. 349. 350.
352
Pillar 60. 62. 98. 103 f.
108. 299, *see* Maş-
şēbah
Piraeus 95
Plur. in *f* 165 f., *in*
183. 185, *d* (impf.)
166. 185. 189. 203
Pompey 216
Poor, the 117. 121
Portae 138
Portico 23. 48. 98. 243
Poseidon 84
Praxippos 81. 84
Procurator 72. 288 f.

- Pron. 3 sing. 24
 demonstr. 26
 after relat. 78
 Ptah 23
 Ptolemy i 81
 ii 38. 47. 78. 351
 vii (vi) 86 f.
 ix (vii) 86 f.
 Publicani 333
 Pulvinar 199
 Pumi-yathon 55 f. 349
 Punic, *see* Carthage,
 Cirta
 colonies in N. Africa
 137 ff. 140. 145.
 149
 Puteoli 257
 Pygmalion 55 f.
 Qaishah 219
 Qaryatên 307 f.
 Qeriyioth 11
 Qir-hareseth 7
 Qiryathân 10
 Qn'm 148
 Qos 234
 QRHH 7
 QRL 163
 Qurân 39. 72 f. 219.
 222
 Rab 42. 129. 273
 Rabel 239. 246. 250 f.
 255
 Raḥām 276
 Rammānu 145. 164
 Ras 264. 285
 Refl. stems in Aram.
 334
 Rekub-el 165
 Relat. in Phoen. 20. 108
 Aram. 164
 Reshef 56 f. 361
 Revolt, First 356 ff.
 Second 358 ff.
 Rhea 131
 Rock, the 175
 Rom. i (Palm. inscr.)
 301 f.
 2 (Palm. inscr.) 268
 Romans 216. 242 f.
 250. 263 f.
 Rome and Carthage
 115 f. 128. 131.
 133. 138. 140.
 145. 149. 153.
 157
 Palmyra 290 f. 292 f.
 332. 338 f. 341
 Rosetta Stone 23
 Rudâ 233. 273
 Sabaeen 21. 23. 28.
 33. 45. 102 f. 107.
 126. 164. 168.
 218. 220. 222 f.
 299
 Sacrificer 107. 146
 Sacrifices 117. 125
 for the dead 168
 Šafâ inscr. 11. 45. 199.
 304
 Sahar 187
 Šahwet el-Ḥidr 242
 Sakun 100
 Salambo 106
 Šalḥad 253
 Šalm 106. 196. 199
 Salt-tax 338
 Sam'al 179. 182. 185
 Sardinia 110
 Sasom 62
 Seals 360 ff.
 Šed 91
 Šed-tanith 132
 Sela' 223
 Seleucid era 47. 250.
 267
 Seleucus Nicator 47.
 349 f.
 Senator 264. 285
 Septimius 285. 288.
 291
 Ḥairan 264
 Severus 262
 Serapis 103. 202
 Shalamians 220
 Shalman 43
 Shamash 104. 165.
 187. 269. 299
 Shara 218
 Sharon 12. 41
 She'a-alqûm 255.
 304 f.
 Sheḥ Barakât inscr.
 222
 Shekel, sacred 351
 First Revolt 357
 Shuqailat 246
 Sicily, temple of
 Demeter 131
 Sidon 27. 33. 54. 91.
 99
 era of 95
 Sidonians 54
 colony of 95
 coins of 350. 352
 Šidqi-milk 349
 Siloam 15. 17
 Simon Macc. 353
 Bar-kokba 359
 Sin 182. 187 f.
 Sinaitic 258
 pr. nn. 259



- Skin of sacrifices 124
merchandise 336.
340
Slaves 134. 335 f. 362
South Shields inscr.
249 f.
Spasinou Charax 272
Square character 205.
341. 353
Stater 343 ff.
Statilius 339
Stratēgos 247 f. 288.
332
Straton 41. 352
Subjunctive with ج
217
Suffete 44. 110. 115 f.
129 f. 145
Suffix 3 sing. m.
(Phoen.) 8. 41 f.
64. 94. 110. 133.
158
f. 58. 79. 146
3 plur. (Phoen.) 39 f.
3 sing. m. (Aram.)
185. 209
3 plur. (Aram.)
184 f. 203. 209.
221. 253
Sulci 158
Sun-god 91 (Ra). 106
(Šalm). 199 (Mo-
nimos). 219. 222
(Dūshara?). 280.
299 (Yarḥi-bōl).
268. 297. 299
(Malak-bel). 269.
297 (Bel), *see* Sha-
mash.
goddess 222 (Al-
lāt?)
- Symposia 121 f. 288.
303
Tabellae devotionis
135
Tabnith 27
Talent 88. 193
Tamassos 56. 58. 89.
349
Tanith 37. 128. 131 ff.
Tardamu 344 f.
Tariff, Sacrificial 115.
123 f.
Coptos 332 f. 337
Palm. 306
Zarai 332. 337
Tarsus 343 ff.
Taxes 333
Tebeth 221
Tēma 197
Tetradrachm 357
Thank-offering 118.
Thiasus, *see* Marzeah
Throne 221 f.
Thugga 138 f.
Tiglath-pileser 54.
178 f.
Tomb (Phoen.) 27 f.
34. 60. 61
(Nab.) 221. 223.
237. 241 ff.
(Palm.) 306
of St. James 341 f.
Trachonitis 245. 252
Tunis 132. 140
Tyre 44. 54. 74
era of 47
coins of 44. 351 f.
357 f.
Umm-el-'Awāmf 45
Umm-er-Reṣṣ 247
- Underworld, gods of
135
Uracus 23
Velarii 67
Venus 21. 27
Virgin's Spring 15 ff.
Vologesias 271
Votive tablets, Carth.
132
Wahab-allath 287.
290 f. 292
Water-offering 206
Waw conv. in Phoen.
118 f.
Weights 192 f.
Wells 72. 242 f. 337
Wild animals sacri-
ficed 117. 119
Wine 213
prohibited 305
Women 221. 229. 237.
335. 337
Wool 336. 338
Worod, Sept. 286 ff.
289
Xerxes 200 f.
Ya'di 163 f. 183. 185
Ya'el 106 f.
Yahaṣ 12
Yahweh 4. 6 f.
Yarḥi-bōl 280
Zabbai 291 f.
Zabdā 291
Zarai, tariff of 332. 337
Zenjirli 52 f. 163.
175 f. 182. 184 f.
Zenobia 263. 286 f.
290 ff.

APPENDIX

I

The Phoenician Inscriptions of Bostan esh-Shêh, Sidon.

THESE inscriptions, which repeat the same text six or seven times with slight variations, were found in 1900 and 1901 at a short distance to the N. of Saïda, near the Nahr el-Auwali. They are written upon the inner faces of blocks of stone which formed part of the inclosure or foundation of the temple of Eshmun; being built into the masonry, like the inscribed bricks in Assyrian buildings, they were not intended to be exposed to view. The most complete text, repeated with slight changes on the same block, is that published by Macridy-Bey and Père Lagrange in *RB* (1902) 498-526, with a facsimile. A text practically identical and almost as complete has been published, with two plates, by Berger, *Mém. sur les inscr. de fondation du temple d'Esmoun à Sidon*, 1901, from one of the stones now in the Louvre, which also possesses the fragment of another of the series (*Rép.* nos. 287. 288). The inscriptions are discussed at length by Clermont-Ganneau in *Rec.* v § 41, who has done much to clear up the difficulties which they present. The following text is based upon that of Berger:—

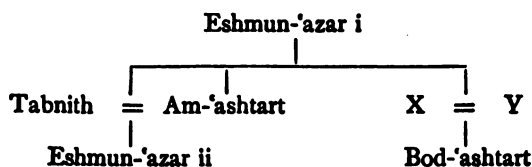
- 1 מלך ברעשתרת מלך צדנם בן בן
- 2 מלך אשמנעזר מלך צדנם בצ
- 3 דן ים שמם רמם ארץ רשפם צד
- 4 ן משל אשבן וצדן שר אית [כל?]
- 5 הבת ן בן לאלי לאשמן שר קד
- 6 ש

King Bod-'ashtart, king of the Sidonians, grandson ² of king Eshmun-'azar, king of the Sidonians, (reigning) in Sidon by the sea, Shamim Ramim, the land of Reshafim, Sidon of Mashal, 'šBN, and Sidon on the plain—the whole (?) ⁵ of this temple built to his god, Eshmun, prince of Qadesh.

This text must be carefully compared with 4 and 5; the writing is of the same general character and period.

L. 1. מלך בדעשתרת See 6; Bod-'ashtart was the successor of Eshmun-'azar ii (5). בן בן The father is not mentioned because he never was king; contrast 5 13 f.

L. 2. אשמעזר i. e. Eshmun-'azar i. Both Bod-'ashtart and Eshmun-'azar ii were grandsons of this king, the former being the son of a younger brother or sister of Tabnith (4). The genealogy will thus be as follows:—



בצר The prep. denotes that Bod-'ashtart claimed sovereignty *in* or *over* (cf. 5 משל ב 9) Sidon; so Torrey *Journ. Amer. Oriental Soc.* xxiii 156-173 (with facsimile). The interpretation of the following words is difficult; but Torrey and Cl.-Gan. are prob. right in regarding them as the names of various places round about Sidon. The places are enumerated *ἀσυνδέτως* (cf. 149 B 15), with 1 before the last in the list, as sometimes (though not usually) in Hebrew, e. g. Gen. 5 32. 13 2. 14 1 &c.; Gesenius, p. 509 n.

L. 3. צדן ים *Sidon of the sea*, the maritime Sidon, as distinguished from צדן שר l. 4. שמים רמים Lit. *high heavens*. The words suggest the *Σαμνηροῦμος* or *Υψιουράνιος* of the cosmogony of Sanchuniathon (Philo Bybl. *Fr. Hist. Gr.* iii 566); so Lagrange. The expression recalls the שמים אדרם in 5 16 f.; and although 'High-heavens,' 'Glorious-heavens,' do not seem very obvious names for terrestrial localities, yet such they probably were (Cl.-Gan.). In both cases this explanation suits the context. Cl.-Gan. suggests that שמים אדרם was the name of the place where the tomb of Eshmun-'azar ii was found, S. of the Nahr el-Kamle, at a distance from the ancestral burying-place; this may have been the special domain of Am-'ashtart, the queen-mother and priestess of 'Ashtart (5 14 f.). ארץ רשעם For the god Reshef see 12 3 n.; like בעל he was the tutelary of several cities, and thus the plural of his name would come into use. In Phoen. the plur. of בעל is found in יעל 20 B 4 n., but not in the manner common in the O.T. The only other divine names found in the plur. in Phoen. are אלנם (p. 24, cf. 61 12 &c.) and אלם (p. 99).

L. 4. **צדן משל** *Sidon-Mashal* or *S. of Mashal*. One of the texts (Lagrange A) reads **במשל**. Cf. the O.T. place-names **קישל** 1 Chr. 6 59. **קישל** Josh. 19 26. 21 30, and the modern Arab. names derived from **مشل**. **משל** might be divided and translated *who built*; but the context requires another place here. In the genealogies Gen. 36 26. 1 Chr. 1 41 **אשכנז** is the name of an Edomite chief. **וצדן** The waw is read by Lagrange; Berger gives **ט**, but Cl.-Gan., after an examination of the original, decides in favour of **ו**. The word **שר** (Lagrange, Berger with **שר** ?) is prob. to be taken as = **שדה** *field* (5 19. 20 9), here in the sense of *country* or *plain*, the *inland* as distinguished from the *maritime* Sidon, l. 2 f.; the term is used by Ezekiel in connexion with Tyre, **בשדה אשר בשרה** 26 6. At the end of the line Cl.-Gan. proposes **כל** instead of **של** (Berger); this improves the sentence.

L. 5. **הבית ז בן** Cf. 5 15 ff.; but this temple is not to be identified with the one founded by Eshmun-'azar ii, which perhaps was at **שמום** **ואדרם**; at any rate, the temple built by Bod-'ashtart stood outside the present Sidon, near the Nahr el-Auwal. **לאלי** Cf. **לאלי** **לאשכנז** **לעשתרת** 5 5 in the inscr. of Bod-'ashtart; also 24 1 f. **שר קדש** Either *holy prince* or *prince of Qadesh* (Cl.-Gan.); hence we must certainly restore **שר קדש** in 5 17 (see p. 37). In the latter case, **קדש** is further defined by **עין ידלל בור** i.e. 'Qadesh of the well of Yidlal in the mountain,' prob. Lebanon. Cl.-Gan. suggests with much probability that both Eshmun-'azar ii and Bod-'ashtart brought the worship of Eshmun from an ancient, venerated shrine, Qadesh, into their new temples at Sidon.

The date of this Sidonian dynasty has been much disputed. Lagrange would assign it to the Persian period and the time of Xerxes; but against this is the title **מלכום** 5 18, which belongs to the Ptolemaic, not the Persian, kings; see p. 38. Cl.-Gan. suggests ingeniously that Eshmun-'azar i is none other than the Abdalonymus of the classical historians, who was placed on the throne of his ancestors, under romantic circumstances, by Alexander the Great after the occupation of Sidon in 332 B.C. The story is told by Diod. Sic. xvii 47, but wrongly referred to Tyre. With the change of his fortunes the king may have changed his name, as was frequently done. It is probable, in any case, that the date proposed on p. 27 is substantially correct; and the epigraphical evidence agrees with this. On the other hand, this inscr. shows that Bod-'ashtart is not to be identified with Straton i 374-362 B.C., as is suggested, with hesitation, on p. 41.

II

Aramaic Papyrus from Elephantina. MS. Aram. c. 1 (P)
in the Bodleian Library.

By the courtesy of the Secretary of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, I am allowed to reprint the text of this papyrus which has been published with a translation, notes, and facsimile by Mr. A. E. Cowley, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in the May number of the Society's *Proceedings* (vol. xxv Parts 4 and 5, pp. 202 ff., 1903). The papyrus was purchased by Prof. Sayce at Elephantina, and brought by him to the Bodleian Library in 1901. It arrived in three small rolls; these have been ingeniously pieced together, and now form a leaf $13\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ inches, which contains the longest and most continuous text of the kind hitherto published. The following is Mr. Cowley's text and translation:—

- 1 ר בר יתמא ל... נתנת לי כסף
- 2 פ... בני פתח כסף שז לו וירבה עלי כסף חלרן וו
- 3 לכסף שז לירחא עד יום זי אשלמנהי ל[ך] ויהוה מרבית
- 4 כסף חלרן וו... לירח א וירחא זי לא אנתן לך בה
- 5 מרבית יהוה ראש וירבה ואשלמ[נה] לך ירח בירח
- 6 מן פרסי זי יתנון לי מן אוצרא ותכתב לי נבו על כל
- 7 כסף ומרבי זי אהוה משלם לך והן לא שלמת לך כל
- 8 כסף ומרבית עד ירח תחות שנת... וו וו יעקף כסף
- 9 ומרבית זי ישתאר עלי ויהוה רבה עלי ירח לירח
- 10 עד יום זי אשלמנהי לך
- 11 שהדיא
- 12 עקבן בר שמשנורי
- 13 קצרי בר יההדרי
- 14 מחסיה בר ידניה
- 15 מלכיה בר זכריה
- 16 כתב ספרא גמריה בר אחיו על פם שהדיא זי על ספרא זנה

[This is the agreement between X and Y] bar Yathma. You have given me the sum of ².....PTH the sum of šZ for himself (?), for which interest shall be due from me at the rate of 2 HLR ³ per šZ per month, till the day on which I repay it to you. The interest of your loan (to me) shall be ... HLR per month. Any month in which I fail to give you ⁴ interest, it is to be (added to the) principal, and to bear interest. I agree to pay it to you month by month ⁵ out of my pay which they give me from the treasury, and you shall give me a written receipt (?) for all ⁶ money and interest which I pay to you. If I fail to repay to you the whole of ⁷ the principal, with the interest thereon, by the month of Thoth in the year [? 1]6, I am to be held liable for double (?) the principal ⁸ and interest outstanding, and to continue to pay interest (on it) month by month ⁹ till the day when I repay it to you. ¹⁰ Witnesses:—¹¹ Uqban b. Shemesh-nuri. ¹² Qoşri b. Yah-hadari. ¹³ Maḥaseiah b. Yadoniah. ¹⁴ Malkiah b. Zekariah. ¹⁵ The document was written by Gemariah b. Aḥio in the presence of the witnesses who(se names) are appended hereunto.

The language and writing exhibit the usual characteristics of Egyptian Aramaic (pp. 185, 200). The interest of the text lies in the fact that it is a Jewish document of early date; the witnesses and the writer bear Jewish names. These Jews were evidently engaged in business as bankers or money-lenders. They write in Aramaic, probably because it was the official language of the Persian empire. The date of the document may be placed in the Persian period, certainly not later than 300 B.C., and probably 150 years earlier (cf. 72. 76), as Mr. Cowley is inclined to believe. The legal form resembles that of the agreements written in cuneiform with Aram. seals attached, CIS ii 64–66, belonging to the 6th–5th cents. B.C.; no. 66 is dated 450 B.C. We have, then, a very early piece of evidence for a settlement of Jews in Upper Egypt; indeed, after the allusion of Jeremiah to the Jews 'dwelling in the land of Pathros,' i.e. Upper Egypt (44 1. 15; Schürer *Gesch.* iii 19 ff.), this is the earliest contemporary reference. And this document does not stand alone. Mr. Cowley is publishing in the next number of the *PSBA* 6 ostraka,

5 of which come from Elephantina and belong to the same period, and refer to the same names, probably also to the same persons, as the papyrus.

L. 1. . . . ל Mr. Cowley conjectures לאמר as on Ostrakon 1.

L. 2. . . . זני Perhaps זני l. 3, reading certain; probably the name for a sum of money. Mr. Cowley compares the Babyl. *šoss*=60 shekels=1 maneh; Prof. Sayce thinks it is a Persian word. חלון or חלון Perhaps=Babyl. *halluru*, a coin used in reckoning the amount of interest in cuneiform contracts (see Sayce ap. Cowley).

L. 3. מרבית *interest*; cf. Lev. 25 37; תרביח Lev. 25 36. Eze. 18 8. For ancient ideas and legislation on the subject of interest see Driver, *Deut.* 266 f.

L. 4. The numeral may have been 6 or 8. After לירח the stroke somewhat like a ? is prob. a mark of punctuation.

L. 5. ראש *principal*; cf. the usage in Lev. 5 24 ושלם אתו בראש, and Talm. B. *Sanhedr.* 3 ב ראש 'money which is not paid as capital.' ירח בירח Cf. the idiom ביום in B Aram. Ezr. 6 9 and late Hebr. Ezr. 3 4. 1 Chr. 12 23 &c.

L. 6. פרס In the Mishnah פרס is frequent in the sense of *salary, income*. מן אוצרה The debtor was apparently in a government office. תכתב נבו after תכתב must mean a document, Mr. Cowley suggests 'receipt' and a Persian derivation.

L. 7. מרבי here without the final ת (ll. 3. 5), from a ל' verb, is strictly the fem. of מרבה Barth *Nominalb.* § 248.

L. 8. תרועת The first Egyptian month, Aug. 29–Sept. 27; Copt. Thōouth, Gk. Θωθ. In the space after שנת must have stood the symbol for 10 or 20; analogy suggests that the reference is to the years of a king's reign. יעקף The root عكف=bend, curve, so with עלי l. 9 shall return upon me, i.e. shall be required of me. Mr. Cowley suggests shall be doubled against me; 'if the debt was not paid, or if any interest was outstanding, the debtor was to pay interest on double the accumulated sum at the rate previously settled' (l. 2).

L. 12. עקב Cf. the O. T. עקב. שמשנורי Not a Jewish name; cf. the Palm. שמשנור (p. 298), עחנורי (p. 303), נורבל (p. 307).

L. 13. יהודרי i.e. *Yah is my glory*; if the reading is right the form is unusual; cf. אלעתי *El is my strength* 1 Chr. 12 5 and ילכר in PC (Gray *Hebr. Pr. N.* 156).

- L. 14. מחסיה Cf. מִחְסִיָּה Jer. 32 12. 51 59. דינח Cf. O. T.
 דנאל.
 L. 15. זכריה . . מלכיה Both common in O. T.
 L. 16. For גמריה cf. 2 Sam. 6 3. 4, Gray l.c. 36, Driver *Sam.* 204.

ADDENDA

- Page 36, line 14 below, *add* see Appendix I.
 Page 123, line 3 above, *add* Plate III.
 Page 147, line 1 above, *add* Plate IV.
 Page 186, line 1 above, *add* Plate V.
 Page 189, line 6 below, *add* Plate VI.
 Page 344, line 9 above, חִילִּיָּה Cf. the Assy. *ḫilakku* = Cilicia.
 In Eze. 27 11 Halévy proposes to read חִילִּיָּה *Cilicia*
 for חִילִּיָּה.

OXFORD
PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
BY HORACE HART, M.A.
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

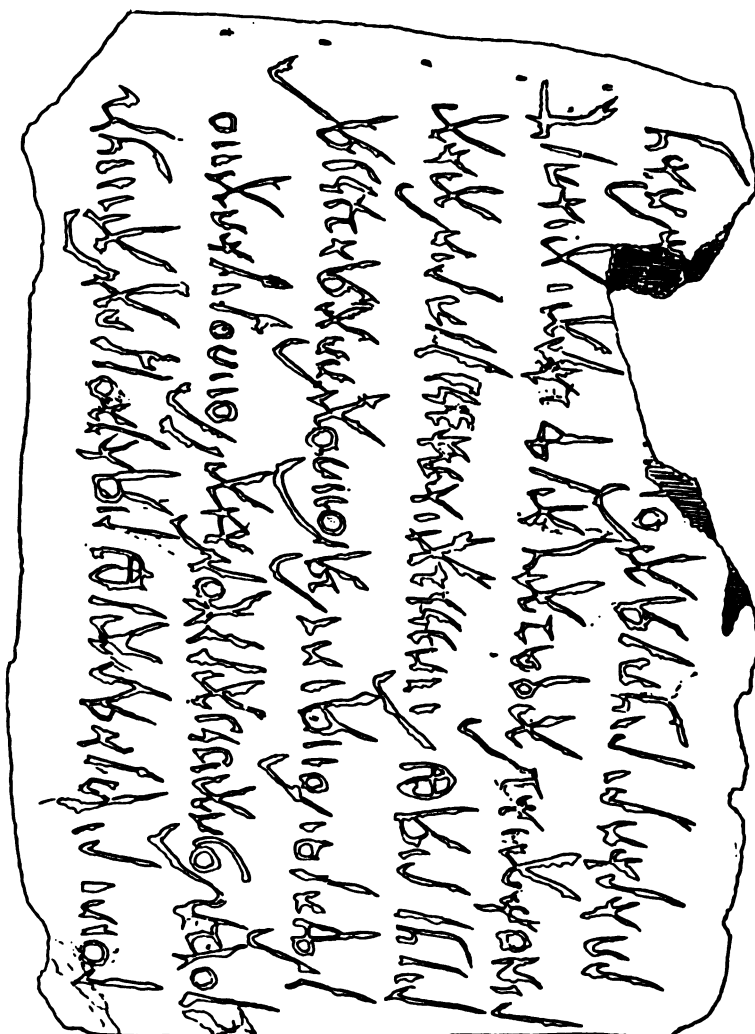


PLATE III



PUNIC

Carthage. No. 43





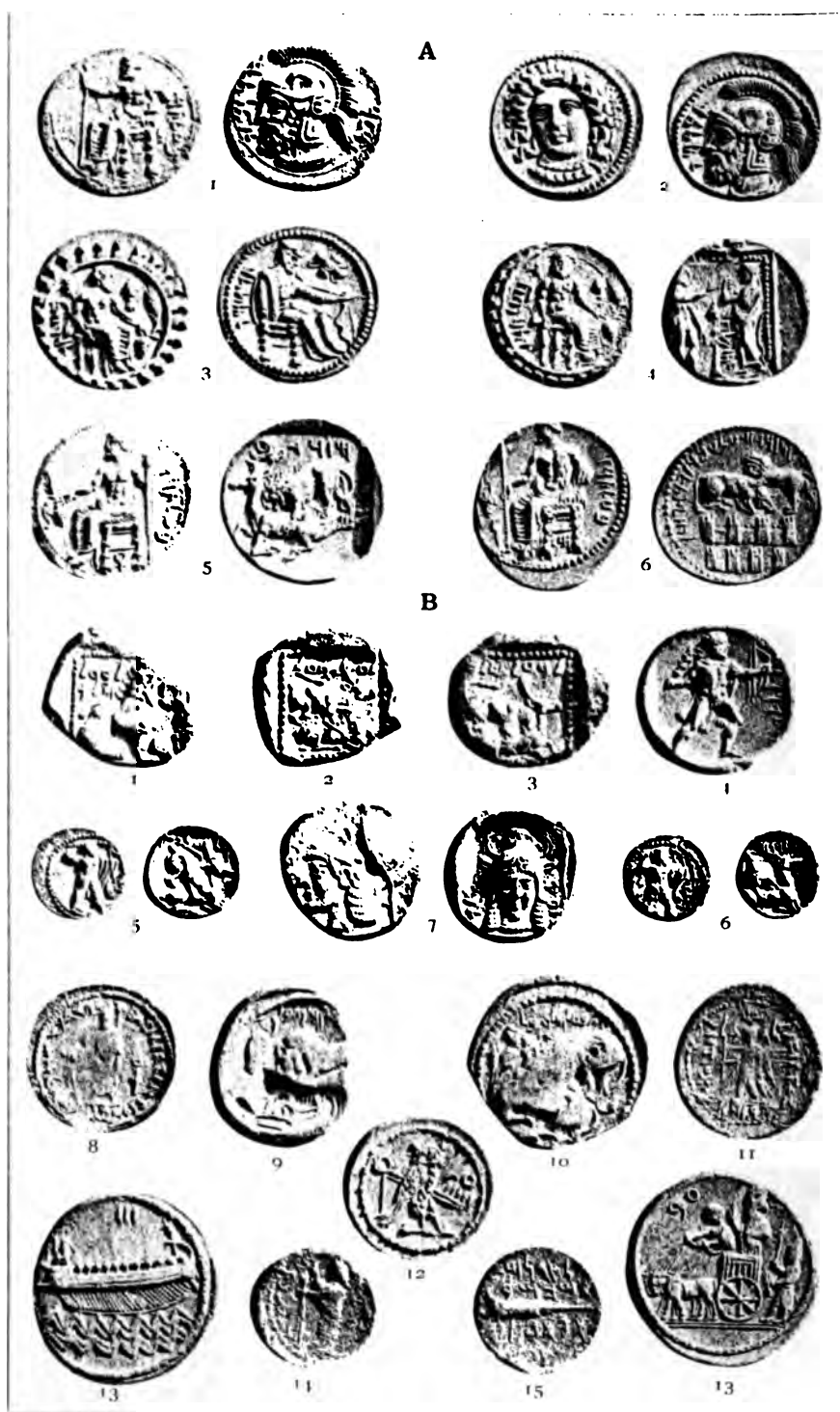
ARAMAIC

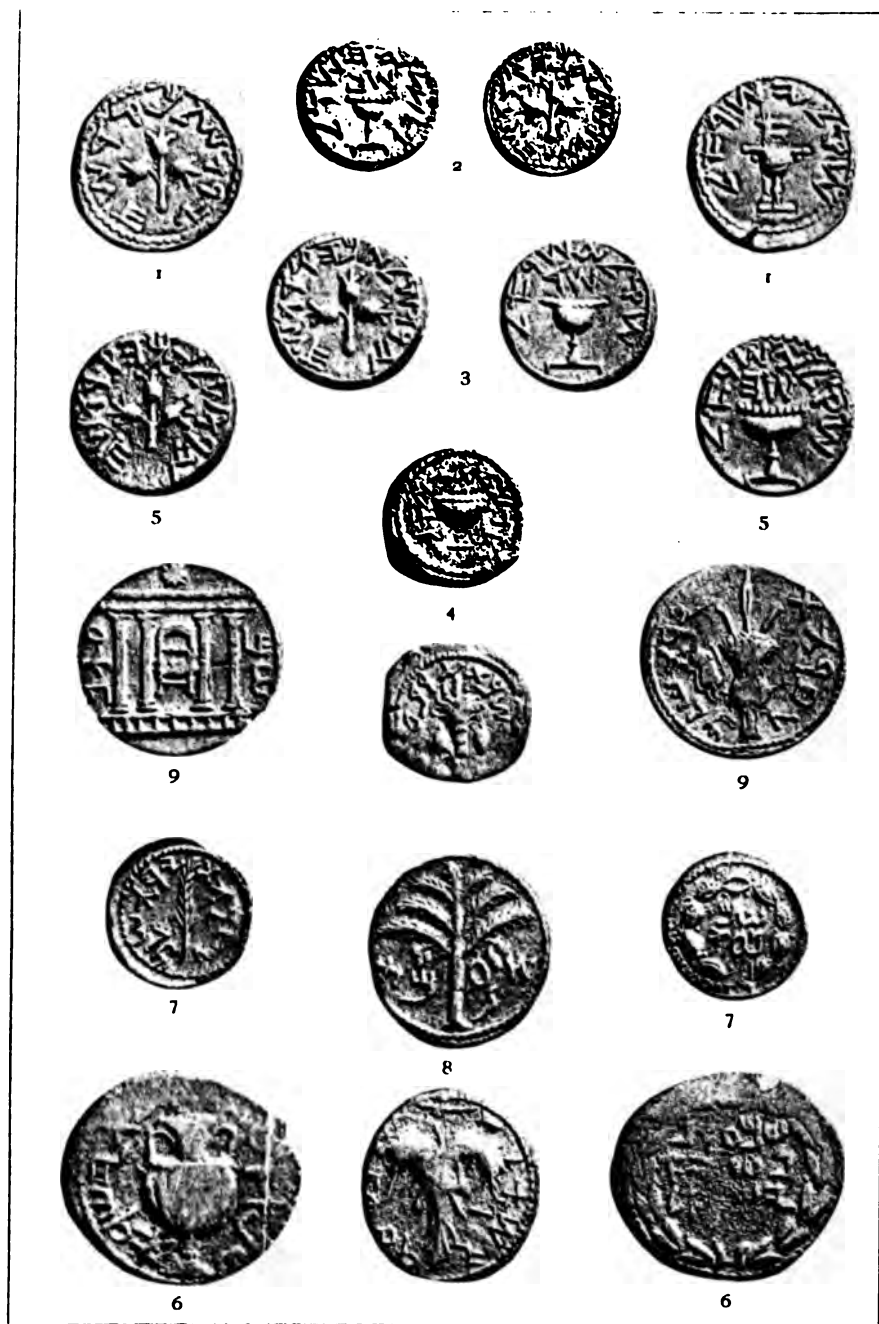
Nérab. No. 64

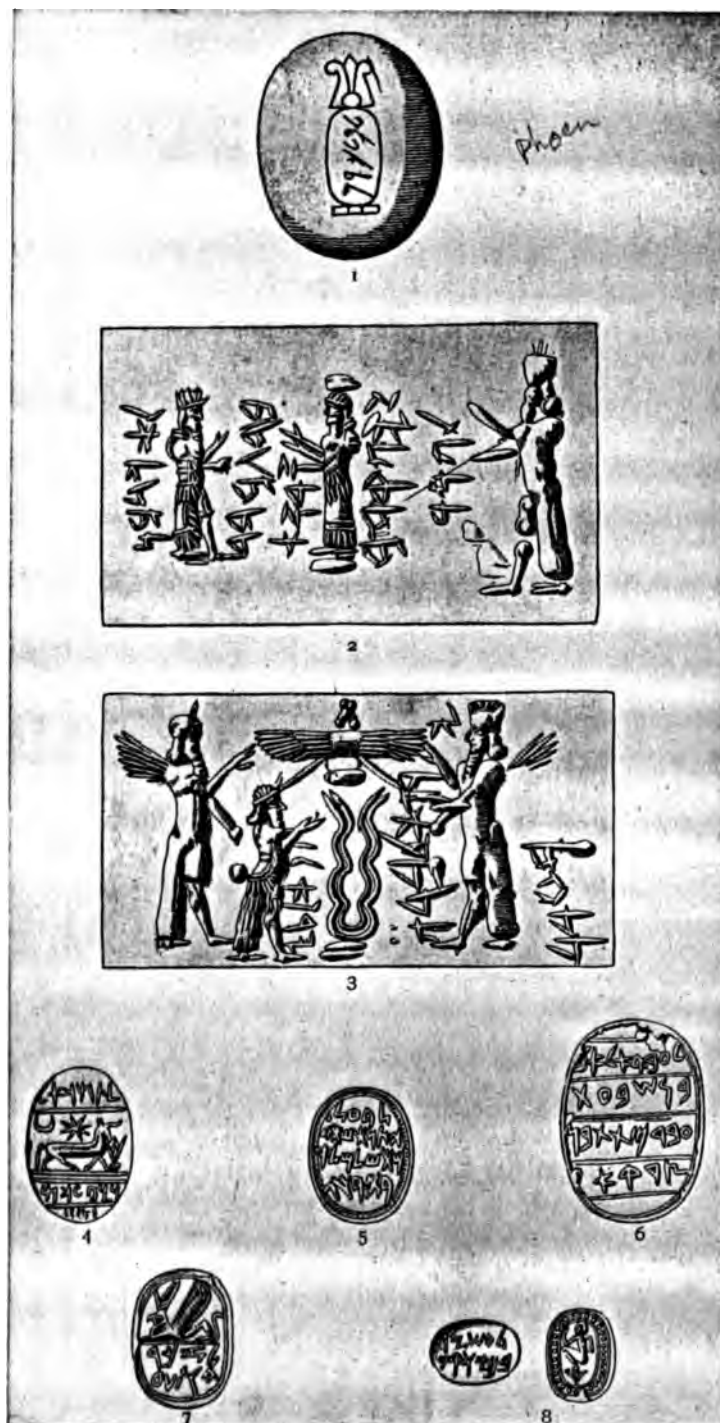




Palmyra. No. 121







PHOE

| | Moab 1 | Siloam 2 | Baal-lab 11 | Sidon 4-5 | Ammon 9 | Cyprus 12-30 | Greece 31-35 |
|---|--------|----------|-------------|-----------|---------|--------------|--------------|
| א | כ | ככ | ככ | כ | כ | ככ | כככ |
| ב | ג | גג | ג | ג | גג | גג | ג |
| ג | ד | ד | | ד | ד | ד | ד |
| ד | ה | ה | ה | ה | הה | ה ה | ה |
| ה | ו | וו | | וו | ו | ו | ו |
| ו | ז | ז | | ז | ז | ז | ז |
| ז | ח | ח | ח | ח | חח | חחח | חחח |
| ח | ט | טט | ט | ט | טט | טט | טט |
| ט | י | יי | י | י | יי | יי | יי |
| י | כ | ככ | כ | כ | ככ | ככ | כככ |
| כ | ל | לל | ל | ל | לל | לל | לל |
| ל | מ | ממ | מ | מ | ממ | ממ | מממ |
| מ | נ | ננ | נ | נ | ננ | ננ | ננ |
| נ | ס | סס | ס | ס | סס | סס | סס |
| ס | ע | עע | ע | ע | עע | עע | עע |
| ע | פ | פפ | פ | פ | פפ | פפ | פפ |
| פ | צ | צצ | צ | צ | צצ | צצ | צצ |
| צ | ק | קק | ק | ק | קק | קק | קק |
| ק | ר | רר | ר | ר | רר | רר | רר |
| ר | ש | שש | ש | ש | שש | שש | שש |
| ש | ת | תת | ת | ת | תת | תת | תת |
| ת | י | י | י | י | י | י | י |

PHOE

[illegible]

PLATE XIII

ARAMAIC

| | N Syria Zenjirli 61-63 | N Syria Nerab 62-63 | Asia Minor Sagada Cide 67 | Arabia Teima 69-70 | Mesopotamia 71 | Egypt Memphis 72 | Canaan 73 | Phoenicia 74-77 |
|---|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| א | 𐤀 | 𐤁 | 𐤂 𐤃 𐤄 | 𐤅 𐤆 𐤇 | 𐤈 𐤉 | 𐤊 𐤋 | 𐤌 𐤍 | 𐤎 |
| ב | 𐤏 | 𐤐 | 𐤑 𐤒 | 𐤓 𐤔 𐤕 | 𐤖 | 𐤗 𐤘 | 𐤙 | 𐤚 |
| ג | 𐤛 | 𐤜 | 𐤝 | 𐤞 | | | | 𐤟 |
| ד | 𐤠 | 𐤡 | 𐤢 | 𐤣 𐤤 | 𐤥 | 𐤦 𐤧 | 𐤨 | 𐤩 |
| ה | 𐤪 | 𐤫 | 𐤬 𐤭 | 𐤮 𐤯 𐤰 | 𐤱 𐤲 𐤳 | 𐤴 | 𐤵 𐤶 | 𐤷 |
| ו | 𐤸 | 𐤹 | 𐤺 | 𐤻 𐤼 𐤽 | 𐤾 𐤿 | 𐥀 | 𐥁 | 𐥂 |
| ז | 𐥃 | 𐥄 | 𐥅 𐥆 𐥇 | 𐥈 𐥉 𐥊 | 𐥋 | | 𐥌 | 𐥍 |
| ח | 𐥎 | 𐥏 | 𐥐 | 𐥑 𐥒 𐥓 | 𐥔 𐥕 𐥖 | 𐥗 | 𐥘 𐥙 | 𐥚 |
| ט | 𐥛 | 𐥜 | 𐥝 | 𐥞 | | 𐥟 | | 𐥠 |
| י | 𐥡 | 𐥢 | 𐥣 | 𐥤 𐥥 | 𐥦 𐥧 | 𐥨 | 𐥩 𐥪 | 𐥫 |
| כ | 𐥬 | 𐥭 | 𐥮 | 𐥯 𐥰 | 𐥱 𐥲 | 𐥳 | 𐥴 𐥵 | 𐥶 |
| ל | 𐥷 | 𐥸 | 𐥹 𐥺 | 𐥻 𐥼 𐥽 | 𐥾 𐥿 | 𐥀 𐥁 | 𐥂 𐥃 | 𐥄 |
| מ | 𐥇 | 𐥈 | 𐥉 𐥊 | 𐥋 𐥌 | 𐥍 𐥎 | 𐥏 | 𐥐 𐥑 𐥒 | 𐥓 |
| נ | 𐥔 | 𐥕 | 𐥖 | 𐥗 𐥘 | 𐥙 | 𐥚 | 𐥛 𐥜 | 𐥝 |
| ס | 𐥞 | 𐥟 | 𐥠 | 𐥡 𐥢 | 𐥣 | 𐥤 | 𐥥 𐥦 | 𐥧 |
| ע | 𐥨 | 𐥩 | 𐥪 | 𐥫 𐥬 | 𐥭 | 𐥮 | 𐥯 𐥰 | 𐥱 |
| פ | 𐥲 | 𐥳 | 𐥴 | 𐥵 𐥶 | 𐥷 | 𐥸 | 𐥹 𐥺 | 𐥻 |
| צ | 𐥼 | 𐥽 | 𐥾 | 𐥿 | 𐥀 | 𐥁 | 𐥂 𐥃 | 𐥄 |
| ק | 𐥇 | 𐥈 | 𐥉 𐥊 | 𐥋 𐥌 | 𐥍 𐥎 | 𐥏 | 𐥐 𐥑 | 𐥒 |
| ר | 𐥓 | 𐥔 | 𐥕 | 𐥖 𐥗 | 𐥘 𐥙 | 𐥚 | 𐥛 𐥜 | 𐥝 |
| ש | 𐥞 | 𐥟 | 𐥠 | 𐥡 𐥢 | 𐥣 𐥤 | 𐥥 | 𐥦 𐥧 | 𐥨 |
| ת | 𐥩 | 𐥪 | 𐥫 | 𐥬 𐥭 | 𐥮 | 𐥯 𐥰 | 𐥱 | 𐥲 |

NABATAEAN

PALMYRENE

| | Hejra 79-94 | Petra 95 | Hauran 97-100 | Hauran 99 | Sinaitic 103-109 | 140 | Tariff 147 | 150-151 | 144 |
|---|----------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----|---------------|---------|-----|
| א | ס ס ס פא א א א | ס ס ס | ס ס ס | ס ס ס | ס ס ס | א | א | א | א א |
| ב | כ כ כ כ כ כ כ | כ כ כ | כ כ כ | כ כ כ | כ כ כ | כ | כ | כ | כ |
| ג | א א א | א א א | א | | א א א | א | א | | א |
| ד | ד ד ד | ד ד ד | ד ד ד | ד ד ד | ד ד ד ד | ד | ד | ד | ד |
| ה | ה ה ה ה ה ה ה | ה ה ה | ה ה ה | ה ה ה | ה ה ה ה | ה | ה | ה | ה |
| ו | ו ו ו | ו ו ו | ו ו ו | ו ו ו | ו ו ו | ו | ו | ו | ו א |
| ז | ז | ז | | | ז | | ז | | |
| ח | ח ח ח ח ח ח ח | ח ח ח | ח ח ח | ח ח ח | ח א א | ח | ח | ח | ח |
| ט | ט ט ט | ט ט ט | ט ט ט | ט ט ט | ט ט ט | | ט | ט | |
| י | י י י י י י י | י י י | י י י | י י י | י י י י י י י | י | י | י | י י |
| כ | כ כ כ כ כ כ כ | כ כ כ | כ כ כ | כ כ כ | כ כ כ כ כ כ כ | כ | כ | כ | כ |
| ל | ל ל ל ל ל ל ל | ל ל ל | ל ל ל | ל ל ל | ל ל ל | ל | ל | ל | ל |
| ם | ם ם ם ם ם ם ם | ם ם ם | ם ם ם | ם ם ם | ם ם ם | ם | ם | ם | ם |
| נ | נ נ נ נ נ נ נ | נ נ נ | נ נ נ | נ נ נ | נ נ נ | נ | נ | נ | נ א |
| ס | ס ס ס | ס ס ס | | | ס ס ס | | ס | ס | ס |
| ע | ע ע ע | ע ע ע | ע ע ע | ע ע ע | ע ע ע | ע | ע | | ע |
| פ | פ פ פ פ פ פ פ | פ פ פ | פ פ פ | | פ פ פ | | פ | פ | |
| צ | צ צ צ | צ צ צ | צ צ צ | צ צ צ | צ צ צ | | צ | צ | |
| ק | ק ק ק | ק ק ק | ק ק ק | ק ק ק | ק ק ק | ק | ק | ק | ק |
| ר | ר ר ר | ר ר ר | ר ר ר | ר ר ר | ר ר ר | ר | ר | ר | ר |
| ש | ש ש ש ש ש ש ש | ש ש ש | ש ש ש | ש ש ש | ש ש ש | ש | ש | ש | ש א |
| ת | ת ת ת ת ת ת ת | ת ת ת | ת ת ת | ת ת ת | ת ת ת | ת | ת | ת | ת ח |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8-9 | |

**This preservation photocopy was made at BookLab, Inc.,
in compliance with copyright law. The paper
is Weyerhaeuser Cougar Opaque Natural,
which exceeds ANSI Standard
Z39.48-1984.
1992**

3 2044 048 215 3

